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VOL. II.

From the REVOLUTION
TO THE
Conclusion of the Treaty of Peace at *UTRECHT*,
IN THE
Reign of Queen *ANNE*.

To which is added,

The **AUTHOR'S LIFE**, by the **EDITOR**.



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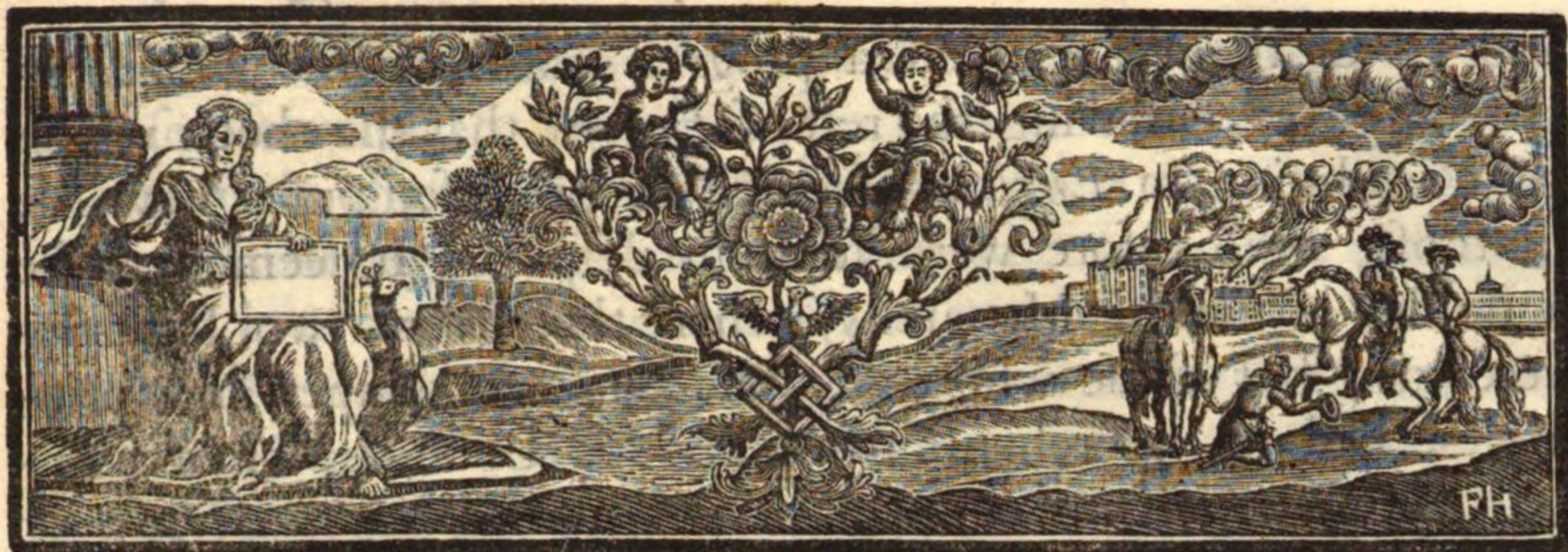
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THE
HISTORY
OF
My Own Times.

BOOK V.
*Of the Reign of King WILLIAM and
Queen MARY.*



NOW begin, on the first day of *May*, 1705, to 1689
prosecute this Work; and have before me a reign,
that drew upon it an universal expectation of
great things to follow, from such auspicious be-
ginnings; and from so general a joy as was spread
over these Nations, and all the neighbouring King-
doms and States; of whom, some had apprehended a general
depression, if not the total ruine of the Protestant Religion:

VOL. II.

B

and

The hopes
of the new
reign.

1689 and all of them saw such a progress made by the *French* in the design of enslaving the rest of *Europe*, that the check which the Revolution in *England* seemed to promise, put a new life in those, who before were sunk in despair. It seemed to be a double-bottomed Monarchy, where there were two Joint-Sovereigns; but those who knew the Queen's temper and principles, had no apprehensions of divided Counsels, or of a distracted Government.

The effects
of the King's
ill health.

That which gave the most melancholy prospect, was the ill state of the King's health, whose stay so long at St. *James's* without exercise or hunting, which was so much used by him that it was become necessary, had brought him under such a weakness, as was like to have very ill effects: And the face he forced himself to set upon it, that it might not appear too much, made an impression on his temper. He was apt to be peevish: it put him under a necessity of being much in his closet, and of being silent and reserved; which, agreeing so well with his natural disposition, made him go off from what all his friends had advised, and he had promised them he would set about, of being more visible, open, and communicative. The Nation had been so much accustomed to this, in the two former reigns, that many studied to persuade him, it would be necessary for his affairs to change his way, that he might be more accessible, and freer in his discourse. He seemed resolved on it; But he said, his ill health made it impossible for him to execute it: And so he went on in his former way, or rather he grew more retired, and was not easily come at, nor spoke to. And in a very few days, after he was set on the Throne, he went out to *Hampton-Court*: And from that palace he came into Town only on Council days. So that the face of a Court, and the rendezvous, usual in the publick rooms, was now quite broke. This gave an early and general disgust. The gaiety and the diversions of a Court disappeared. And, tho' the Queen set her self to make up, what was wanting in the King, by a great vivacity and cheerfulness; yet when it appeared that she meddled not in business, so that few found their account in making their court to her, tho' she gave a wonderful content to all that came near her, yet few came.

The King found the air of *Hampton-Court* agreed so well with him, that he resolved to live the greatest part of the year there. But that palace was so very old built, and so irregular, that a design was formed of raising new buildings there, for the King and the Queen's Apartments. This shewed a resolution to live at a distance from *London*: And the entering so soon on so expensive

penfive a building, afforded matter of cenfure to thofe, who were 1689
difpofed enough to entertain it. And this fpread a univerfal
difcontent in the City of *London*. And thefe fmall and almoft
indifcernable beginnings and feeds of ill humour, have ever fince
gone on in a very vifible encrease and progrefs.

The firft thing the King did, was, to choofe a Miniftry, and
to fettle a Council. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was declared Secre-
tary of State, and had the greateft fhare of the King's Confidence.
No exception could be made to the choice, except on account
of his youth. But he applied himfelf to bufinefs with great di-
ligence, and maintained his candor and temper with more re-
fervednefs, than was expected from one of his age. It was for
fome time under confideration, who fhould be the other Secre-
tary; at laft the Earl of *Nottingham* was pitched on. He had
oppofed the Settlement with great earneftnefs, in his copious way
of fpeaking. But he had always faid, that, tho' he would not
make a King, yet upon his principles, he could obey him bet-
ter than thofe who were fo much fet on making one. The
High Church Party did apprehend, that the oppofition they had
given the King's advancement, and the zeal that *others* had
fhewed for it, would alienate him from *them*, and throw him
into *other* hands, from whom no good was to be expected for
them: And they looked for fevere revenges for the hardships
they had put on *theſe* in the end of King *Charles's* Reign. This
grew daily upon that party, and made them begin to look back
toward King *James*. So, not to provoke fo great a Body too
much, it was thought advifable to employ the Earl of *Not-*
tingham. The great increafe of Chancery bufinefs had made
many apprehend, it was too much to be trusted to one perfon:
So it was refolved to put the Chancery in Commiffion: And
the Earl of *Nottingham* was propofed to be the firft in the
Commiffion, but he refused it. So *Maynard*, *Keck*, and *Raw-*
linfon, three eminent Lawyers, were made the three Commif-
fioners of the Great Seal. And foon after that, the Earl of
Nottingham was appointed Secretary of State. This gave as
much fatisfaction to all the High Party, as it begot jealousies
and diftruf in *others*. The one hoped for protection and favour
by his means: They reckoned, he would infufe all the Prero-
gative Notions into the King; and give him fuch a jealousy
of every ftep that the *others* ſhould make in prejudice of
theſe, that from thence the King would fee caufe to fufpect all
the fhew of kindnefs that *they* might put on to him, when at
the ſame time *they* were undermining ſome of thoſe Preroga-
tives, for which the Earl of *Nottingham* feemed to be fo zea-
lous.

A new Mi-
niſtry.

The Earl of
Notting-
ham's ad-
vancement
unacceptable
to the Whigs.

1689 lous. This had a great effect on the King, who being ignorant of our Constitution, and naturally cautious, saw cause enough to dislike the heat he found among *those*, who expressed much zeal for him, but who seemed, at the same time, to have with it a great mixture of Republican principles. *They*, on the other hand, were much offended at the employing the Earl of *Nottingham*. And he gave them daily cause to be more displeased at it: For he set himself with a most eager partiality against the whole Party, and against all the motions made by them: And he studied to possess the King with a very bad opinion of them. And, whereas Secretaries of State have a particular allowance for such Spies, as they employ to procure intelligence, how exact soever he might be in procuring Foreign intelligence, he spared no cost nor pains to have an account of all that passed in the City, and in other angry cabals: And he furnished the King very copiously that way; which made a deep impression on him, and had very bad effects. The Earl of *Danby* was made Marquis of *Carmarthen*, and President of the Council: and Lord *Halifax* had the Privy Seal. The last of these had gone into all the steps, that had been made for the King, with great zeal, and by that means was hated by the High Party, whom for distinction sake I will hereafter call *TORIES*, and the other *WHIGS*: Terms that I have spoken much against, and have ever hated: But to avoid making always a longer description, I must use them; they being now become as common as if they had been words of our Language. Lord *Halifax* soon saw that his friendship with the Whigs was not like to last long: His opposing the Exclusion stuck still deep with them: And the business of the *Quo Warranto's*, and the delivering up of Charters, was cast on him: The slowness of relieving *Ireland* was also charged on him; He had for some time great credit with the King; tho' his Mercurial Wit was not well suited with the King's Phlegm. Lord *Carmarthen* could not bear the equality, or rather the preference that seemed to be given to Lord *Halifax*: And therefore set on the storm, that quickly broke out upon him.

Lord *Mordaunt* was made Earl of *Monmouth*, and first Commissioner of the Treasury: And Lord *De la Mere*, made Earl of *Warrington*, was Chancellor of the Exchequer: Lord *Godolphin* was likewise brought into the Treasury, to the great grief of the other Two; who soon saw, that the King considered him more than them both. For, as he understood Treasury business well, so his calm and cold way suited the
King's

King's temper. The Earls of *Monmouth* and *Warrington*, tho' 1689
both most violent Whigs, became great enemies: The former
was generous, and gave the inferior places freely; but fought
out the men, who were most noted for Republican Principles,
for them all: And the other, they said, sold every thing that
was in his Power. The Privy Council was composed chiefly of
Whigs.

Nothing gave a more general satisfaction than the naming of <sup>The Judges
well chosen.</sup> the Judges; the King ordered every Privy Counsellor, to bring
a list of twelve: And out of these, twelve very learned and wor-
thy Judges were chosen. This nomination was generally well
received over the Nation. The first of these was Sir *John Holt*,
made Lord Chief Justice of *England*, then a young man for so
high a post, who maintained it all his time with a high reputation
for capacity, integrity, courage, and great dispatch. So that
since the Lord Chief Justice *Hale's* time, that Bench has not
been so well filled, as it was by him.

The King's chief personal favour, lay between *Benthinck* and
Sidney: The former was made Earl of *Portland*, and Groom of
the Stole, and continued for ten years to be entirely trusted by
the King; and served him with great fidelity and obsequious-
ness: But he could never bring himself to be acceptable to the
English Nation. The other was made first, Lord *Sidney*, and
then Earl of *Rumney*: And was put in several great posts.
He was made Secretary of State, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*,
and Master of the Ordnance: But he was so set on pleasure, that
he was not able to follow business with a due application. The
Earls of *Devonshire* and *Dorset* had the White Sticks: The first
was Lord Steward, and the other was Lord Chamberlain: And
they being both Whigs, the household was made up of such, ex-
cept where there were buyers for places, which were set to sale:
And tho' the King seemed to discourage that, yet he did not en-
courage propositions, that were made for the detecting those prac-
tices. Thus was the Court, the Ministry, and the Council com-
posed. The Admiralty was put in Commission: And *Herbert*
made Earl of *Torrington*, was first in the Commission. He tried
to dictate to the Board: And, when he found that did not pass
upon them, he left it; and studied all he could to disparage their
conduct: And it was thought, he hoped to have been advanced
to that high Trust alone.

The first thing proposed to be done, was to turn the Con-
vention into a Parliament, according to the precedent set in the
year 1660. This was opposed by all the Tories. They said,
Writs were indispensable to the being of a Parliament. And,
tho'

The Con-
vention turn-
ed to a Par-
liament.

1689

tho' the like was done at the Restoration, yet it was said, that the Convention was then called, when there was no King nor Great Seal in *England*: And it was called by the consent of the lawful King, and was done upon a true and visible, and not on a pretended necessity: And they added that, after all, even then the Convention was not looked on as a legal Parliament: Its acts were ratified in a subsequent Parliament; and from thence they had their Authority. So it was moved, that the Convention should be dissolved, and a new Parliament summoned: For in the joy which accompanied the Revolution, men well-affected to it were generally chosen: And it was thought, that the damp, which was now spread into many parts of the Nation, would occasion great changes in a new election. On the other hand, the necessity of affairs was so pressing, that no time was to be lost: A delay of forty days might be the total loss of *Ireland*; and stop all our preparations at Sea: Nor was it adviseable, in so critical a time, to put the Nation into the ferment, which a new election would occasion. And it was reasonable to expect, that those who had set the King on the Throne, would be more zealous to maintain him there, than any new set of men could possibly be: And those who submitted to a King, *de facto*, must likewise submit to a Parliament, *de facto*. So the Bill pass: And a day was set for the call of both Houses, and for requiring the Members to take the Oaths.

Some Bishops leave the Parliament.

Eight Bishops absented themselves, who were *Sancroft* of *Canterbury*, *Thomas* of *Worcester*, *Lake* of *Chichester*, *Turner* of *Ely*, *Lloyd* of *Norwich*, *Ken* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Frampton* of *Glocester*, and *White* of *Peterborough*. But in the mean while, that they might recommend themselves by a shew of Moderation, some of them moved the House of Lords, before they withdrew from it, for a bill of Toleration, and another of Comprehension: And these were drawn and offered by the Earl of *Nottingham*: And, as he said to me, they were the same that he had prepared for the House of Commons in King *Charles's* time, during the Debates of the Exclusion: But then things of that kind were looked on as artifices, to lay the heat of that time, and to render the Church Party more popular. After those motions were made, the Bishops that were in the House withdrew: *Sancroft*, *Thomas*, and *Lake*, never came: The two last died soon after. *Ken*, was a man of a warm imagination: And at the time of the King's first landing, he declared heartily for him, and advised all the Gentlemen, that he saw, to go and join with him. But during the Debates in the Convention, he went with great heat into the notion of a Prince Regent. And now, upon

upon the call of the House, he withdrew into his Diocese. He 1689
 changed his mind again, and wrote a paper, perswading the
 Clergy to take the Oaths, which he shewed to Dr. *Whitby*, who
 read it, as the Dr. has told me often. His Chaplain, Dr. *Eyre*,
 did also tell me, that he came with him to *London*, where at
 first he owned he was resolved to go to the House of Lords,
 and to take the Oaths. But the first day after he came to Town,
 he was prevailed on to change his mind: And he has continued
 ever since in a very warm opposition to the Government. *San-*
croft went on in his unactive state, still refusing the Oaths, but
 neither acting nor speaking, except in great confidence, to any
 against their taking them. These Bishops did one thing very
 inconsistent with their other actions, and that could not be easily
 reconciled to the rules of good conscience. All presentations are
 directed to Bishops, or to their Chancellors. But, by a general
 agreement in the year 1660, the Bishops resolved to except out
 of the Patents, that they gave their Chancellors, the power of
 giving Institution into Cures, which before that, the Chancellors
 were impowered to give in the Bishops absence. Now the Bi-
 shops were bound to see that the Clergy, before they gave them
 Institution, took the Oaths to the Government. In order there-
 fore to decline the doing this, and yet avoid the actions of *Quare*
Impedit, that they would be liable to, if they did not admit the
 Clerks presented to them, they gave new Patents to their Chan-
 cellors, empowering them to give Institution; which they knew
 could not be done, but by tendring the Oaths. So they gave
 authority to Lay-men, to admit men to Benefices, and to do that
 which they thought unlawful, as was the swearing to an Usurper
 against the lawful King. Thus it appeared, how far the Engage-
 ment of interest and parties can run men into contradictions.

Upon the Bishops refusing the Oaths, a Bill was brought into
 the House of Commons, requiring all persons to take them by
 a prefixed day, under several forfeitures and penalties. The
 Clergy that took them not, were to fall under suspension for six
 months, and at the end of those, they were to be deprived.
 This was followed with a particular eagerness by some, who were
 known enemies to the Church: And it was then generally be-
 lieved, that a great part of the Clergy would refuse the Oaths.
 So they hoped to have an advantage against the Church by this
 means. *Hambden* perswaded the King, to add a period to a
 Speech he made, concerning the Affairs of *Ireland*, in which he
 proposed the admitting all Protestants to serve in that War. This
 was understood, to be intended, for taking off the Sacramental
 Test, which was necessary by the Law, to qualify men for em-
 ployments,

1689 ployments, and was looked on, as the chief security the Church of *England* had, as it excluded Dissenters from all employments. And it was tried, if a bargain could be made, for excusing the Clergy from the Oaths, provided the Dissenters might be excused from the Sacrament. The King put this into his Speech, without communicating it to the Ministry: And it had a very ill effect. It was not only rejected by a great majority in both Houses; but it very much heightened the prejudices against the King, as bearing no great affection to the Church of *England*, when he proposed the opening such a door, which they believed would be fatal to them. The rejecting this, made the act imposing the Oaths to be driven on with the more zeal. This was in debate, when I came into the House of Lords: For *Ward*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, died this Winter: Many spoke to the King in my favour, without my knowledge. The King made them no answer. But a few days after he was set on the Throne, he of his own motion named me to that See: And he did it in terms more obliging, than usually fell from him. When I waited on the Queen, she said, she hoped I would now put in practice those notions, with which I had taken the liberty often to entertain her. All the forms of the *congé délire*, and my Election, were carried on with dispatch. But a great difficulty was in view. *Sancroft* would not see me; and he refused to consecrate me. So by Law, when the Mandate was brought to him, upon not obeying it, he must have been sued in a *Pre-munire*: And for some Days, he seemed determined to venture that: But as the danger came near, he prevented it, by granting a Commission to all the Bishops of his Province, or to any three of them, in Conjunction with the Bishop of *London*, to exercise his Metropolitcal authority during pleasure. Thus he did authorise others to consecrate me, while yet he seemed to think it an unlawful Act. This was so mean, that he himself was ashamed of it afterwards. But he took an odd way to overthrow it: For he sent for his original Warrant: And so took it out of the Office, and got it into his own hands.

I was made
Bishop of
Salisbury.

I happened to come into the House of Lords, when two great debates were managed with much heat in it. The one was about the Toleration and Comprehension, and the other was about the Imposing the Oaths on the Clergy. And I was engaged at my first coming there, to bear a large share in both.

Debates concerning the
Oaths.

That which was long insisted on, in the House of Lords, was, that instead of the clause positively enacting, that the Clergy should be obliged to take the Oaths, the King might be empowered to tender them, and then the refusal was to be punished

nished according to the Clause, as it stood in the Act. It was 1689 thought, such a power would oblige them to their good behaviour, and be an effectual restraint upon them: They would be kept quiet at least by it: Whereas, if they came under Deprivation, or the apprehensions of it, that would make them desperate, and set them on to undermine the Government. It was said, that the Clergy, by the Offices of the Church, did solemnly own their Allegiance to God, in the sight of all their people; that no Oath could lay deeper Engagements on them, than those Acts of religious Worship did: And if they should either pass over those Offices, or perform them, otherwise than as the Law required, there was a clear method, pursuant to the Act of Uniformity, to proceed severely against them. It was also said, that in many different changes of Government, Oaths had not proved so effectual a security as was imagined: Distinctions were found out, and senses were put on words, by which they were interpreted so, as to signify but little, when a Government came to need strength from them: And it ill became those, who had formerly complained of these impositions, to urge this with so much vehemence. On the other hand, it was urged, that no man ought to be trusted by a Government, chiefly in so sacred a concern, who would not give security to it; especially, since the Oath was brought to such low and general terms. The Expedient that was proposed, would put a hardship upon the King, which was always to be carefully avoided. The day prefixed was at the distance of some months: So that men had time sufficient given them to study the point: And, if in that time they could not satisfy themselves, as to the lawfulness of acknowledging the Government, it was not fit that they should continue in the highest Posts of the Church. An exception of Twelve was proposed, who should be subject to the Law, upon refusing the Oaths, when required to it by the King; but that was rejected: And all the mitigation that was obtained, was a power to the King, to reserve a third part of the profits of any twelve Benefices he should name, to the Incumbents who should be deprived by virtue of this Act: And so it passed. I was the chief Manager of the Debate, in favour of the Clergy; both in the House of Lords, and at the Conferences with the Commons. But, seeing it could not be carried, I acquiesced the more easily; because, tho' in the beginning of these Debates I was assured, that those who seemed resolved not to take the Oaths, yet prayed for the King in their Chapels; yet I found afterwards this was not true, for they named no King nor Queen,

1689 and so it was easy to guess, whom they meant by such an indefinite designation. I also heard many things, that made me conclude, they were endeavouring to raise all the Opposition to the Government possible.

An Act of
Toleration.

The Bill of Toleration passed easily. It excused Dissenters from all penalties, for their not coming to Church, and for going to their separate Meetings. There was an exception of *Socinians*: But a provision was put in it, in favour of *Quakers*: And, tho' the rest were required to take the Oaths to the Government, They were excused, upon making in lieu thereof a solemn Declaration. They were to take out Warrants for the Houses they met in: And the Justices of Peace were required to grant them. Some proposed, that the Act should only be temporary, as a necessary restraint upon the Dissenters, that they might demean themselves, so as to merit the continuance of it, when the term of years now offered should end. But this was rejected: There was now an universal inclination to pass the Act: But it could not be expected, that the Nation would be in the same good disposition towards them at another time. I shewed so much zeal for this Act, as very much sunk my credit, which had risen from the approbation I had gained, for opposing That which enacted the taking the Oaths. As for the Act of Comprehension, some progress was made in it. But a Proviso was offered, that, in imitation of the Acts passed in King *Henry* the Eighth and King *Edward* the Sixth's time, a number of persons, both of the Clergy and Laity, might be empowered to prepare such a Reformation of things, relating to the Church, as might be offered to King and Parliament, in order to the healing our Divisions, and the correcting what might be amiss or defective in our Constitution. This was pressed with great earnestness by many of the temporal Lords. I at that time did imagine, that the Clergy would have come into such a design with zeal and unanimity: And I feared this would be looked on by them, as taking the matter out of their hands: And for that reason I argued so warmly against this, that it was carried by a small Majority to let it fall. But I was convinced soon after, that I had taken wrong measures; and that the method proposed by these Lords, was the only one like to prove effectual: But this did not so recommend me to the Clergy, as to balance the censure I came under, for moving, in another Proviso of that Bill, that the Subscription, instead of *Assent* and *Consent*, should only be to *submit* with a promise of Conformity. There was a Proviso likewise, in the Bill, for dispensing with kneeling

A motion
for a Com-
prehension.

kneeling at the Sacrament, and being Baptized with the Sign of the Cross, to such as, after conference upon those heads, should solemnly protest, they were not satisfied as to the lawfulness of them. That concerning kneeling, occasion'd a vehement Debate: For, the Posture being the chief exception that the Dissenters had, the giving up this was thought to be the opening a way for them to come into Employments. Yet it was carried in the House of Lords. And I declared my self zealous for it. For since, it was acknowledged, that the Posture was not essential in itself, and that Scruples, how ill grounded soever, were raised upon it, it seemed reasonable to leave the matter as indifferent in its practice, as it was in its nature.

Those who had moved for this Bill, and afterwards brought it into the House, acted a very disingenuous part: For, while they studied to recommend themselves by this shew of Moderation, they set on their Friends to oppose it: And such as were very sincerely and cordially for it, were represented as the Enemies of the Church, who intended to subvert it. When the Bill was sent down to the House of Commons, it was let lie on the Table. And, instead of proceeding in it, they made an Address to the King, for summoning a Convocation of the Clergy to attend, according to custom, on the Session of Parliament. The Party, that was now beginning to be formed against the Government, pretended great zeal for the Church; and declared their apprehensions that it was in danger, which was imputed by many to the Earl of *Nottingham's* management. These, as they went heavily into the Toleration, so they were much offended with the Bill of Comprehension, as containing matters relating to the Church, in which the Representative Body of the Clergy had not been so much as advised with.

Nor was this Bill supported by those, who seemed most favourable to the Dissenters: They set it up for a maxim, that it was fit to keep up a strong faction both in Church and State; And they thought it was not agreeable to that, to suffer so great a body as the Presbyterians to be made more easy, or more inclinable to unite to the Church: They also thought, that the Toleration would be best maintained, when great numbers should need it, and be concerned to preserve it: So this good Design being zealously opposed, and but faintly promoted, it fell to the ground.

The Clergy began now to shew an implacable hatred to the Nonconformists, and seemed to wish for an occasion to renew old Severities against them. But wise and good men did very much

An ill humour spread among the Clergy.

1689 much applaud the quieting the Nation by the Toleration. It seemed to be suitable, both to the Spirit of the Christian Religion, and to the Interest of the Nation. It was thought very unreasonable, that, while we were complaining of the Cruelty of the Church of *Rome*, we should fall into such practices among our selves; chiefly, while we were engaging in a war, in the progress of which we would need the united strength of the whole Nation.

Great gentleness towards Papists.

This Bill gave the King great content. He in his own opinion always thought, that Conscience was God's Province, and that it ought not to be imposed on: And his experience in *Holland* made him look on Toleration, as one of the wisest measures of Government: He was much troubled to see so much ill humour spreading among the Clergy, and by their means over a great part of the Nation. He was so true to his Principle herein, that he restrained the heat of some, who were proposing severe Acts against Papists. He made them apprehend the advantage, which that would give the *French*, to alienate all the Papists of *Europe* from us; who from thence might hope to set on foot a new Catholick League, and make the War a quarrel of Religion; which might have very bad effects. Nor could he pretend to protect the Protestants in many places of *Germany*, and in *Hungary*, unless he could cover the Papists in *England*, from all Severities on the account of their Religion. This was so carefully infused into many, and so well understood by them, that the Papists have enjoy'd the real effects of the Toleration, tho' they were not comprehended within the Statute that enacted it.

War proclaimed against France.

While domestick matters were raising great heats at home, we saw the necessity of making vigorous Preparations for the War abroad, and in *Ireland*. The King laid before both Houses the Alliances, formerly made by the Crown of *England*, with the States, and with the Empire, together with the new ones that were now proposed, which made a Rupture with *France* necessary. So, by the Advices of both Houses, War was declared against *France*: And the necessary Supplies, both for the *Quota* that the King was to furnish, and for the Reduction of *Ireland*, were provided.

Debates concerning the Revenue.

The next care was a Revenue, for the Support of the Government. By a long course, and the practice of some Ages, the Customs had been granted to our Kings for life: So the King expected, that the like regard should be shewn for him. But mens minds were much divided in that matter. Some Whigs, who by a long Opposition, and jealousy of the Government,

vernment, had wrought themselves into such Republican Principles, that they could not easily come off from them, set it up as a maxim not to grant any Revenue, but from year to year, or at most, for a short term of years. This, they thought, would render the Crown precarious, and oblige our Kings to such a popular method of Government, as should merit the constant Renewal of that Grant. And they hoped, that so uncertain a Tenure, might more easily bring about an entire change of Government. For, by the denying the Revenue at any time (except upon intolerable conditions) they thought That might be easily effected, since it would render our Kings so feeble, that they would not be able to maintain their Authority. The Tories observing this, made great use of it, to beget in the King jealousies of his Friends, with too much colour, and too great success. They resolved to reconcile themselves to the King by granting it, but at present only to look on, till the Whigs, who now carried every thing, to which they set their full strength, should have refused it.

The King, as he had come through the Western Countries, from his first Landing, had been in many places moved to discharge the Chimney money: And had promised to recommend it to the Parliament. He had done that so effectually, that an Act past discharging it; tho' it was so much opposed by the Tories, that it ran a great hazard in the House of Lords. Those who opposed it, pretended, that it was the only sure Fund, that could never fail in War, so that Money would be freely advanced upon it: They said, a few regulations would take away any grievance, that might arise from it: But it was thought, they were not willing that such an Act should pass, as would render the King acceptable to the Body of the Nation. It was also thought, that the prospect they then had of a speedy Revolution, in favour of King James, made some of them unwilling to pass an Act, that seemed to lay an obligation on him, either to maintain it, or by resuming his Revenue, to raise the hatred of the Nation higher against him. When the settling the King's Revenue was brought under Consideration, it was found, there were anticipations and charges upon it, from which it seemed reasonable to clear it. So many Persons were concerned in this, and the Season of the year was so far advanced, that it was pretended, they had not time to examine that matter with due care: And therefore, by a Provisional Act, they granted the King the Revenue for one year: And many intended never to carry the Grant but from year to year. This touched the King very sensibly.

The Chimney money discharged.

1689 And many discourses, that past among four Whigs in their Cabals, were communicated to him by the Earl of *Nottingham*, by which he concluded, he was in the Hand of Persons, that did not intend to use him well.

A Bill concerning the Militia.

A Bill was prepared, concerning the Militia, which upon the matter, and in consequence of many clauses in it, took it in a great measure both from the Crown, and out of the Lords Lieutenants; who being generally Peers, a Bill that lessened their authority so much, was not like to pass in the House of Lords: So it was let lie on the Table. By this likewise, which was chiefly promoted by the Whigs; the King came to think, that those who had raised him to the Throne, intended to depress his Prerogative, as much as they had exalted his Person. He seemed to grow tender and jealous upon these points, the importance of every one of them being much aggravated by the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had furnished him with a scheme of all the points of the Prerogative, and of their dependance one upon another: And he seemed so possessed with this, that many of those who had formerly most of his confidence, found a coldness growing upon him, which increased their disgust, and made them apprehend, they should again see a Reign full of Prerogative maxims. One thing the House of Commons granted, which was very acceptable to the King: They gave the States about 600000*l.* for the charge they had been at in the Fleet and Army, which they furnished the King with at the Revolution.

Debates concerning an Act of Indemnity.

They could not be brought to another point, tho' often and much pressed to it by the King. He thought nothing would settle the minds of the Nation so much as an Act of Indemnity, with proper exceptions of some Criminals, that should be left to Justice. *Jefferies* was in the Tower; *Wright*, who had been Lord Chief Justice, and some of the Judges, were in Newgate; *Graham* and *Burton*, who had been the wicked Solicitors in the former Reigns, were in Prison; but the hottest of the Whigs would not set this on. They thought it best to keep many under the lash; they intended severe revenges for the Blood that had been shed, and for the many unjust things that had been done in the end of King *Charles's* Reign; they saw, that the clogging the Indemnity, with many comprehensive Exceptions, would create King *James* a great Party; so they did not think it proper to offer at that: Yet they resolved to keep them still in their power, till a better opportunity for falling on them should offer itself: Therefore they proceeded so slowly in that matter, that the Bill could not

not be brought to a ripeness during this Session. It is true, 1689 the great mildness of the King's temper, and the gentleness of his Government, which was indeed rather liable to censure, as being too remiss, set peoples minds much at ease: And, if it gave too much boldness to those, who began to set up an open opposition to him, yet it gained upon the greater part of the Nation, who saw none of those moving spectacles, that had been so common in former Reigns: And all promised themselves happy days, under so merciful a Prince. But angry men put a wicked construction on the earnestness the King shewed for an Act of Indemnity; They said, he intended to make use of a set of Prerogative men, as soon as legally he could; And therefore he desired the Instruments of King *James's* illegal Government might be once secured, that so he might employ them. The Earls of *Monmouth* and *Warrington* were infusing jealousies of the King into their party, with the same Industry that the Earl of *Nottingham* was, at the same time, instilling into the King jealousies of them: And both acted with too much success; which put matters much out of joint. For tho' the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Devonshire* did all they could, to stop the progress and effects of those suspicions, with which the Whigs were possessed, yet they had not credit enough to do it. The Earl of *Shrewsbury*, tho' he had more of the King's favour, yet he had not strength to resist the Earl of *Nottingham's* pompous and tragical Declamations.

There was a Bill of great importance sent up by the Commons to the Lords, that was not finished this Session. It was a Bill, declaring the Rights and Liberties of *England*, and the Succession to the Crown, as had been agreed by both Houses of Parliament, to the King and Queen and their Issue, and after them, to the Princess *Anne* and her Issue, and after these, to the King and his Issue. A Clause was inserted, disabling all Papists from succeeding to the Crown, to which the Lords added, *or such as should marry Papists*. To this I proposed an additional Clause, absolving the Subjects, in that case, from their Allegiance. This was seconded by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: And it passed without any opposition, or debate: which amazed us all, considering the importance of it. But the King ordered me to propose the naming the Dutchess of *Hanover*, and her Posterity, next in the Succession. He signified his pleasure in this also to the Ministers. But he ordered me to begin the Motion in the House, because I had already set it on foot. And the Duke of *Hanover* had now other thoughts of the matter, and was separating himself from the Interests of *France*.

The Bill of Rights.

1689 *France.* The Lords agreed to the proposition without any opposition. So it was sent down to the Commons. There were great Debates there upon it. *Hambden* pressed it vehemently. But *Wildman*, and all the Republican Party, opposed it. Their secret Reason seemed to be, a design to extinguish Monarchy, and therefore to substitute none, beyond the three that were named, that so the Succession might quickly come to an end. But, it not being decent to own this, all that they pretended was, that there being many in the lineal Succession, after the three that were named, who were then of the Church of *Rome*, the leaving to them a possibility to succeed, upon their turning Protestants, might have a good effect on them, and dispose them to hearken to Instruction; all which would be defeated by a Declaration in favour of the Dutchess.

To this it was answered, in a free Conference, that for that very reason it was fit to make this Declaration: Since nothing could bring us into a more certain danger, than a pretended Conversion of a false Convert, who might by such a disguise ascend the Throne, and so work our ruine by secret artifices. Both Houses adhered, after the free Conference. So the Bill fell for that time: But it was resolved to take it up at the opening of the next Session. And the King thought, it was not then convenient to renew the motion of the Dutchess of *Hanover*, of which he ordered me to write her a particular account. It was fit once to have the Bill passed, that enacted the perpetual Exclusion of all Papists: For that, upon the matter, brought the Succession to their door. And if any in the Line, before Her, should pretend to change, as it was not very likely to happen, so it would not be easily believed. So it was resolved to carry this matter no further at this time. The Bill passed without any opposition, in the beginning of the next Session; which I mention here, that I might end this matter all at once. The present Session was drawn to a great length, and was not ended till *August*: And then it broke up with a great deal of ill humour.

King
James's
Great Seal
found in the
Thames.

One accident happen'd this Summer, of a pretty extraordinary nature, that deserves to be remembred. A Fisher-man, between *Lambeth* and *Vaux-hall*, was drawing a Net pretty close to the Chanel; and a great weight was, not without some difficulty, drawn to the Shore, which, when taken up, was found to be the Great Seal of *England*. King *James* had called for it from the Lord *Jefferies*, the night before he went away, as intending to make a secret use of it, for Pardons or Grants. But it seems, when he went away, he thought either,
that

that the Bulk or Weight of it made it inconvenient to be carried off, or that it was to be hereafter of no more use to him: And therefore, that it might not be made use of against him, he threw it into the *Thames*. The Fisher-man was well rewarded, when he brought the Great Seal to the King: And by his Order it was broke.

But now I must look over to the affairs of *Ireland*, and to King *James's* motions. Upon his coming to the Court of *France*, he was received with great shews of Tenderneſs and Reſpect; the *French* King aſſuring him, that, as they had both the ſame Interests, ſo he would never give over the War, till he had reſtored him to his Throne. The only proſpect he now had, was to keep up his Party in *Ireland* and *Scotland*. The Meſſage from *Tirconnel*, for ſpeedy Supplies, was very preſſing: And his Party in *Scotland* ſent one *Lindſay* over to him, to offer him their ſervice, and to ask what aſſiſtance they might depend upon. The *French* Miniſtry was at this time much divided. *Louvois* had the greateſt credit, and was very ſucceſſful in all his Counſels: ſo that he was moſt conſidered. But *Seignelay* was believed to have more perſonal favour, and to be more entirely united to *Madam Maintenon*. Theſe two were in a high competition for favour, and hated one another. *Seignelay* had the Marine, as the other had the Army, for his province. So, King *James* having the moſt dependance on the Marine, and looking on the Secretary for that Poſt as the moſt powerful Favourite, made his chief application to him; which ſet *Louvois* to croſs and retard every thing, that was propoſed for his ſervice. So that matters for him went on ſlowly, and very defectively. There was another circumſtance in King *James's* affairs, that did him much hurt. *Laufun*, whoſe adventures will be found in the *French* Hiſtory, had come over to King *James*, and offered him his ſervice, and had attended on the Queen, when ſhe went over to *France*. He had obtained a promiſe of King *James*, that he ſhould have the Command of ſuch Forces, as the King of *France* would aſſiſt him with. *Louvois* hated *Laufun*; nor did the King of *France* like to employ him: So *Louvois* ſent to King *James*, deſiring him to ask of the King of *France*, *Souvray*, a Son of his, whom he was breeding to ſerve in War, to command the *French* Troops. But King *James* had ſo engaged himſelf to *Laufun*, that he thought he could not in honour depart from it. And ever after that, we were told, that *Louvois* ſtudied, by all the ways he could think of, to diſparage him, and all the Propoſitions he made: Yet he got about 5000 *Frenchmen*, to be ſent over with him to

1689 *Ireland*, but no great supplies in money. Promises were sent the *Scots* of great assistance, that should be sent them from *Ireland*: They were encouraged to make all possible opposition in the Convention: And, as soon as the season of the year would admit of it, they were ordered to gather together in the *Highlands*, and to keep themselves in safe places there, till further Orders should be sent them. With these, and with a small supply in money, of about five or six thousand Pounds, for buying Ammunition and Arms, *Lindsay* was sent back. I had such a character given me of him, that I entertained good thoughts of him. So, upon his return, he came first to me, and pretended he had gone over on private affairs, being deeply engaged in debt for the Earl of *Melfort*, whose Secretary he had been. I understood from him, that King *James* had left *Paris* to go for *Ireland*: So I sent him to the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* Office: But there was a secret management with one of the Under Secretaries there for King *James*: So he was not only dismissed, but got a Pass Warrant from Dr. *Wynne*, to go to *Scotland*. I had given the Earl of *Shrewsbury* such a character of the man, that he did more easily believe him; but he knew nothing of the Pass Warrant. So, my easiness to think well of people, was the chief occasion of the mischief that followed, on his not being clapt up and more narrowly examined. Upon King *James's* landing in *Ireland*, he marched his Army from *Kinsale* to *Ulster*. And, when it was all together, it consisted of 30,000 Foot, and 8000 Horse. It is true, the *Irish* were now as insolent, as they were undisciplined: And they began to think they must be masters of all the King's Counsels. A jealousy arose between them and the *French*: They were soon on very bad Terms, and scarce ever agreed in their Advices: All King *James's* party, in the Isle of *Britain*, pressed his settling the affairs of *Ireland* the best he could, and his bringing over the *French*, and such of the *Irish*, as he could best govern, and depend on; and advised him to land in the North of *England*, or in the West of *Scotland*.

The Siege
of *London-*
derry.

But the first thing that was to be done, was to reduce *Londonderry*. In order to this, two different Advices were offered. The one was, to march with a great Force, and to take it immediately: for the Town was not capable of resisting, if vigorously attack'd. The other was, to block it up so, that it should be forced in a little time to surrender; and to turn to other more vigorous designs. But, whereas either of these Advices might have been pursued with advantage, a third Advice was offered, but I know not by whom, which was the

the only bad one, that could be proposed; and yet, by a sort of fatality, which hung over that King, it was followed by him; and that was, to press the Town by a slow Siege, which, as was given out, would bring the *Irish* into the methods of War, and would accustom them to Fatigue and Discipline. And this being resolved on, King *James* sent a small Body before it, which was often changed: And by these he continued the Siege above two months, in which the poor Inhabitants formed themselves into great Order, and came to generous Resolutions of enduring the last extremities. They made some Sallies, in which the *Irish* always ran away, and left their Officers; so that many of their best Officers were killed. Those within suffered little, but by hunger, which destroyed near two thirds of their number. One Convoy, with two Regiments, and Provisions, was sent to their relief: But they looked on the service as desperate, being deceived by *Lundy*, who was the Governour of the Place, and had undertaken to betray it to King *James*; but he finding them jealous of him, came to the Convoy, and persuaded them that nothing could be done: So they came back, and *Lundy* with them. Yet the poor Inhabitants, tho' thus forsaken, resolved still to hold out; and sent over such an account of the state they were in, that a second and greater Convoy was sent, with about 5000 men, commanded by *Kirk*, who, after he came in sight, made not that haste to relieve them that was necessary, considering the misery they were in. They had a River that came up to their Town: But the *Irish* had laid a Bomb and Chains cross it, and had planted Batteries for defending it. Yet a Ship sailing up with Wind and Tide broke through: And so the Town was relieved, and the Siege raised in great confusion.

Was at last raised.

Iniskillin had the same fate: The Inhabitants entred into Resolutions of suffering any thing, rather than fall into the hands of the *Irish*: A considerable Force was sent against them: but thro' their courage, and the cowardice of the *Irish*, they held out.

All this while, an Army was preparing in *England*, to be sent over for the Reduction of *Ireland*, commanded by *Schomberg*, who was made a Duke in *England*, and to whom the Parliament gave 100,000 Pounds for the services he had done. The Levies were carried on in *England* with great zeal: And the Bodies were quickly full. But, tho' both Officers and Soldiers shewed much courage and affection to the service; yet they were raw, without experience, and without skill. *Schomberg* had a quick and happy passage; with about

Duke *Schomberg* with an Army went to *Ireland*.

10,000

1689 10,000 men. He landed at *Belfast*, and brought the Forces that lay in *Ulster* together. His Army, when strongest, was not above 14,000 men; and he had not above 2000 Horse. He marched on to *Dundalk*; and there posted himself. King *James* came to *Ardee*, within five or six miles of him, being above thrice his number. *Schomberg* had not the Supplies from *England*, that had been promised him: Much treachery or ravenousness appeared in many, who were employed. And he finding his numbers so unequal to the *Irish*, resolved to lie on the defensive. He lay there six weeks in a very rainy Season. His men, for want of due care and good management, contracted such Diseases, that he lost almost the one half of his Army. Some blamed him for not putting things more to hazard: It was said, that he measured the *Irish* by their Numbers, and not by their want of Sense and Courage. Such complaints were sent of this to the King, that he wrote twice to him, pressing him to put somewhat to the venture: But he saw the Enemy was well posted, and well provided: And he knew they had several good Officers among them. If he had pushed matters, and had met with a misfortune, his whole Army, and consequently all *Ireland*, would have been lost: For he could not have made a regular Retreat. The sure game was to preserve his Army: And that would save *Ulster*, and keep matters entire for another year. This was censured by some; But better judges thought, the managing this Campaign as he did, was one of the greatest parts of his Life. The *Irish* made some poor attempts to beat up his Quarters: But even where they surpris'd his men, and were much superior in number, they were so shamefully beat back, that this encreased the contempt, the *English* naturally had for them. In the end of *October*, all went into Winter Quarters.

Affairs at
Sca.

Our operations on the Sea were not very prosperous. *Herbert* was sent with a Fleet, to cut off the communication between *France* and *Ireland*. The *French* had sent over a Fleet, with a great Transport of Stores and Ammunition. They had landed their loading, and were returning back. As they came out of *Bantry Bay*, *Herbert* engaged them. The wind was against him: So that it was not possible for the greatest part of the Fleet to come up, and enter into action: And so those who engaged were forced to retire with some disadvantage. But the *French* did not pursue him. He came back to *Portsmouth*, in order to refit some of his Ships; and went out again, and lay before *Brest*, till the end of Summer. But the *French* Fleet did not come out any more all that Summer:

Summer: So that ours lay some months at Sea to no purpose. 1689
But, if we lost few of our Seamen in the Engagement, we lost a great many, by reason of the bad Victualling. Some excused this, because it was so late in the year, before Funds were made for it: while others imputed it to base practices, and worse designs. So affairs had every where a very melancholy face.

I now turn to give an Account of the Proceedings in *Scotland*. A Convention of the States was summoned there, in the same manner as in *England*. Duke *Hamilton* was chosen President. And, a Letter being offered to them, from King *James* by *Lindsay*, they would not receive, nor read it: But went on to state the several Violations of their Constitution and Laws, made by King *James*. Upon these it was moved, that a Judgment should be given, declaring, that he had forfeited his Right to the Crown. Upon this, three Parties were formed: One was composed of all the Bishops, and some of the Nobility, who opposed these Proceedings against the King, as contrary to their Laws and Oaths: Others thought, that their Oaths were only to the King, as having the executive Power, to support him in that; but that, if he set himself to invade and assume the Legislature, he renounced his former Authority by subverting that, upon which it was founded: So they were for proceeding to a declaratory Judgment: A third Party was formed, of those who agreed with the former in their Conclusion: But not in coming to so speedy a determination. They thought, it was the Interest of *Scotland* to be brought under the Laws of *England*, and to be united to the Parliament of *England*; and that this was the properest time for doing that to the best advantage; since *England* would be obliged, by the present state of Affairs, to receive them upon good terms. They were therefore willing to proceed against King *James*: But they thought it not reasonable to make too much haste in a new Settlement; and were for maintaining the Government, in an Interregnum, till the Union should be perfected, or at least put in a probable way. This was specious, and many went into it: But, since it tended to the putting a stop to a full Settlement, all that favoured King *James* joined in it: For by this more time was gained. To this Project it was objected, that the Union of the two Kingdoms must be a work of time; since many difficulties would arise in any Treaty about it: whereas the present circumstances were critical, and required a speedy decision, and quick provision to be made for their security; since, if they

Affairs in
Scotland.

Debates in
the Conven-
tion.

1689 continued in such a neutral State, they would have many Enemies, and no Friends: And the zeal that was now working among them for Presbytery, must raise a greater aversion than ordinary, in the Body that was for the Church of *England*, to any such Treaty with them.

While much heat was occasioned by this Debate, great Numbers came armed from the Western Counties, on pretence to defend the Convention: For the Duke of *Gordon* was still in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and could have done them much harm, tho' he lay there in a very inoffensive state. He thought the best thing he could do was, to preserve that place long for King *James*; since to provoke the Convention, would have drawn a Siege and ruine upon him, with too much precipitation, while there was not a Force in the Field ready to come and assist him. So it was said, there was no need of such armed Companies, and that they were come to over-awe and force the Convention.

A Rising designed there.

The Earl of *Dundee* had been at *London*, and had fixed a correspondence both with *England* and *France*: tho' he had employed me to carry Messages, from him to the King, to know what Security he might expect, if he should go and live in *Scotland* without owning his Government. The King said, If he would live peaceably, and at home, he would protect him: To this he answered, that, unless he were forced to it, he would live quietly. But he went down with other resolutions; and all the Party resolved to submit to his command. Upon his coming to *Edinburgh*, he pretended he was in danger from those armed multitudes: And so he left the Convention; and went up and down the High-lands, and sent his Agents about, to bring together what Force they could gather. This set on the Conclusion of the Debates of the Convention.

King *James* was judged there.

They passed the Judgment of Forfeiture on King *James*. And on the 11th of *April*, the day in which the King and Queen were crowned, with the ordinary Solemnities at *Westminster*, they declared *William* and *Mary* King and Queen of *Scotland*. But with this, as they ordered the Coronation-Oath to be tendered to them, so they drew up a Claim of Rights, which they pretended, were the fundamental and unalterable Laws of the Kingdom. By one of these it was declared, that the Reformation in *Scotland*, having been begun by a parity among the Clergy, all Prelacy in that Church was a great and insupportable Grievance to that Kingdom. It was an absurd thing to put this in a Claim of Rights; for which not only they had no Law, but which was contrary to many Laws then

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in being: So that, tho' they might have offered it as a Grievance, there was no colour for pretending it was a National Right. But they had a Notion among them, that every Article, that should be put in the Claim of Rights, became an unalterable Law, and a Condition upon which the Crown was to be held: whereas Grievances were such things, as were submitted to the King and Parliament to be redressed, or not, as they should see cause: But the Bishops, and those who adhered to them, having left the Convention, the Presbyterians had a majority of Voices to carry every thing as they pleased, how unreasonable soever. And upon this, the abolishing Episcopacy in *Scotland*, was made a necessary Article of the new Settlement.

1689
They pass a
Claim of
Rights.

Soon after the King came to St. *James's*, the Episcopal Party there, had sent up the Dean of *Glasgow*, whom they ordered to come to me: And I introduced him to the then Prince. He was sent to know, what his Intentions were with relation to them. He answered, he would do all he could to preserve them, granting a full Toleration to the Presbyterians: But this was, in case they concurred in the new Settlement of that Kingdom: For if they opposed that, and if, by a great Majority in Parliament, Resolutions should be taken against them, the King could not make a War for them: but yet he would do all that was in his Power to maintain such of them, as should live peaceably in their Functions. This he ordered me likewise to write back, in answer to what some Bishops and others had writ to me upon that subject. But the Earl of *Dundee*, when he went down, possessed them with such an opinion of another speedy Revolution, that would be brought about in favour of King *James*, that they resolved to adhere firmly to his Interests: So, they declaring in a body, with so much zeal, in opposition to the new Settlement, it was not possible for the King to preserve that Government there: All those who expressed their zeal for him, being equally zealous against that Order.

Episcopacy
by this was
abolished.

Among those who appeared in this Convention, none distinguished himself more, than Sir *James Montgomery*, a Gentleman of good Parts, but of a most unbridled heat, and of a restless ambition: He bore the greatest share in the whole Debate, and promised himself a great Post in the new Government. Duke *Hamilton* presided with great discretion and courage: So that the bringing the Settlement so soon to a calm conclusion, was chiefly owing to him. A Petition of Grievances, relating to the Lords of the Articles, the Judges, the Coin, and

1689 and several other matters, was also settled: And three Commissioners were sent, one from every State, to the King and Queen, with the Tender of the Crown, with which they were also to tender them the Coronation-Oath, and the Claim of Rights: And when the Oath was taken, they were next to offer the Petition, for the Redress of Grievances. The three Commissioners were, the Earl of *Argyle* for the *Lords*, Sir *James Montgomery* for the *Knights*, or, as they call them, for the *Barons*, and Sir *John Dalrymple* for the *Burroughs*. When the King and Queen took the Oaths, the King explained one word in the Oath, by which he was bound *to repress Heresies*, that he did not by this bind himself to persecute any for their Conscience. And now he was King of *Scotland*, as well as of *England* and *Ireland*.

A Ministry
in Scotland.

The first thing to be done was, to form a Ministry in *Scotland*, and a Council; and to send Instructions, for turning the Convention into a Parliament, in which the Duke of *Hamilton* was to represent the King, as his Commissioner. Before the King had left the *Hague*, *Fagel* had so effectually recommended *Dalrymple*, the Father, to him, that he was resolved to rely chiefly on him for advice. And, tho' he had heard great complaints of him, as indeed there was some ground for them, yet, since his Son was sent One of the three, upon so great a Deputation, he concluded from thence that the Family was not so much hated, as he had been informed: So he continued still to be advised by him. The Episcopal Party were afraid of *Montgomery's* being made Secretary, from whom they expected nothing but extream severities: So they set themselves to divert that, and the Lord *Melvil*, who had married the Dutchess of *Monmouth's* Sister, and had continued from 1660 firm to Presbytery, and had been of late forced to leave the Kingdom, was looked on as an easy Man, who would have credit enough to restrain the fury of that Party. So he was made sole Secretary of State; which proved a very unhappy step: for, as he was by his Principle bigotted to Presbytery, and ready to sacrifice every thing to their humours, so he proved to be in all respects a narrow hearted man, who minded his own Interest more, than either that of the King or of his Country. This choice gave a great distaste: And that was followed by a Ministry, in the framing of which he had the chief hand; who were weak and passionate men. All Offices were split into Commissions, that many might have some share: But it rendred them all contemptible: And, tho' *Montgomery* had a considerable Post offered him, yet his missing that he aimed

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at stuck deep, and began to work in him an aversion to the King, which broke out afterwards into much fury and plotting against him. Nor did Duke *Hamilton* think, that he was considered, in the new model of the Ministry, as he deserved, and might justly have expected.

The Parliament there was opened with much ill humour: And they resolved to carry the Redress of Grievances very far. Lord *Melville* hoped to have gained the Presbyterian Party, by sending Instructions to Duke *Hamilton*, to open the Session with an Act in favour of Presbytery: But the Majority resolved to begin with their Temporal concerns. So the first Grievance, to which a Redress was desired, was the Power of the Lords of the Articles; that relating so immediately to the Parliament itself. The King consented to a proper Regulation, as that the number should be enlarged and changed, as often as the Parliament should desire it, and that the Parliament might bring matters before them, tho' they were rejected by the Lords of the Articles. This answered all the just complaints, that had been made of that part of the Constitution: But the King thought it was the Interest of the Crown, to preserve it thus regulated: Yet it was pretended, that, if the name and shadow of that were still kept up, the Parliament would in some time be insensibly brought under all those Restraints, that were now to be provided against. So they moved to take it quite away. Duke *Hamilton* writ long Letters, both to the King and to the Lord *Melville*, giving a full account of the progress of an ill humour, that was got among them, and of the ill consequence it was like to have: But he had no answer from the King: And Lord *Melville* writ him back dark and doubtful orders: So he took little care how matters went, and was not ill pleased to see them go wrong. The Revenue was settled on the King for life: And they raised the money, which was necessary for maintaining a small Force in that Kingdom, tho' the greatest part of an Army of 6000 men was paid by *England*. But even the Presbyterians began to carry their Demands high; They proposed to have the King's Supremacy, and the Right of Patronage taken away: And they asked so high an Authority to their Government, that Duke *Hamilton*, tho' of himself indifferent as to those matters, yet would not agree to them. He thought, these broke in too much on their Temporal concerns; and would establish a Tyranny in Presbytery, that could not be easily born. He writ to me very fully on that head, and I took the liberty to speak sometimes to the King on those subjects; my design being chiefly to shelter the Episcopal Clergy, and to keep the change,

A faction
raised in
Scotland.

1689 that was now to be made, on such a foot, that a door might still be kept open: But Lord *Melville* had possessed the King with a notion, that it was necessary for his service, that the Presbyterians should know, that I did not at all meddle in those matters, otherwise they would take up a jealousy of every thing that was done; and that this might make them carry their demands much further: So I was shut out from all meddling in those matters: And yet I was then, and still continue to be much loaded with this prejudice, that I did not study to hinder those changes, that were then made in *Scotland*. And all the King's enemies in *England* continued still to charge him, for the alterations then made in *Scotland*; tho' it was not possible, had he been ever so zealous for Episcopacy, to have preserved it at that time: And I could do no more than I did, both for the Order itself, and for all those who adhered to it there. A new debate was set on foot in that Parliament, concerning the Judges. By the Law there, when the King names a Judge, he ought to be examined by other Judges, whether he is qualified as the Law directs: But, in the year 1661, because the Bench was to be filled with a new sett of Judges, so that there was none to examine the rest, the nomination the King then made, was read in Parliament: And, no objection being made to any of them, they did upon that sit and act as Judges. It was expected, that the same method should be followed at this time. But instead of that, the King continued such a number of the former Judges, as was sufficient to examine those, who were now to be advanced: So that was ordered to be done. Upon this those, who opposed every thing, pretended, that the Nomination ought to be made in Parliament: And they had prepared Objections against every one, that was upon the List; intending by this to put a publick Affront on one of the First, and most important Actions of the King's Government. Duke *Hamilton* had a positive Instruction sent him, not to suffer this matter to be brought into Parliament: Yet he saw the Party was so set, and so strong, that they had a clear Majority: Nor did he himself very much approve of the Nomination, chiefly that of old *Dalrymple*, soon after made Lord *Stair*, to be President. So he discontinued the Parliament.

A Rising in
Scotland.

But, while those animosities were thus fomented, the Earl of *Dundee* had got together a considerable body of Gentlemen, with some Thousands of Highlanders. He sent several Messengers over to *Ireland*, pressing King *James* to come, either to the North of *England*, or to *Scotland*. But, at the same time

time he desired, that he would not bring the Lord *Melfort* over with him, or employ him more in *Scotch* Business; and that he would be contented with the exercise of his own Religion. It may be easily supposed, that all this went against the grain with King *James*; and that the Lord *Melfort* disparaged all the Earl of *Dundee*'s undertakings. In this he was much supported by the *French* near that King, who had it given them in charge (as a main instruction) to keep him up to a high owning of his Religion, and of all those who were of it; and not to suffer him to enter into any Treaty or Conditions with his Protestant Subjects, by which the Papists should in any sort suffer, or be so much as discouraged. The *Irish* were willing enough to cross the Seas to *England*, but would not consent to the going over to *Scotland*. So the Earl of *Dundee* was furnished with some small store of Arms and Ammunition, and had kind promises, encouraging him, and all that joined with him.

Mackay, a General Officer, that had served long in *Holland* with great reputation, and who was the piouslest man I ever knew, in a Military way, was sent down to command the Army in *Scotland*. He was one of the best Officers of the Age, when he had nothing to do but to obey and execute Orders; for he was both diligent, obliging and brave: But he was not so fitted for command. His Piety made him too apt to mistrust his own Sense, and to be too tender, or rather fearful, in any thing, where there might be a needless effusion of blood. He followed the Earl of *Dundee*'s motions, who was less encumber'd with Cannon and other Baggage, and so marched quicker than it was possible for him to follow: His men were for the most part new-levied, and without experience; but he had some old Bodies, on whom he depended. The heads of the Clanns among the Highlanders, promised to join him: but most of them went to the Earl of *Dundee*. At last, after many marches and motions, they came to an engagement at *Gilliecranky*, some few miles above *Dunkell*: The ground was narrow: And Lord *Dundee* had the advantage: He broke through *Mackay*'s Army, and they ran for it: And probably, if the Earl of *Dundee* had out-lived that day, the Victory might have been pursued far: But a random shot put an end to his life, and to the whole design: For *Mackay* rallied his men, and made such a stand, that the other side fell into great disorder, and could never be formed again into a considerable Body: A Fort was soon after built at *Innerlochy*, which was called *Fort William*, and served to cut off the communication between the Northern and Southern Highlanders.

During

1689

During all these publick disorders, that happen'd in so many different places, the Trade suffered considerably: For the *French*, not setting out a Fleet any more, sent out so many Cruisers and Privateers into our Seas, that *England* thereby suffered great losses; there not being at that time a sufficient number of Frigates to convoy and secure the Merchant-men. We seemed to be Masters at Sea, and yet were great Losers there.

Foreign
Affairs.

Affairs went much better on the *Rhine*. The Imperial Army, commanded by the Duke of *Lorrain*, took *Mentz*, which the *French* had entred, after they took *Philipsburg*: The Siege was slow and long, but prosperous in its conclusion: And by this means *Franconia*, which before lay exposed, was now covered. The Elector of *Brandenburg* came down with an Army, and cleared the Archbishoprick of *Coloign*, which was before possessed by *French* Garrisons. *Keizerwart* and *Bonne* held him some time: but the rest were soon taken. So now the *Rhine* was open all up to *Mentz*. Nothing passed in *Flanders*, where Prince *Waldeck* commanded: And the Campaign ended without any misfortunes on that side.

A jealousy
of the King
spread a-
mong the
English
Clergy.

I now return to the affairs of *England*, during the Recess. The Clergy generally took the Oaths, tho' with too many reservations and distinctions, which laid them open to severe censures, as if they had taken them against their Conscience. The King was suspected by them, by reason of the favour shewed to Dissenters, but chiefly for his abolishing Episcopacy in *Scotland*, and his consenting to the setting up Presbytery there. This gave some credit to the Reports, that were with great industry infused into many of them, of the King's coldness at best, if not his aversion, to the Church of *England*. The leading men in both Universities, chiefly *Oxford*, were possessed with this; And it began to have very ill effects over all *England*. Those who did not carry this so far as to think, as some said they did, that the Church was to be pulled down; yet said, a Latitudinarian Party was like to prevail, and to engross all Preferments. These were thought less bigotted to outward Ceremonies: So now it was generally spread about, that men zealous for the Church would be neglected, and that those who were more indifferent in such matters, would be preferred. Many of the latter had managed the Controversies with the Church of *Rome* with so much clearness, and with that success, that the Papists, to revenge themselves, and to blast those, whom they considered as their most formidable Enemies, had cast aspersions on them as *Socinians*, and as men that denied all Mysteries. And now, some angry men at *Oxford*,

ford, who apprehended that those Divines were likely to be most considered in this Reign, took up the same method of Calumny; and began to treat them as *Socinians*. The Earl of *Clarendon*, and some of the Bishops, who had already incurred the Suspension, for not taking the Oaths to the Government, took much ill-natured pains to spread these Slanders. Six Bishopricks happened to fall within this year: *Salisbury, Chester, Bangor, Worcester, Chichester*, and *Bristol*: So that the King named six Bishops within six months. And the Persons promoted to these Sees were, generally, men of those principles. The proceedings in *Scotland* cast a great load on the King: He could not hinder the change of the Government of that Church, without putting all his affairs in great disorder. The Episcopal Party went almost universally into King *James's* Interests: So that the Presbyterians were the only Party, that the King had in that Kingdom. The King did indeed assure us, and my self in particular, that he would restrain and moderate the violence of the Presbyterians. Lord *Melville* did also promise the same thing very solemnly: And at first he seemed much set upon it. But when he saw so great a Party formed against himself: And, since many of the Presbyterians inclined to favour them, and to set themselves in an opposition to the Court, he thought it was the King's Interest, or at least his own, to engage that Party entirely: And he found nothing could do that so effectually, as to abandon the Ministers of the Episcopal Persuasion to their fury. He set up the Earl of *Crawford*, as the head of his Party; who was passionate in his temper, and was out of measure zealous in his Principles: He was chosen to be the President of the Parliament. He received and encouraged all the complaints, that were made of the Episcopal Ministers: The Convention, when they passed the Votes, declaring the King and Queen, order'd a Proclamation to be read the next Sunday, in all the Churches of *Edinburgh*; and in all the other Churches in the Kingdom, by a certain prefixed day; but which was so near at hand, that it was scarce possible to lay Proclamations, all round the Nation, within the time; and it was absolutely impossible for the Clergy to meet together, and come to any resolution among themselves: For the most part, the Proclamations were not brought to the Ministers till the morning of the Sunday, in which they were ordered to be read; so, this having the face of a great change of Principles, many could not on the sudden resolve to submit to it: Some had not the Proclamations brought to them till the day was past; Many of these read it the Sunday following. Some of

1689

those, who did not think fit to read the Proclamation, yet obeyed it; and continued, after that, to pray for the King and Queen. Complaints were brought to the Council of all those, who had not read nor obeyed the Proclamation; And they were in a summary way deprived of their Benefices. In the executing this, Lord *Crawford* shewed much eagerness and violence. Those who did not read the Proclamation on the day appointed, had no favour, tho' they did it afterwards. And upon any word that fell from them, either in their extemporary Prayers, or Sermons, that shewed disaffection to the Government, they were also deprived: All these things were published up and down *England*, and much aggravated: And raised the aversion, that the friends of the Church had to the Presbyterians so high, that they began to repent their having granted a Toleration to a Party, that, where They prevailed, shewed so much fury against those of the Episcopal Persuasion. So that such of us, as had laboured to excuse the change, that the King was forced to consent to, and had promised in his Name, great Moderation towards our friends in that Kingdom, were much out of countenance, when we saw the Violence with which matters were carried there. These things concurred to give the Clergy such ill impressions of the King, that we had little reason to look for success, in a design that was then preparing for the Convocation, for whom a Summons was issued out to meet, during the next Session of Parliament.

A Comprehension endeavoured.

It was told, in the History of the former Reign, that the Clergy did then express an inclination, to come to a temper with relation to the Presbyterians, and such other Dissenters as could be brought into a Comprehension with the Church: The Bishops had mentioned it in the Petition to King *James*, for which they were tried; And his present Majesty had promised, to endeavour an Union between the Church and the Dissenters, in that Declaration, that he brought over with him: But it seemed necessary to prepare and digest that matter carefully, before it should be offered to the Convocation. Things of such a nature ought to be judged of by a large number of Men; but must be prepared by a smaller number well chosen: Yet it was thought a due respect to the Church, to leave the matter wholly in the hands of the Clergy. So, by a special Commission under the Great Seal, Ten Bishops and Twenty Divines were empowered to meet, and prepare such Alterations, in the Book of Common-Prayer and Canons, as might be fit to lay before the Convocation. This was become necessary, since by the Submission, which the Clergy in Convocation made to King *Henry VIII*, which

was

was confirmed in Parliament, they bound themselves not to attempt any new Canons, without obtaining the King's leave first, and that under the pains of a *Premunire*. It was looked on therefore, as the properest way, to obtain the King's leave, to have a Scheme of the whole matter put in order, by a number of Bishops and Divines: Great care was taken to name these so impartially, that no exceptions could lie against any of them: They, upon this, sat closely to it, for several weeks: They had before them all the Exceptions, that either the Puritans before the War, or the Nonconformists since the Restoration, had made to any part of the Church-Service: They had also many Propositions and Advices that had been offered, at several times, by many of our Bishops and Divines, upon those heads: Matters were well considered, and freely and calmly debated: And all was digested into an entire Correction of every thing, that seemed liable to any just objection: We had some very rigid, as well as very learned men among us; tho' the most rigid, either never came to our Meetings, or they soon withdrew from us, declaring themselves dissatisfied with every thing of that nature; some telling us plainly, that they were against all alterations whatsoever. They thought, too much was already done for the Dissenters, in the Toleration that was granted them; but that they would do nothing to make that still easier. They said further, that the altering the Customs and Constitution of our Church, to gratify a peevish and obstinate Party, was like to have no other effect on them, but to make them more insolent; as if the Church, by offering these Alterations, seemed to confess that she had been hitherto in the wrong. They thought, this attempt would divide us among our selves, and make our People lose their esteem for the Liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted Correction. They also excepted to the manner of preparing matters, by a special Commission, as limiting the Convocation, and imposing upon it: And to load this with a word of an ill sound, they called this a new Ecclesiastical Commission. But in answer to all this, it was said; that, if by a few Corrections or Explanations, we offered all just satisfaction to the chief Objections of the Dissenters, we had reason to hope, that this would bring over many of them, at least of the People, if not of the Teachers among them; or, if the prejudices of education wrought too strongly upon the present Age, yet, if some more sensible objections were put out of the way, we might well hope, that it would have a great effect on the next generation. If these condescensions were made so, as to own, in the way of offering them, that the Nonconformists had been in the right, that might
turn

1689 turn to the reproach of the Church: But, such offers being made only, in regard to their weakness, the reproach fell on them; as the honour accrued to the Church, who shewed her self a true Mother, by her care to preserve her Children. It was not offered, that the ordinary posture, of receiving the Sacrament kneeling, should be changed: That was still to be the received and favoured posture: Only such, as declared they could not overcome their scruples in that matter, were to be admitted to it in another posture. Ritual matters were of their own nature indifferent, and had been always declared to be so: All the necessity of them arose only, from the authority in Church and State, that had enacted them. Therefore it was an unreasonable stiffness, to deny any abatement, or yielding in such matters, in order to the healing the wounds of our Church. Great alterations had been made in such things, in all the Ages of the Church. Even the Church of *Rome* was still making some alterations in her Rituals. And changes had been made among our selves, often since the Reformation, in King *Edward*, Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* the Second's reigns. These were always made upon some great turn: Critical times being the most proper for designs of that kind. The Toleration, now granted, seemed to render it more necessary than formerly, to make the terms of Communion, with the Church, as large as might be; that so we might draw over to us the greater number, from those who might now leave us more safely: And therefore we were to use the more care in order to gaining of them. And, as for the manner of preparing these overtures, the King's Supremacy signify'd little, if he could not appoint a select number to consider of such matters, as he might think fit to lay before the Convocation. This did no way break in upon their full freedom of Debate; it being free to them to reject, as well as to accept, of the Propositions that should be offered to them. But, while men were arguing this matter on both sides, the Party that was now at work for King *James*, took hold of this occasion to enflame mens minds. It was said, the Church was to be pulled down, and Presbytery was to be set up; that all this now in Debate was only intended to divide and distract the Church, and to render it, by that means, both weaker and more ridiculous, while it went off from its former grounds, in offering such concessions. The Universities took fire upon this; and began to declare against it, and against all that promoted it, as men that intended to undermine the Church: Severe Reflections were cast on the King, as being in an Interest contrary to the Church:

Church: For the Church was as the word given out by the Jacobite Party, under which they thought they might more safely shelter themselves: Great canvassings were every where, in the Elections of Convocation-Men; a thing not known in former times: So that it was soon very visible, that we were not in a temper, cool or calm enough, to encourage the further prosecuting such a design.

When the Convocation was opened, the King sent them a Message by the Earl of *Nottingham*, assuring them of his constant Favour and Protection, and desiring them to consider such things, as by his order should be laid before them, with due care, and an impartial zeal for the peace and good of the Church. But the Lower House of Convocation expressed a resolution not to enter into any Debates with relation to alterations: So that they would take no notice of the second part of the King's Message: And it was, not without difficulty, carried to make a decent Address to the King, thanking him for his Promise of Protection. But because, in the draught which the Bishops sent them, they acknowledged the Protection that the Protestant Religion in general, and the Church of *England* in particular, had received from him, the lower House thought, that this imported their owning some common Union with the foreign Protestants: So they would not agree to it. There was at this time but a small number of Bishops in the upper House of Convocation: And they had not their Metropolitan with them: So they had not strength nor authority to set things forward. Therefore they advised the King to suffer the Session to be discontinued. And thus, seeing they were in no disposition to enter upon business, they were kept from doing mischief by Prorogations, for a course of ten years. This was in reality a favour to them; for, ever since the year 1662, the Convocation had indeed continued to sit, but to do no business; so that they were kept at no small charge in Town to do nothing, but only to meet, and read a Latin Litany. It was therefore an ease, to be freed from such an attendance to no purpose. The ill reception, that the Clergy gave the King's message, raised a great and just out-cry against them: Since all the promises made in King *James's* time were now so entirely forgot.

But there was a very happy direction of the Providence of God observed in this matter. The Jacobite Clergy, who were then under Suspension, were designing to make a Schism in the Church, whensoever they should be turned out, and their places should be filled up by others. They saw, it would not be easy to make a Separation upon a private and personal account;

1689
A Convocation met, but would not agree to it.

1689 They therefore wished to be furnished with more specious pretences: And, if we had made alterations in the Rubrick, and other parts of the Common-Prayer, they would have pretended, that they still stuck to the Ancient Church of *England*, in opposition to those who were altering it, and setting up new models: And, as I do firmly believe that there is a wise Providence, that watches upon human affairs, and directs them, chiefly those that relate to Religion; so I have with great pleasure observed this, in many instances relating to the Revolution. And, upon this occasion, I could not but see, that the Jacobites among us, who wished and hoped that we should have made those Alterations, which they reckoned would have been of great advantage for serving their ends, were the instruments of raising such a clamour against them, as prevented their being made. For by all the judgments we could afterwards make, if we had carried a Majority in the Convocation for alterations, they would have done us more hurt than good.

A Session of
Parliament.

I now turn to a more important, as well as a more troublesome scene. In Winter, a Session of Parliament met, full of jealousy and ill humour. The ill conduct of affairs was imputed chiefly to the Lord *Halifax*; so the first attack was made on him. The Duke of *Bolton* made a motion in the House of Lords, for a Committee to examine, who had the chief hand in the Severities and Executions in the end of King *Charles's* reign, and in the *Quo Warranto's*, and the delivering up the Charters: The Enquiry lasted some weeks, and gave occasion to much heat: But nothing appeared that could be proved, upon which Votes or Addresses could have been grounded: Yet the Lord *Halifax* having, during that time, concurred with the Ministry in Council; he saw, it was necessary for him to withdraw now from the Ministers, and quit the Court. And soon after he reconciled himself to the Tories, and became wholly theirs: He opposed every thing that looked favourably towards the Government, and did upon all occasions serve the Jacobites, and protect the whole Party. But the Whigs began to lose much of the King's good opinion, by the heat that they shewed in both Houses against their enemies; and by the coldness that appeared in every thing, that related to the Publick, as well as to the King in his own particular. He expressed an earnest desire to have the Revenue of the Crown settled on him for life: He said, he was not a King, till that was done; Without that, the title of a King was only a pageant. And he spoke of this with more than ordinary vehemence: So that sometimes he said, he would not stay, and hold an empty

empty name, unless that was done: He said once to my self, 1689
He understood the good of a Commonwealth, as well as of a Kingly Government: And it was not easy to determine, which The King grew jealous of the Whigs.
was best: But he was sure, the worst of all Governments was, that of a King without Treasure, and without Power. But a jealousy was now infused into many, that he would grow Arbitrary in his Government, if he once had the Revenue; and would strain for a high stretch of Prerogative, as soon as he was out of difficulties and necessities. Those of the Whigs, who had lived some years at *Amsterdam*, had got together a great many stories, that went about the City, of his fullness, and imperious way of dictating: The *Scotch*, who were now come up, to give an account of the proceedings in Parliament, set about many things that heightened their apprehensions. One *Simpson*, a *Scotch* Presbyterian, was recommended to the Earl of *Portland*, as a man whom he might trust; who would bring him good intelligence: So he was often admitted, and was entertained as a good Spy: But he was in a secret confidence with one *Nevill Payne*, the most active and dextrous of all King *James's* Agents, who had indeed lost the reputation of an honest man entirely: And yet had such arts of management, that even those who knew what he was, were willing to employ him. *Simpson* and he were in a close League together; And he discovered so much of their secretest intelligence to *Simpson*, that he might carry it to the Earl of *Portland*, as made him pass for the best Spy the Court had. When he had gained great credit, he made use of it to infuse into the Earl of *Portland* jealousies of the King's best friends; And, as the Earl of *Portland* hearkned too attentively to these, so by other hands it was conveyed to some of them, that the Court was now become jealous of them, and was seeking Evidence against them.

Sir *James Montgomery* was easily possessed with these reports; and he and some others, by *Payne's* management, fell a treating with King *James's* Party in *England*: They demanded an assurance for the settlement of Presbytery in *Scotland*, and to have the chief Posts of the Government shared among them: Princes in exile are apt to grant every thing that is asked of them; for they know that, if they are restored, they will have every thing in their power: Upon this, they entred into a close Treaty, for the way of bringing all this about. At first they only asked money, for furnishing themselves with Arms and Ammunition; But afterwards they insisted on demanding 3000 men, to be sent over from *Dunkirk*; because, by Duke *Schomberg's* Conspiracy against the Government.

1689 *berg's* being posted in *Ulster*, their communication with *Ireland* was cut off. In order to the carrying on this design, they reconciled themselves to the Duke of *Queensbury*, and the other Lords of the Episcopal party; And on both sides it was given out, that this Union of those, who were formerly such violent Enemies, was only to secure and strengthen their Interest in Parliament: The Episcopal Party pretending, that since the King was not able to protect them, they, who saw themselves marked out for destruction, were to be excused for joining with those, who could secure them. *Simpson* brought an account of all this to the Earl of *Portland*, and was pressed by him to find out witnesses to prove it against *Montgomery*: He carried this to them, and told them, that the whole business was discovered, and that great Rewards were offered to such, as would merit them by swearing against them. With this they alarmed many of their Party, who did not know what was at bottom, and thought that nothing was designed, but an opposition to Lord *Melville* and Lord *Stair*; And they were possessed with a fear, that a new bloody scene of Sham-plots and suborned Witnesses was to be opened. And when it began to be whispered about, that they were in treaty with King *James*, that appeared to be so little credible, that it began to be said, by some discontented men, What could be expected from a Government, that was so soon contriving the ruine of its best Friends? Some feared, that the King himself might too easily receive such Reports; and that the common practices of Ministers, who study to make their Masters believe, that all their own enemies are likewise His, were like to prevail in this reign, as much as they had formerly done. *Montgomery* came to have great credit with some of the Whigs in *England*, particularly with the Earl of *Monmouth*, and the Duke of *Bolton*: And he employed it all, to persuade them not to trust the King, and to animate them against the Earl of *Portland*: This wrought so much, that many were disposed to think, they could have good terms from King *James*: And, that he was now so convinced of former errors, that they might safely trust him. The Earl of *Monmouth* let this out to my self twice; but in a strain that looked like one who was afraid of it, and who endeavoured to prevent it: but he set forth the reasons for it with great advantage, and those against it very faintly. Matters were trusted to *Montgomery* and *Payne*; And *Ferguson* was taken into it, as a man that naturally loved to embroil things. So, a design was managed, first to alienate the City of *London* so entirely from the King, that no Loans might be advanced

advanced on the Money Bills; which, without credit upon 1689 them, could not answer the end, for which they were given. It was set about, that King *James* would give a full Indemnity, for all that was past; and that, for the future, he would separate himself entirely from the *French* Interest, and be contented with a secret connivance at those of his own Religion. It was said, he was weary of the Insolence of the *French* Court, and saw his error, in trusting to it so much as he had done. This corrupted Party had gone so far, that they seemed to fancy, that the restoring him would be not only safe, but happy to the Nation. I confess, it was long before I could let my self think, that the matter was gone so far; But I was at last convinced of it.

I received a Letter from an unknown hand, with a direction how to answer it: The substance of it was, that he could discover a Plot, deeply laid against the King, if he might be assured not to be made a Witness; and to have his friends, who were in it, pardoned: By the King's order, I promised the first; But an indefinite promise of Pardon, was too much to ask: He might, as to that, trust to the King's mercy. Upon this he came to me, and I found he was *Montgomery's* Brother: He told me a Treaty was settled with King *James*; Articles were agreed on; And an Invitation was subscribed, by the whole Cabal, to King *James* to come over: Which was to be sent to the Court of *France*; both because the Communication was easier, and less watched, when it went thro' *Flanders*, than with *Ireland*; And, to let the Court see how strange a Party he had, and by that means to obtain the Supplies and Force that was desired. He said, he saw the writing, and some hands to it; but he knew many more were to sign it; And he undertook to put me in a method to seize on the Original Paper. The King could not easily believe the matter had gone so far; Yet he ordered the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to receive such advices, as I should bring him, and immediately to do what was proper: So a few days after this, *Montgomery* told me, one *Williamson* was that day gone to *Dover*, with the original Invitation: I found the Earl of *Shrewsbury* inclined enough to suspect *Williamson*. He had for some days solicited a Pass for *Flanders*, and had got some persons, of whom it was not proper to shew a Suspicion, to answer for him. So one was sent Post after him, with orders to seize him in his bed, and to take his Clothes and Portmanteau from him, which were strictly examined; But nothing was found: Yet, upon the news of this, the Party was grievously affrighted; But soon recovered themselves: The true

Discovered
to the Au-
thor.

1689 secret of which was afterwards discovered. *Simpson* was (it seems) to go over with *Williamson*; but first to ride to some Houses that were in the way to *Dover*; whereas the other went directly in the Stage-Coach. It was thought safest for *Simpson* to carry these Papers; for there were many different Invitations, as they would not trust their hands to one common paper: *Simpson* came to the House at *Dover*, where *Williamson* was in the Messengers hands: Thereupon he went away immediately to *Deal*, and hired a boat, and got safe to *France* with his Letters. *Montgomery*, finding that nothing was discovered, by the way which he had directed me to, upon that fancied he would be despised by us, and perhaps suspected by his own side; And went over soon after, and turned Papist: But I know not what became of him afterwards. The fear of this Discovery soon went off: *Simpson* came back with large assurances: And 12000 Pounds were sent to the *Scotch*, who undertook to do great matters. All pretended Discoveries were laughed at, and looked on as the fictions of the Court: And upon this, the City of *London* were generally possessed with a very ill opinion of the King. The House of Commons granted the Supplies, that were demanded for the Reduction of *Ireland*, and for the *Quota*, to which the King was obliged by his Alliances: And they continued the gift of the Revenue for another year. But one great error was committed by the Court, in accepting remote Funds; whereby the Interest of the money, then advanced on a Fund, payable at the distance of some years, did not only eat up a great deal of the Sum, but seemed so doubtful, that great Premiums were to be offered to those, who advanced money upon a Security, which was thought very contingent; since few believed that the Government would last so long. So here was a shew of great Supplies, which yet brought not in the half of what they were estimated at.

A Bill concerning Corporations.

The Tories, seeing the Whigs grow fullen, and that they would make no advances of money, began to treat with the Court, and promised great advances, if the Parliament might be dissolved, and a new one be summoned. Those propositions came to be known; so the House of Commons prepared a Bill, by which they hoped to have made sure of all future Parliaments; In it they declared, that Corporations could not be forfeited, nor their Charters surrendered; And they enacted, that all Mayors and Recorders, who had been concerned in the private delivering up of Charters, without the consent of the whole Body, and who had done that in a clandestine manner, before the Judgment that was given against the Charter of

of *London*, should be turned out of all Corporations, and be incapable of bearing Office in them for Six years. This was opposed in the House of Commons, by the whole strength of the Tory Party; for they saw the carrying it was the total ruine of their Interest, thro' the whole Kingdom. They said a great deal against the declaratory part; But whatsoever might be in that, they said, since the thing had been so universal, it seemed hard to punish it with such Severity: It was said, that by this means, the Party for the Church would be disgraced, and that the Corporations would be cast into the hands of Dissenters. And now both Parties made their court to the King; The Whigs promised every thing that he desired, if he would help them to get this Bill passed; And the Tories were not wanting in their promises, if the Bill should be stopp'd, and the Parliament dissolved. The Bill was carried in the House of Commons by a great Majority: When it was brought up to the Lords, the first point in debate was, upon the declaratory part, Whether a Corporation could be forfeited or surrendred; *Holt*, and two other Judges, were for the Affirmative, but all the rest were for the Negative: No Precedents for the Affirmative were brought, higher than the reign of King *Henry VIII*, in which the Abbies were surrendred; which was at that time so great a point of State, that the authority of these Precedents seemed not clear enough for regular times: The House was so equally divided, that it went for the Bill only by one Voice: After which, little doubt was made of the passing the Act. But now the applications of the Tories were much quickned; They made the King all possible promises: And the promoters of the Bill saw themselves exposed to the Corporations, which were to feel the effects of this Bill, so sensibly, that they made as great promises on their part: The matter was now at a critical issue; The passing the Bill put the King and the Nation in the hands of the Whigs; as the rejecting it, and dissolving the Parliament upon it, was such a trusting to the Tories, and such a breaking with the Whigs, that the King was long in suspense what to do.

He was once very near a desperate resolution; He thought, he could not trust the Tories, and he resolved he would not trust the Whigs; So he fancied, the Tories would be true to the Queen, and confide in her, tho' they would not in him. He therefore resolved to go over to *Holland*, and leave the Government in the Queen's hands: So he called the Marquis of *Caermarthen*, with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and some few more, and told them, he had a Convoy ready, and was resolved to leave

1689 leave all in the Queen's hands ; since he did not see how he could
 ~~~~~ extricate himself out of the difficulties, into which the animosities of Parties had brought him : They pressed him vehemently to lay aside all such desperate resolutions, and to comply with the present necessity ; Much passion appeared among them : The Debate was so warm, that many tears were shed ; In conclusion, the King resolved to change his first Design, into another better Resolution of going over in person, to put an end to the War in *Ireland* : This was told me some time after by the Earl of *Sbrewsbury* ; But the Queen knew nothing of it, till she had it from me ; So reserved was the King to her, even in a matter that concerned her so nearly. The King's design, of going to *Ireland*, came to be seen by the Preparations, that were ordered ; But a great Party was formed in both Houses to oppose it : Some did really apprehend the air of *Ireland* would be fatal to so weak a Constitution ; And the Jacobites had no mind that King *James* should be so much pressed, as he would probably be, if the King went against him in person : It was by concert proposed in both Houses, on the same day, to prepare an Address to the King against this Voyage : So the King, to prevent that, came the next day, and prorogued the Parliament ; and that was soon after followed by a Dissolution.

1690  
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 A new Parliament.

This Session had not raised all the money, that was demanded for the following Campaign ; So it was necessary to issue out Writs immediately for a new Parliament. There was a great Struggle all *England* over in Elections ; But the Corporation Bill did so highly provoke all those, whom it was to have disgraced, that the Tories were by far the greater number in the new Parliament. One thing was a part of the Bargain, that the Tories had made, that the Lieutenancy of *London* should be changed : For upon the King's coming to the Crown, he had given a Commission, out of which they were all excluded ; which was such a Mortification to them, that they said, they could not live in the City with credit, unless some of them were again brought into that Commission : The King recommended it to the Bishop of *London*, to prepare a List of those, who were known to be Churchmen, but of the more moderate, and of such as were liable to no just exception ; that so the two Parties in the City might be kept in a Balance : The Bishop brought a List of the most violent Tories in the City, who had been engaged in some of the worst things, that passed in the end of King *Charles's* Reign : A Committee of Council was appointed to examine the List ; But it was so named, that
 they

they approved of it. This was done to the great grief of the Whigs, who said, that the King was now putting himself in his Enemies hands; and that the Arms of the City were now put under a sett of Officers, who, if there was a possibility of doing it without hazard, would certainly use them for King James. This matter was managed by the Marquis of *Caermarthen*, and the Earl of *Nottingham*; but opposed by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who was much troubled at the ill conduct of the Whigs, but much more at this great change in the King's Government. The Elections of Parliament went generally for men, who would probably have declared for King James, if they could have known how to manage matters for him. The King made a change in the Ministry, to give them some satisfaction; The Earls of *Monmouth* and *Warrington* were both dismissed; Other lesser changes were made in inferior places: So that Whig and Tory were now pretty equally mixed; And both studied to court the King, by making advances upon the Money Bills.

The first great Debate arose, in the House of Lords, upon a Bill that was brought in, acknowledging the King and Queen to be their Rightful and Lawful Sovereigns; and declaring all the Acts of the last Parliament to be good and valid. The first part passed, with little contradiction; tho' some excepted to the words *Rightful* and *Lawful*, as not at all necessary. But the second Article bore a long and warm Debate. The Tories offered to enact, that these should be all good Laws, for the time to come, but opposed the doing it in the declaratory way. They said, it was one of the Fundamentals of our Constitution, that no Assembly could be called a Parliament, unless it was called and chosen upon the King's Writ. On the other hand it was said, that whatsoever tended to the calling the authority of that Parliament in question, tended likewise to the weakning of the present Government, and brought the King's Title into question. A real necessity, upon such extraordinary occasions, must supersede Forms of Law: Otherwise the present Government was under the same Nullity. Forms were only Rules for peaceable times: But, in such a juncture, when all that had a right to come, either in person, or by their Representatives, were summoned, and freely elected; and when, by the King's Consent, the Convention was turned to a Parliament, the essentials, both with relation to King and People, were still maintained in the Constitution of that Parliament. After a long debate, the Act passed in the House of Lords, with this temper, declaring and enacting, that the Acts of that Parliament were and are good and valid: Many Lords protesting against it, at the head of whom

A Bill recognizing the King, Queen, and the Acts of the Convention.

1690 was the Earl of *Nottingham*, notwithstanding his great Office at Court. It was expected, that great and long Debates should have been made in the House of Commons upon this Act. But, to the wonder of all People, it passed in two days in that House, without any Debate or Opposition. The truth was, the Tories had resolved to commit the Bill; and in order to that, some trifling exceptions were made to some words, that might want correction; for Bills are not committed, unless some amendments are offered: And, when it was committed, it was then resolved to oppose it. But one of them discovered this too early; for he questioned the Legality of the Convention, since it was not summoned by Writ: *Somers*, then Solicitor General, answered this with great spirit; He said, if that was not a Legal Parliament, they who were then met, and had taken the Oaths, enacted by that Parliament, were guilty of High Treason; the Laws repealed by it were still in force, so they must presently return to King *James*; All the money levied, collected, and paid, by virtue of the Acts of that Parliament, made every one that was concerned in it highly criminal: This he spoke with much zeal, and such an ascendant of Authority, that none was prepared to answer it; So the Bill passed without any more opposition. This was a great service, done in a very critical time, and contributed not a little to raise *Somers's* character.

The Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir *John Trevor*, was a bold and dextrous man; and knew the most effectual ways of recommending himself to every Government: He had been in great favour in King *James's* time, and was made Master of the Rolls by him; And, if Lord *Jefferies* had stuck at any thing, he was looked on as the man, likeliest to have had the Great Seal: He now got himself to be chosen Speaker, and was made First Commissioner of the Great Seal: Being a Tory in principle, he undertook to manage that Party, provided he was furnished with such sums of money, as might purchase some Votes; And by him began the practice of buying off men, in which hitherto the King had kept to stricter rules. I took the liberty once to complain to the King of this method; He said, he hated it as much as any man could do; But he saw, it was not possible, considering the Corruption of the Age, to avoid it, unless he would endanger the whole.

The Revenue given for years.

The House of Commons gave the King the Customs for five years, which they said made it a surer Fund, for borrowing money upon, than if they had given it for life: The one was subject to accidents, but the other was more certain. They also continued

continued the other branches of the Revenue for the same number of years. It was much pressed to have it settled for life; But it was taken up as a general maxim, that a Revenue for a certain and short term, was the best security that the Nation could have for frequent Parliaments. The King did not like this; He said to my self, why should they entertain a jealousy of him, who came to save their Religion and Liberties; when they trusted King *James* so much, who intended to destroy both? I answered, they were not jealous of him, but of those who might succeed him; And if he would accept of the Gift for a term of years, and settle the Precedent, he would be reckoned the Deliverer of succeeding Ages, as well as of the present; And, it was certain, that King *James* would never have run into those Counsels that ruined him, if he had obtained the Revenue only for a short term; which probably would have been done, if *Argyle's* and *Monmouth's* Invasions had not so over-awed the House, that it would then have looked like being in a Conspiracy with them, to have opposed the King's demand: I saw the King was not pleased, tho' he was persuaded to accept of the Grant, thus made him. The Commons granted a Poll Bill, with some other Supplies, which they thought would answer all the occasions of that year: But as, what they gave, did not quite come up to what was demanded; So when the Supply was raised, it came far short of what they estimated it at. So that there were great Deficiencies to be taken care of, in every Session of Parliament: which run up every year, and made a great noise, as if the Nation was, thro' mismanagement, running into a great Arrear. An Act passed in this Session, putting the Administration in the Queen, during the King's absence out of the Kingdom; but with this Proviso, that the Orders which the King sent should always take place. In all this Debate, the Queen seemed to take no notice of the matter, nor of those who had appeared for it, or against it: The House of Commons, to the great grief of the Whigs, made an Address to the King, thanking him for the Alterations he had made in the Lieutenancy of *London*.

But the greatest Debate in this Session, was concerning an Abjuration of King *James*; some of the Tories were at first for it, as were all the Whigs: The Clergy were excepted out of it, to soften the opposition that might be made; But still the main body of the Tories declared, they would never take any such Oath; So they opposed every step that was made in it, with a great copiousness of long and vehement arguing: They insisted much on this; that when the Government was settled,

Oaths

Debates for
and against
an Abjura-
tion of King
James.

1690 Oaths were made to be the Ties of the Subject to it, and that all new Impositions were a Breach made on That, which might be called the Original Contract of the present Settlement: Things of that kind ought to be fixed and certain, and not mutable and endless; By the same reason, that the Abjuration was now proposed, another Oath might be prepared every year; and every Party, that prevailed in Parliament, would bring in some discriminating Oath or Test, such as could only be taken by those of their own side; And thus the largeness and equality of Government would be lost, and contracted into a Faction. On the other side it was said, that this was only intended to be a security to the Government, during the War; For, in such a time it seemed necessary, that all who were employed by the Government, should give it all possible security: It was apparent, that the comprehensive Words in the Oaths of Allegiance had given occasion to much equivocation; Many who had taken them having declared, which some had done in print, that they considered themselves as bound by the Oaths, only while the King continued in peaceable possession; but not to assist or support his Title, if it was attacked or shaken; It was therefore necessary, that men in publick Trusts should be brought under stricter Ties. The Abjuration was debated in both Houses, at the same time; I concurred with those that were for it. The Whigs pressed the King to set it forward; They said, every one who took it, would look on himself as impardonable, and so would serve him with the more Zeal and Fidelity; whereas those, that thought the Right to the Crown was still in King *James*, might perhaps serve faithfully as long as the Government stood firm; but, as they kept still measures with the other side, to whom they knew they would be always welcome, so they would never act with that life and zeal, which the present state of affairs required. At the same time, the Tories were as earnest in pressing the King to stop the further progress of those Debates: Much time was already lost in them; And it was evident, that much more must be lost, if it was intended to carry it on, since so many branches of this Bill, and incidents that arose upon the subject of it, would give occasion to much heat and wrangling: And it was a doubt, whether it would be carried, after all the time that must be bestowed on it, or not: Those who opposed it would grow sullen, and oppose every thing else that was moved for the King's service: And, if it should be carried, it would put the King again into the hands of the Whigs, who would immediately return to their old practices, against the

the Prerogative; And it would drive many into King *James's* 1690 Party, who might otherwise stick firm to the King, or at least be Neutrals: These reasons prevailed with the King, to order an Intimation to be given in the House of Commons, that he desired they would let that Debate fall, and go to other matters, that were more pressing.

This gave a new disgust to the Whigs, but was very acceptable to the Tories; And it quickned the advances of Money upon the Funds that were given: It had indeed a very ill effect abroad; For both friends and enemies looked on it, as a sign of a great decline in the King's Interest with his people: And the King's interposing, to stop further Debates in the matter, was represented, as an artifice only to save the affront of its being rejected. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was at the head of those who pressed the Abjuration most; So, upon this change of Counsels, he thought, he could not serve the King longer with reputation or success: He saw the Whigs, by using the King ill, were driving him into the Tories; and he thought, these would serve the King with more zeal, if he left his Post. The credit, that the Marquis of *Caermarthen* had gained, was not easy to him: So he resolved to deliver up the Seals. I was the first Person, to whom he discovered this; And he had them in his hands, when he told me of it; Yet I prevailed with him not to go that night; He was in some heat. I had no mind, that the King should be surpris'd, by a thing of that kind; and I was afraid, that the Earl of *Shrewsbury* might have said such things to Him, as should have provoked him too much; So I sent the King word of it. It troubled him more than, I thought, a thing of that sort could have done; He loved the Earl of *Shrewsbury*; And apprehended, that his leaving his service at this time, might alienate the Whigs more entirely from him; For now they, who thought him before of too cold a Temper, when they saw how firm he was, came to consider and trust him more than ever. The King sent *Tillotson*, and all those, who had most credit with the Earl, to divert him from his Resolution: But all was to no purpose. The agitation of mind, that this gave him, threw him into a Fever, which almost cost him his life. The King pressed him to keep the Seals, till his return from *Ireland*, tho' he should not act as Secretary; But he could not be prevailed on. The Debate, for the Abjuration, lasted longer in the House of Lords; it had some Variation, from that which was propos'd in the House of Commons: and was properly an Oath of a special Fidelity to the King, in opposition to King *James*: The Tories offer'd, in Bar to

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* left the Court.

1690 this, a Negative Engagement, against assisting King *James*, or any of his Instruments, knowing them to be such, with severe Penalties on such as should refuse it. In opposition to this, it was said, this was only an expedient to secure all King *James's* Party, whatever should happen; since it left them the entire merit of being still in his Interests, and only restrained them from putting any thing to hazard for him. The House was so near an equality, in every Division, that what was gained in one Day, was lost in the next; And by the heat and length of those Debates, the Session continued till *June*. A Bill, projected by the Tories, passed, relating to the City of *London*, which was intended, to change the hands that then governed it; But thro' the haste or weakness of those who drew it, the Court of Aldermen was not comprehended in it; So, by this Act, the Government of the City was fixed in their hands: And they were generally Whigs. Many discoveries were made of the practices from *St. Germain's* and *Ireland*; But few were taken up upon them: And those were too inconsiderable, to know more than, that many were provided with Arms and Ammunition, and that a method was projected, for bringing men together upon a call. And indeed things seemed to be in a very ill disposition, towards a fatal Turn.

The King's
sense of Af-
fairs.

The King was making all possible haste to open the Campaign, as soon as things could be ready for it, in *Ireland*: The day before he set out, he called me into his Closet; He seemed to have a great weight upon his spirits, from the state of his affairs, which was then very cloudy: He said, for his own part, he trusted in God, and would either go thro' with his business, or perish in it: He only pitied the poor Queen, repeating that twice with great tenderness, and wished, that those who loved him, would wait much on her, and assist her: He lamented much the factions and the heats that were among us, and that the Bishops and Clergy, instead of allaying them, did rather foment and inflame them: But he was pleased to make an exception of my self: He said, the going to a Campaign was naturally no unpleasant thing to him: He was sure, he understood that better, than how to govern *England*: He added, that, tho' he had no doubt nor mistrust of the cause he went on, yet the going against King *James*, in person, was hard upon him, since it would be a vast trouble both to himself and to the Queen, if he should be either killed or taken Prisoner: He desired my Prayers, and dismissed me, very deeply affected with all he had said.

I had a particular occasion to know, how tender he was of 1690
King *James's* person, having learnt an instance of it from the ^{The King's} first hand: A proposition was made to the King, that a third ^{tenderness} Rate Ship, well mann'd by a faithful Crew, and commanded ^{for King} by One, who had been well with King *James*, but was such ^{James's} a one as the King might trust, should sail to *Dublin*, and declare for King *James*. The person, who told me this, offered to be the man, that should carry the message to King *James*, (for he was well known to him) to invite him to come on Board, which he seemed to be sure he would accept of; and, when he was aboard, they should sail away with him, and land him either in *Spain* or *Italy*, as the King should desire; and should have twenty thousand Pounds to give him, when he should be set ashore: The King thought it was a well formed design, and likely enough to succeed; But would not hearken to it: He said he would have no hand in Treachery: And King *James* would certainly carry some of his Guards, and of his Court aboard with him: And probably they would make some opposition; And in the struggle, some accident might happen to King *James's* Person; In which he would have no hand. I acquainted the Queen with this; And I saw in her a great tenderness for her Father's Person; And she was much touched with the answer the King had made.

He had a quick passage to *Ireland*, where matters had been ^{The King} kept, in the state they were in, all this Winter; *Charlemont* was ^{failed to} reduced, which was the only place in *Ulster*, that was then left ^{Ireland.} in King *James's* hands. The King had a great Army; There were about 36,000 men, all in good plight, full of heart and zeal; He lost no time, but advanced in six days from *Belfast*, where he landed, to the River of *Boyne*, near *Drogheda*. King *James* had abandoned the Passes, between *Newry* and *Dundalk*, which are so strait for some miles, that it had been easy to have disputed every inch of ground; King *James* and his Court were so much lifted up, with the news of the Debates in Parliament, and of the distractions of the City of *London*, that they flattered themselves with false hopes, that the King durst not leave *England*, nor venture over to *Ireland*: He had been six days come, before King *James* knew any thing of it. Upon that, he immediately passed the *Boyne*, and lay on the South side of it. His Army consisted of 26,000 men; His Horse were good; And he had 5000 *French* Foot, for whom he had sent over, in exchange, 5000 *Irish* Foot. He held some Councils of War, to consider what was fit to be done; whether he should make a stand there, and put all to the decision of a Battle,

1690 Battle, or if he should march off, and abandon that River, and by consequence all the countrey on to *Dublin*.

Advices
given to
King
James.

All his Officers, both *French* and *Irish*, who disagreed almost in all their advices, yet agreed in this, that, tho' they had there a very advantageous Post to maintain, yet their Army being so much inferior, both in number, and in every thing else, they would put too much to hazard, if they should venture on a Battle. They therefore proposed the strengthening their Garrisons, and marching off to the *Shannon* with the Horse, and a small body of Foot, till they should see how matters went at Sea: For the *French* King had sent them assurances, that he would, not only set out a great Fleet, but that, as soon as the Squadron that lay in the *Irish* Seas, to guard the Transport Fleet, and to secure the King's passage over, should sail into the Channel, to join our Grand Fleet, he would then send into the *Irish* Seas a Fleet of small Fregats and Privateers, to destroy the King's Transports. This would have been fatal, if it had taken effect; And the executing of it seemed easy and certain. It would have shut up the King within *Ireland*, till a new Transport Fleet could have been brought thither, which would have been the work of some months: So that *England* might have been lost, before he could have passed the Seas with his Army. And the destruction of his Transports must have ruined his Army: For his Stores, both of Bread and Ammunition, were still on Board; and they sailed along the Coast, as he advanced on his march: Nor was there, in all that Coast, a safe Port to cover and secure them. The King indeed reckoned, that by the time the Squadron, which lay in the *Irish* Seas, should be able to join the rest of the Fleet, they would have advanced, as far as the Chops of the Channel, where they would guard both *England* and *Ireland*: But things went far otherwise.

The Queen
in the Ad-
ministration.

The Queen was now in the Administration. It was a new scene to her; She had, for above sixteen months, made so little figure in Business, that those, who imagined, that every Woman of sense loved to be meddling, concluded that she had a small proportion of it, because she lived so abstracted from all Affairs. Her behaviour was indeed very exemplary; She was exactly regular, both in her private and publick devotions: She was much in her closet, and read a great deal; She was often busy at work, and seemed to employ her time and thoughts, in any thing, rather than matters of State; Her conversation was lively and obliging; Every thing in her was easy and natural; She was singular in great Charities to the Poor; of whom

whom, as there are always great numbers about Courts, so the 1690
crouds of Persons of Quality, that had fled over from *Ireland*,
drew from her liberal Supplies: All this was nothing to the Pub-
lick. If the King talked with her of Affairs, it was in so pri-
vate a way, that few seemed to believe it; The Earl of *Shrews-*
bury told me, that the King had; upon many Occasions, said to
him, that tho' he could not hit on the right way of pleasing
England, he was confident she would; and that we should all be
very happy under her. The King named a Cabinet Council of
eight Persons, on whose Advice she was chiefly to rely; four of
them were Tories, and four were Whigs: Yet the Marquiss of
Caermarthen and the Earl of *Nottingham*, being of the first sort,
who took most upon them, and seemed to have the greatest
credit, the Whigs were not satisfied with the Nomination. The
Queen balanced all things, with an extraordinary Temper; and
became universally beloved and admired by all about her.

Our concerns at Sea were then the chief thing to be looked to: Affairs at Sea.
An unhappy Complement, of sending a Fleet to convoy a Queen
to *Spain*, proved almost fatal to us. They were so long delay'd
by contrary Winds, that a design of blocking up *Toulon*, was
lost by it. The great Ships, that lay there, had got out before
our Fleet could reach the place. Our Squadron returned back,
and went into *Plymouth* to refit there: and it was joined by that,
which came from the *Irish* Seas. These two Squadrons consisted
of above thirty Ships of the line: The Earl of *Torrington*, that
had the chief command, was a man of pleasure, and did not
make the haste that was necessary, to go about and join them:
Nor did the *Dutch* Fleet come over so soon as was promised: So
that our main Fleet lay long at *Spithead*. The *French* under-
stood, that our Fleets lay thus divided, and saw the advantage
of getting between them: So they came into the Channel, with
so fair a Wind, that they were near the Isle of *Wight*, before
our Fleet had any advice, of their being within the Channel.
The Earl of *Torrington* had no advice Boats out to bring him
News; And tho' notice thereof was sent post over Land, as
soon as the *French* came within the Channel, yet their Fleet sailed
as fast, as the Post could ride: But then the Wind turned upon
them; otherwise they would, in all probability, have surpris'd us.
But after this first advantage, the Winds were always contrary to
them, and favourable to us. So that the *French* Officers in *Ire-*
land, had reason to look for that Fleet of smaller Vessels, which
was promised to be sent, to destroy the King's Transport Ships.
And for these reasons, all King *James's* Officers were against
bringing the War, to so speedy a decision.

1690

~~~~~ In opposition to all their Opinions, King *James* himself was positive, that they must stay and defend the *Boyne*: If they marched off and abandoned *Dublin*, they would so lose their reputation, that the people would leave them, and capitulate; It would also dispirit all their Friends in *England*: Therefore he resolved to maintain the Post he was in, and seemed not a little pleased to think, that he should have one fair Battle for his Crown. He spoke of this with so much seeming pleasure, that many about him apprehended, that he was weary of the struggle, and even of Life, and longed to see an end of it at any rate: and they were afraid that he would play the Heroe a little too much. He had all the advantages he could desire: The River was deep, and rose very high with the Tide: There was a Morass to be pass'd, after the passing the River, and then a rising ground.

A Cannon  
Ball wound-  
ed the King.

On the last of *June*, the King came to the Banks of the River: And as he was riding along, and making a long stop in one place, to observe the Grounds, the Enemy did not lose their opportunity, but brought down two pieces of Cannon: And, with the first firing, a Ball passed along the King's Shoulder, tore off some of his Cloaths, and about a hand-breadth of the Skin, out of which about a spoonful of Blood came. And that was all the harm it did him. It cannot be imagined, how much terror this struck into all, that were about him: He himself said, it was nothing: Yet he was prevailed on to alight, till it was washed, and a plaister put upon it, and immediately he mounted his Horse again, and rode about all the Posts of his Army: It was indeed necessary to shew himself every where, to take off the apprehensions, with which such an unusual accident filled his Soldiers. He continued that day, nineteen hours on horseback: But upon his first alighting from his horse, a Deserter had gone over to the Enemy with the news, which was carried quickly into *France*, where it was taken for granted, that he could not out-live such a Wound: So it ran over that Kingdom, that he was dead. And upon it, there were more publick rejoicings, than had been usual upon their greatest Victories: Which gave that Court afterwards a vast Confusion, when they knew that he was still alive; and saw, that they had raised, in their own people, a high opinion of him, by this inhumane joy, when they believed him dead.

But, to return to the action of the *Boyne*: The King sent a great body of Cavalry, to pass the River higher, while he resolved to pass it in the face of the Enemy: And the Duke of *Schomberg* was to pass it in a third place, a little below him. I will



will not enter into the particulars of that day's action, but leave that to Military men. 1690

It was a compleat Victory: And those, who were the least disposed to Flattery, said, it was almost wholly due to the King's Courage and Conduct. And, tho' he was a little stiff by reason of his Wound, yet he was forced to quit his Horse in the Morass, and to go through it on foot: But he came up in time, to ride almost into every body of his Army: He charged in many different places; And nothing stood before him. The *Irish* Horse made some resistance, but the Foot threw down their Arms, and ran away. The most amazing Circumstance was, that King *James* staid all the while with his Guards, at a safe distance, and never came into the places of Danger or of Action. But, when he saw his Army was every where giving ground, was the first that ran for it, and reached *Dublin*, before the action was quite over; for it was dark before the King forsook the pursuit of the *Irish*. His Horse and Dragoons were so weary, with the fatigue of a long action, in a hot day, that they could not pursue far: nor was their Camp furnished with necessary refreshments, till next morning; for the King had marched faster, than the waggons could possibly follow. The Army of the *Irish* was so entirely forsaken by their Officers, that the King thought they would have dispersed themselves, and submitted; and that the following them would have been a mere butchery, which was a thing he had always abhorred. The only allay to this Victory was the loss of the Duke of *Schomberg*: He passed the River in his Station, and was driving the *Irish* before him, when a party of desperate men set upon him, as he was riding very carelessly, with a small number about him. They charged, and in the disorder of that Action he was shot: But it could not be known by whom; for most of all the Party was cut off. Thus that great man, like another *Epaminondas*, fell on the day, on which his side triumphed.

King *James* came to *Dublin*, under a very indecent Confession; He said, all was lost; He had an Army in *England*, that could have fought, but would not: and now he had an Army, that would have fought, but could not. This was not very gratefully, nor decently spoken by him, who was among the first that fled. Next morning he left *Dublin*; He said, too much Blood had been already shed; It seemed, God was with their Enemies; The Prince of *Orange* was a merciful Man; So he ordered those, he left behind him, to set the Prisoners at liberty, and to submit to the Prince: He rode that day from *Dublin* to *Duncannon* Fort: But, tho' the place was considerably

The Battle  
of the  
*Boyne*.



1690

bly strong, he would not trust to that, but lay aboard a *French* Ship, that anchored there, and had been provided, by his own special directions to Sir *Patrick Trant*. His Courage sunk with his Affairs, to a degree, that amazed those, who had known the former Parts of his Life. The *Irish* Army was forsaken by their Officers for two days: If there had been a hot pursuit, it would have put an end to the War of *Ireland*: But the King thought his first care ought to be to secure *Dublin*: And King *James's* Officers, as they abandoned it, went back to the Army, only in hopes of a good Capitulation. *Dublin* was thus forsaken; and no harm done, which was much apprehended: But the fear the *Irish* were in was such, that they durst not venture on any thing, which must have drawn severe revenges after it. So the Protestants there, being now the Masters, they declared for the King. *Drogheda* did also Capitulate.

The Battle  
of *Flerus*.

But, to balance this great success, the King had, the very day after the Battle at the *Boyne*, the news of a Battle fought in *Flanders*, between Prince *Waldeck* and the Marshal *Luxembourg*, in which the former was defeated. The Cavalry did at the first charge run, but the Foot made an amazing stand. The *French* had the honour of a Victory, and took many Prisoners, with the Artillery: Yet the stand the Infantry made was such, that they lost more than they got by the day: Nor were they able to draw any advantage from it. This was the Battle of *Flerus*, that, in the Consequence of it, proved the means of preserving *England*.

An Engage-  
ment at Sea,

On the day before the Battle of the *Boyne*, the two Fleets came to a great Engagement at Sea. The Squadron, that lay at *Plymouth*, could not come up to join the great Fleet, the Wind being contrary; So it was under debate, what was fittest to be done: The Earl of *Torrington* thought he was not strong enough, and advised his coming in, till some more Ships, that were fitting out, should be ready: Some began to call his courage in question, and imputed this to fear; They thought, this would too much exalt our Enemies, and discourage our Allies, if we left the *French* to triumph at Sea, and to be the masters of our Coast and Trade; For our Merchants richest Ships were coming home; So that the leaving them, in such a superiority, would be both very unbecoming, and very mischievous to us. The Queen ordered *Russel* to advise, both with the Navy Board, and with all that understood Sea affairs; And, upon a view of the strength of both Fleets, they were of opinion, that tho' the *French* were superior in Number, yet our Fleet was so equal in strength to them, that it was reasonable to send orders to



to our Admiral, to venture on an Engagement: Yet the Orders were not so positive, but that a great deal was left to a Council of War. The two Fleets engaged near *Beachy* in *Sussex*; The *Dutch* led the Van; and, to shew their courage, they advanced too far out of the Line, and fought, in the beginning, with some advantage, the *French* plying before them; And our Blue Squadron engaged bravely: But the Earl of *Torrington* kept in his Line, and continued to fight at a distance: The *French*, seeing the *Dutch* came out so far before the Line, fell on them furiously, both in front and flank, which the Earl of *Torrington* neglected for some time; And, when he endeavoured to come a little nearer, the calm was such, that he could not come up. The *Dutch* suffered much; and their whole Fleet had perished, if their Admiral, *Calembourg*, had not ordered them to drop their Anchors, while their Sails were all up; This was not observed by the *French*: So they were carried by the Tide, while the others lay still; And thus in a few minutes the *Dutch* were out of danger. They lost many men, and sunk some of their Ships, which had suffered the most, that they might not fall into the Enemies hands. It was now necessary to order the Fleet to come in, with all possible haste; Both the *Dutch* and the Blue Squadron complained much of the Earl of *Torrington*; And it was a general opinion, that if the whole Fleet had come up to a close Fight, we must have beat the *French*: And, considering how far they were from *Brest*, and that our Squadron at *Plymouth* lay between them and home, a Victory might have had great consequences. Our Fleet was now in a bad condition, and broken into factions; And if the *French* had not lost the night's Tide, but had followed us close, they might have destroyed many of our Ships: Both the Admirals were almost equally blamed; Ours for not fighting, and the *French* for not pursuing his Victory.

Our Fleet came in safe; And all possible diligence was used in refitting it: The Earl of *Torrington* was sent to the Tower, and Three of our best Sea Officers had the joint command of the Fleet; But it was a Month before they could set out; And, in all that time, the *French* were masters of the Sea, and our Coasts were open to them. If they had followed the first consternation, and had fallen to the burning our Sea Towns, they might have done us much mischief, and put our affairs in great disorder; for we had not above seven thousand men then in *England*. The Militia was raised, and suspected persons were put in prison: In this melancholy conjuncture, tho' the Harvest drew on, so that it was not convenient for people, to be long absent

The *French*  
masters of  
the Sea.



1690

from their labour, yet the Nation expressed more zeal and affection to the Government, than was expected; And the Jacobites, all *England* over, kept out of the way, and were afraid of being fallen upon by the Rabble. We had no great losses at Sea: for most of our Merchant-men came safe into *Plymouth*: The *French* stood over, for some time, to their own Coast; And we had many false alarms of their shipping Troops, in order to a Descent. But they had suffered so much, in the Battle at *Flerus*, and the *Dutch* used such diligence, in putting their Army in a condition to take the Field again, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, bringing his Troops to act in conjunction with theirs, gave the *French* so much work, that they were forced, for all their Victory, to lie upon the defensive, and were not able to spare so many men, as were necessary for an Invasion. The *Dutch* did indeed send positive orders to Prince *Waldeck*, not to hazard another Engagement, till the Fleet should be again at Sea: This restrained the Elector, who, in conjunction with the *Dutch*, was much superior to *Luxembourg*: And afterwards, when the *Dutch* superseded those Orders, the Elector did not think fit to hazard his Army. Such is the fate of Confederate Armies, when they are under a different direction; that when the one is willing, or at least seems to be so, the other stands off. The *French* riding so long, so quietly in our Seas, was far from what might have been expected, after such an advantage: We understood afterwards, that they were still waiting, when the Jacobites should, according to their promises, have begun a Rising in *England*; But they excused their failing in that, because their Leaders were generally clapp'd up.

That Party began to boast, all *England* over, that it was visible the *French* meant no harm to the Nation; but only to bring back King *James*; since now, tho' our Coasts lay open to them, they did us no harm. And this might have made some impression, if the *French* had not effectually refuted it. Their Fleet lay for some days in *Torbay*; Their Equipages were weakned; And by a vessel, that carried a Pacquet from *Tourville*, to the Court of *France*, which was taken, it appeared, that they were then in so bad a condition, that if our Fleet (which upon this was hastened out all that was possible) could have overtaken them, we should have got a great Victory very cheap. But before they failed, they made a Descent on a miserable Village, called *Tinnmouth*, that happen'd to belong to a Papist; They burnt it, and a few Fisher-Boats that belonged to it; But the Inhabitants got away; and, as a Body of Militia was marching thither, the *French* made great haste back to their Ships: The



## of K. WILLIAM and Q. MARY.

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The *French* published this in their Gazettes, with much pomp, 1690 as if it had been a great Trading Town, that had many Ships, with some Men of War in Port: This both render'd them ridiculous, and served to raise the hatred of the Nation against them; for every Town, on the Coast, saw what they must expect, if the *French* should prevail.

In all this time of fear and disorder, the Queen shewed an extraordinary firmness; For tho' she was full of dismal thoughts, yet she put on her ordinary cheerfulness, when she appeared in publick, and shewed no indecent concern: I saw her all that while once a week; For I staid that Summer at *Windsor*; Her behaviour was, in all respects, heroical: She apprehended the greatness of our danger; But she committed herself to God; And was resolved to expose herself, if occasion should require it; For she told me, she would give me leave to wait on her, if she was forced to make a Campaign in *England*, while the King was in *Ireland*.

The Queen's  
behaviour  
upon this  
occasion.

Whilst the misfortunes in *Flanders*, and at Sea, were putting us in no small agitation, the news first of the King's preservation from the Cannon ball, and then of the Victory, gained the day after, put another face on our Affairs: The Earl of *Nottingham* told me, that when he carried the news to the Queen, and acquainted her in a few words, that the King was well; that he had gained an entire Victory; and that the late King had escaped; he observed her Looks, and found that the last Article made her joy compleat, which seemed in some suspense, till she understood that. The Queen and Council, upon this, sent to the King, pressing him to come over with all possible haste; since, as *England* was of more importance, so the state of Affairs required his Presence here: For it was hoped, the Reduction of *Ireland* would be now easily brought about. The King, as he received the news of the Battle of *Flerus*, the day after the Victory at the *Boyne*, so on the day, in which he entred *Dublin*, he had the news of the misfortune at Sea, to temper the joy, that his own Successes might give him; He had taken all the Earl of *Tyrconnel's* papers in the Camp; And he found all King *James's* papers, left behind him in *Dublin*: By these he understood the design, the *French* had of burning his Transport Fleet, which was therefore first to be taken care of; And since the *French* were now Masters at Sea, he saw nothing that could hinder the execution of that Design.

The King  
came to  
*Dublin*.

Among the Earl of *Tyrconnel's* papers, there was one Letter writ to Queen *Mary* at *St. Germain's*, the night before the Battle; But it was not sent. In it, he said, he looked on all as lost; And

A design to  
assassinate  
the King.



1690 And ended it thus; *I have now no hope in any thing but in Jones's business.* The Marquis of *Caermarthen* told me, that some weeks before the King went to *Ireland*, he had received an advertisement, that one named *Jones*, an *Irish* man, who had served so long in *France* and *Holland*, that he spoke both Languages well, was to be sent over to murder the King. And Sir *Robert Southwell* told me, that he, as Secretary of State for *Ireland*, had looked into all *Tyrconnel's* papers, and the copies of the Letters he wrote to Queen *Mary*, which he had still in his possession: And he gave me the Copies of two of them. In one of these he writes, that *Jones* was come; that his proposition was more probable, and liker to succeed, than any yet made; His demands were high; but he added, *if any thing can be high for such a service.* In another he writes, that *Jones* had been with the King, who did not like the thing at first; But he added, we have now so satisfied him both in Conscience and Honour, that every thing is done that *Jones* desires. *Southwell* further told me, that *Deagle*, the Attorney-General, had furnished him with money, and a Poignard of a particular composition; and that they sought long for a Bible, bound without a Common Prayer Book, which he was to carry in his pocket, that so he might pass, if seized on, for a Dissenter. Some persons of great quality waited on him to the Boat, that was to carry him over: He was for some time delayed in *Dublin*; and the King had passed over to *Ireland*, before he could reach him; We could never hear of him more; So it is likely he went away with his money. A paper was drawn of all this matter, and designed to be published; But, upon second thoughts, the King and Queen had that tenderness for King *James*, that they stopp'd the publishing to the world so shameful a practice. The King said, upon this, to my self, that God had preserved him out of many dangers, and he trusted he would still preserve him; He was sure he was not capable of retaliating in that way. The escape of a Cannon Ball, that touched him, was so signal, that it swallowed up lesser ones: Yet, in the Battle at the *Boyne*, a Musket Ball struck the Heel of his Boot, and recoiling, killed a Horse near him; And one of his own men, mistaking him for an Enemy, came up to shoot him: but he gently put by his pistol, and only said, *Do not you know your friends?*

At *Dublin* he published a Proclamation of Grace, offering, to all the inferior sort of the *Irish*, their Lives and personal Estates, reserving the consideration of the real Estates of the better sort to a Parliament, and indemnifying them only for their  
Lives:



Lives : It was hoped, that the fulness of the pardon of the Commons might have separated them from the Gentry ; and that, by this means, they would be so forsaken, that they would accept of such terms, as should be offered them. The King had intended to have made the Pardon more comprehensive ; hoping, by that, to bring the War soon to an end : But the *English* in *Ireland* opposed this. They thought the present opportunity was not to be let go, of breaking the great *Irish* Families, upon whom the inferior sort would always depend. And, in compliance with them, the Indemnity, now offered, was so limited, that it had no effect : For the Priests, who governed the *Irish* with a very blind and absolute authority, prevailed with them to try their fortunes still. The news of the Victory, the *French* had at Sea, was so magnified among them, that they made the people believe, that they would make such a Descent upon *England*, as must oblige the King to abandon *Ireland*. The King was pressed to pursue the *Irish*, who had retired to *Athlone* and *Limerick*, and were now joined by their Officers, and so brought again into some order : But the main concern was, to put the Transport Fleet in a safe station. And that could not be had, till the King was master of *Waterford*, and *Duncannon* Fort, which commanded the entrance into the River : Both these places capitulated ; and the Transports were brought thither. But they were not now so much in danger, as the King had reason to apprehend ; for King *James*, when he sailed away from *Duncannon*, was forced, by contrary winds, to go into the Road of *Kinsale*, where he found some *French* Frigats, that were already come to burn our Fleet : He told them, it was now too late, all was lost in *Ireland*. So he carried them back, to convoy him over to *France* ; where he had but a cold reception : For the miscarriage of affairs in *Ireland*, was imputed both to his ill conduct, and his want of courage. He fell under much contempt of the people of *France* : Only that King continued still to behave himself decently towards him.

The King sent his Army towards the *Shannon* ; and he himself came to *Dublin*, intending, as he was advised, to go over to *England* ; But he found there Letters of another strain ; Things were in so good a posture, and so quiet in *England*, that they were no more in any apprehension of a Descent : So the King went back to his Army, and marched towards *Limerick*. Upon this *Lausun*, who commanded the *French*, left the Town ; and sent his equipage to *France*, which perished in the *Shannon*. It was hoped, that *Limerick*, seeing it self thus abandoned, would have followed the example of other Towns, and have capitulated. Upon that confidence, the King marched towards it, tho' his Ar-



1690 my was now much diminished; He had left many Garrisons in several places, and had sent some of his best Bodies over to *England*; So that he had not now above 20000 men together. *Limerick* lies on both sides of the *Shannon*, and on an Island, that the River makes there: The *Irish* were yet in great numbers in *Connaught*; so that, unless they had been shut up on that side, it was easie to send in a constant supply both of men and provisions: Nor did it seem adviseable to undertake the Siege of a place so situated, with so small an Army, especially in that season, in which it used to rain long; and by that means, both the *Shannon* would swell, and the ground, which was the best soil of *Ireland*, would be apt to become deep, and scarce practicable for carriages. Yet the cowardice of the *Irish*, the consternation they were in, and their being abandoned by the *French*, made the King resolve to sit down before it. Their Out-works might have been defended for some time; But they abandoned these in so much disorder, that it was from hence believed, they would not hold out long. They also abandoned the Posts, which they had on the other side of the *Shannon*: Upon which, the King past the River, which was then very low, and viewed those Posts; but he had not men to maintain them: So he continued to press the Town on the *Munster* side.

He sent for some more Ammunition, and some great Guns; They had only a guard of two Troops of Horse, to convoy them, who despised the *Irish* so much, and thought they were at such distance, that they set their Horses to grass, and went to bed. *Sarsfield*, one of the best Officers of the *Irish*, heard that the King rode about very carelessly, and upon that, had got a small Body of resolute men together, on design to seize his person; But now, hearing of this Convoy, he resolved to cut it off: The King had advertisement of this brought him in time, and ordered some more Troops to be sent, to secure the Convoy: They, either through Treachery or Carelessness, did not march till it was night, tho' their Orders were for the morning; But they came a few hours too late. *Sarsfield* surpris'd the Party, destroyed the Ammunition, broke the Carriages, and burst one of the Guns, and so marched off: *Lanier*, whom the King had sent with the Party, might have overtaken him; but the general observation made of him (and of most of those Officers, who had served King *James*, and were now on the King's side) was, that they had a greater mind to make themselves rich, by the continuance of the War of *Ireland*, than their Master great and safe by the speedy conclusion of it.



By this, the King lost a Week, and his Ammunition was low; 1690  
for a great supply, that was put on Ship Board in the River of  
*Thames*, before the King left *London*, still remained there, the  
*French* being Masters of the Channel. Yet the King pressed the  
Town so hard, that the Trenches were run up to the Counter-  
scarp; And when they came to lodge there, the *Irish* ran back  
so fast, at a Breach that the Cannon had made, that a body of  
the King's men run in after them; And if they had been secon-  
ded, the Town had been immediately taken; But none came in  
time, so they retired: And tho' the King sent another body,  
yet they were beaten back with loss. As it now began to rain,  
the King saw that, if he staid longer there, he must leave his  
great Artillery behind him: He went into the Trenches every  
day; And it was thought he exposed himself too much. His  
Tent was pitched within the reach of their Cannon; They shot  
often over it, and beat down a Tent very near it; So he was pre-  
vailed on, to let it be removed to a greater distance: Once, upon  
receiving a Packet from *England*, he sat down in the open Field  
for some hours, reading his Letters, while the Cannon Balls were  
flying round about him. The *Irish* fired well; and shewed,  
they had some courage, when they were behind Walls, how little  
soever they had shewn in the Field.

The King lay three Weeks before *Limerick*; But at last the  
rains forced him to raise the Siege: They within did not offer  
to sally out, and disorder the Retreat; This last action proving  
unlucky, had much damped the joy, that was raised by the first  
success of this Campaign. The King expressed a great equality  
of temper, upon the various accidents that happened at this time.  
Dr. *Hutton*, his first Physician, who took care to be always near  
him, told me, He had observed his Behaviour very narrowly,  
upon two very different occasions.

The one was, after the return from the Victory at the *Boyne*;  
when it was almost midnight, after he had been seventeen hours  
in constant fatigue, with all the stiffness that his Wound gave  
him: He expressed neither joy, nor any sort of Vanity; Only  
he looked chearful; And when those about him made such  
Complements, as will be always made to Princes, even tho' they  
do not deserve them, he put all that by, with such an unaffected  
neglect, that it appeared how much soever he might deserve the  
acknowledgments, that were made him, yet he did not like  
them. And this was so visible to all about him, that they soon  
saw, that the way to make their Court was, neither to talk of  
his Wound, nor of his Behaviour on that day. As soon as he  
saw his Physician, he ordered him to see that care should be  
taken



1690 taken of the wounded men, and he named the Prisoners, as well as his own Soldiers. And tho' he had great reason to be offended with *Hamilton*, who had been employed to treat with the Earl of *Tyrconnell*, and was taken prisoner in his fight, and was preserved by his order: yet since he saw he was wounded, he gave particular directions to look after him. Upon the whole matter, the King was as grave and silent as he used to be; and the joy of a day, that had been both so happy and so glorious to him, did not seem to alter his temper or deportment in any way.

The equality of the King's temper.

He told me, he was also near him, when it was resolved to raise the Siege of *Limerick*; and saw the same calm, without the least depression, disorder, or peevishness: From this he concluded, that either his mind was so happily balanced, that no accident could put it out of that situation; or that, if he had commotions within, he had a very extraordinary command over his temper, in restraining or concealing them.

The Earl of Marlborough proposes the taking Cork and Kinsale in Winter, and effects it.

While he lay before *Limerick*, he had news from *England*, that our Fleet was now out, and that the *French* were gone to *Brest*: So, since we were Masters of the Sea, the Earl of *Marlborough* proposed, that five thousand men, who had lain idle all this Summer in *England*, should be sent to *Ireland*; and with the assistance of such men as the King should order to join them, they should try to take *Cork* and *Kinsale*. The King approved of this; And ordered the Earl to come over with them: And he left orders for about five thousand more, who were to join him. And so he broke up this Campaign, and came over to *Bristol*, and from thence to *London*. The contrary winds stopp'd the Earl of *Marlborough* so, that it was *October* before he got to *Ireland*. He soon took *Cork* by storm: And four thousand men, that lay there in Garrison, were made prisoners of War. In this action, the Duke of *Grafton* received a shot, of which he died in a few days; He was the more lamented, as being the person of all King *Charles's* Children, of whom there was the greatest hope: He was brave, and probably would have become a great man at Sea. From *Cork*, the Earl of *Marlborough* marched to *Kinsale*, where he found the two Forts, that commanded the Port, to be so much stronger, than the Plans had represented them to be, that he told me, if he had known their true strength, he had never undertaken the expedition, in a season so far advanced; yet in a few days the place capitulated. The *Irish* drew their forces together, but durst not venture on raising the Siege; But to divert it, they set the Country about, which was the best built of any in *Ireland*, all in a flame.

Thus,



Thus, those two important places were reduced in a very bad 1690 season, and with very little loss; which cut off the quick communication between *France* and *Ireland*. Count *Lausun*, with <sup>The French</sup> the *French* Troops, lay all this while about *Gallway*, without attempting any thing; He sent over, to *France*, an account of the desperate state of their affairs, and desired Ships might be sent for the Transport of their Forces: That was done; yet the Ships came not till the Siege of *Limerick* was raised: Probably, if the Court of *France* had known, how much the state of affairs was altered, they would have sent contrary orders: But *Lausun* was weary of the service, and was glad to get out of it; So he sailed away, without staying for new orders; By which he lost the little reputation, that he was beginning to recover at the Court of *France*. The Earl of *Tyrconnell* went over with him, and gave full assurances, that tho' the *Irish* were like to suffer great hardships next winter; yet they would stand it out, if they were still supported from *France*. It had appeared, upon many occasions, that the *French* and the *Irish* Soldiers did not agree well together: therefore he proposed, that no more Soldiers, but only a number of good Officers, together with Arms, Ammunition, and Clothes, might be sent over to them. In the mean while, the *Irish* formed themselves into many bodies, which by a new name, were called *Rapparees*: These knowing all Ways, and the Boggs, and other Places of Retreat in *Ireland*, and being favoured by the *Irish*, that had submitted to the King, robbed and burnt Houses in many places of the Country; while the King's Army studied their own ease in their quarters, more than the Protection of the Inhabitants: Many of them were suspected of robbing in their turn, tho' the *Rapparees* carried the blame of all: Between them, the poor Inhabitants had a sad time, and their stock of Cattle and Corn was almost quite destroyed in many places.

From the Affairs of *Ireland*, I turn next to give an account <sup>Affairs in</sup> of what passed in *Scotland*; Matters went very happily, as to the <sup>Scotland.</sup> military part: When the Remnants of the Earl of *Dundee*'s Army (to whom many Officers, together with Ammunition and Money, had been sent from *Ireland*) began to move towards the Low Country, to receive those, who were resolved to join with them, and were between two and three thousand strong, they were fallen upon, and intirely defeated by a *Dutch* Officer *Levingston*, that commanded the Forces in *Scotland*: About an hundred Officers were taken Prisoners: This broke all the measures, that had been taken for King *James*'s Interests in *Scotland*. Upon this, those who had engaged in *Montgomery*'s Plot, looked



1690 upon that Design as desperate ; yet they resolved to try what strength they could make in Parliament.

Lord *Melville* carried down Powers, first to offer to Duke *Hamilton*, if he would join in common measures heartily with him, to be Commissioner in Parliament, or if he proved intractable, as indeed he did, to serve in that Post himself. He had full Instructions for the Settlement of Presbytery ; For he assured the King, that without that, it would be impossible to carry any thing ; Only the King would not consent to the taking away the Rights of Patronage, and the Supremacy of the Crown : Yet he found these so much insisted on, that he sent one to the King to *Ireland*, for fuller instructions in those Points ; They were enlarged, but in such general words, that the King did not understand, that his Instructions could warrant what Lord *Melville* did ; for he gave them both up. And the King was so offended with him for it, that he lost all the credit he had with him ; tho' the King did not think fit to disown him, or to call him to an account, for going beyond his Instructions.

A Parli-  
ment there.

The Jacobites perswaded all their Party to go to the Parliament, and to take the Oaths ; for many of the Nobility stood off, and would not own the King, nor swear to him : Great Pains were taken by *Paterfson*, one of their Archbishops, to perswade them to take the Oaths, but on design to break them ; For he thought, by that means, they could have a majority in Parliament ; tho' some of the Laity were too honest to agree to such Advices ; but with all these wicked arts, they were not able to carry a majority. So other things failing, they saw a necessity of desiring a Force to be sent over from *France* : This appeared so odious, and so destructive of their Country, that some of them refused to concur in it : Others were not pleased with the answers King *James* had sent to the Propositions, they had made him. He had indeed granted all that they had asked, upon their own particular Interests, and had promised to settle Presbytery ; but he rejected all those demands, that imported a diminution of his Prerogative, in as firm a manner, as if he had been already set on the Throne again : They proposed, finding his answer so little to their satisfaction, to send him a second message.

A Plot dis-  
covered.

Upon this, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Annandale*, and *Braidalbin*, withdrew from them : *Annandale* came up to the *Bath*, pretending his ill health : Both Lord *Argyle* and *Braidalbin* went to *Chester*, pretending, as they said afterwards, that they intended to discover the whole matter to the King ; But he had passed over to *Ireland*, before they got to *Chester*. *Montgomery* upon this,



this, looked on the design as broken; And so he went, and reconciled himself to *Melvill*, and discovered the whole Negotiation to him. Upon which, the Earl of *Melvill* pressed the King to grant a general Indemnity, and gave *Montgomery* a Pass to go to *London*; And he wrote to the Queen in his Favour. But the King was resolved to know the bottom of the Plot, and particularly how far any of the *English* were engaged in it; So *Montgomery* absconded for some time in *London*, since he saw no hopes of pardon, but upon a full discovery. A Warrant was sent to the *Bath* for the Earl of *Annandale*, of which he had notice given him, and went up privately to *London*. *Montgomery* sent *Ferguson* to him, assuring him, that he had discovered nothing, and desiring him to continue firm and secret; But when he had certain notice, that *Montgomery* had discovered all the Negotiation among the *Scotch*, he cast himself on the Queen's mercy, asking no other conditions, but that he might not be made an evidence against others. He himself had not treated with any in *England*, so, as to them, he was only a second-hand Witness; Only he informed against *Nevil Payne*, who had been sent down to *Scotland*, to manage matters among them: He was taken there, but would confess nothing; Upon the Earl of *Annandale*'s information, which he gave upon Oath, the Earl of *Nottingham* wrote to the Council of *Scotland*, that he had in his hands a Deposition upon Oath, containing Matter of High Treason against *Payne*; Upon which it was pretended, that, according to the Law of *Scotland*, he might be put to the torture; and that was executed with rigour: He resisted a double question, yet was still kept a prisoner; And this was much cried out on, as barbarous and illegal. *Montgomery* lay hid for some months at *London*; But when he saw he could not have his pardon, but by making a full discovery, he chose rather to go beyond Sea: So fatally did Ambition and Discontent hurry a Man to ruin, who seemed capable of greater things. His art in managing such a design, and his firmness in not discovering his Accomplices, raised his character, as much as it ruined his fortune. He continued in perpetual Plots after this, to no purpose: He was once taken, but made his escape; And at last, spleen and vexation put an end to a turbulent life.

The Lord *Melvill* had now a clear majority in Parliament, by the discovery of the Plot; some absented themselves; and others, to redeem themselves, were compliant in all things: The main point, by which *Melvill* designed to fix himself, and his party, was, the abolishing of Episcopacy, and the setting up of Pres-



1690 Presbytery. The one was soon done, by repealing all the laws in favour of Episcopacy, and declaring it contrary to the genius and constitution of that Church and Nation; For the King would not consent to a plain and simple condemnation of it. But it was not so easy to settle Presbytery: If they had followed the pattern, set them in the Year 1638, all the Clergy, in a parity, were to assume the government of the Church; but those being Episcopal, they did not think it safe to put the power of the Church in such hands; Therefore it was pretended, that such of the Presbyterian Ministers, as had been turned out in the Year 1662, ought to be considered, as the only sound part of the Church; And of these there happened to be then three-score alive: so the government of the Church was lodged with them; And they were empowered, to take to their assistance, and to a share in the Church government, such as they should think fit: Some furious men, who had gone into very frantick Principles, and all those who had been secretly ordained in the Presbyterian way, were presently taken in: This was like to prove a fatal error, at their first setting out; The old men among them, what by reason of their age, or their experience of former mistakes, were disposed to more moderate Counsels; But the taking in such a number of violent men, put it out of their power to pursue them; So these broke out into a most extravagant way of proceeding against such of the Episcopal party, as had escaped the rage of the former Year. Accusations were raised against them; some were charged for their doctrine, as guilty of *Arminianism*; Others were loaded with more scandalous Imputations: But these were only thrown out to defame them. And where they looked for proof, it was in a way more becoming Inquisitors, than Judges: so apt are all parties, in their turns of power, to fall into those very excesses, of which they did formerly make such tragical complaints. All other matters were carried in the Parliament of *Scotland*, as the Lord *Melville*, and the Presbyterians desired. In lieu of the King's Supremacy, he had Chimney-money given him; and a Test was imposed on all in office, or capable of electing, or being elected to serve in Parliament, declaring the King and Queen to be their rightful and lawful Sovereigns, and renouncing any manner of Title pretended to be in King *James*.

Affairs abroad.

As for affairs abroad, the Duke of *Savoy* came into the Alliance: The *French* suspected he was in a secret Treaty with the Emperor, and so they forced him to declare it, before matters were ripe for it. They demanded, that he would put *Turin* and *Montmelian* in their hands. This was upon the matter to ask



ask all, and to make him a vassal Prince: Upon his refusal, a <sup>1690</sup> French Army took possession of *Savoy*; and marched into *Piedmont*, before he was ready to receive them: For tho' the Imperialists and the *Spaniards* had made him great promises, in which they are never wanting, when their affairs require it; yet they failed so totally in the performance, that if the King and the *Dutch*, who had promised him nothing, had not performed every thing effectually, he must have become at once a prey to the *French*. The Emperor was this Year unhappy in *Hungary*, both by losing *Belgrade*, and by some other advantages, which the *Turks* gained: Yet he was as little inclined to Peace, as he was capable of carrying on the War.

The King, at his first coming over from *Ireland*, was so little wearied with that Campaign, that he intended to have gone over to his Army in *Flanders*: But it was too late; for they were going into Winter quarters: So he held the Session of Parliament early, about the beginning of *October*, that so, the Funds being settled for the next Year, he might have an interview with many of the *German* Princes, who intended to meet him at the *Hague*, that they might concert measures for the next Campaign.

Both Houses began with Addresses of Thanks and Congratulation to the King and Queen, in which they set forth the sense they had of their pious care of their people, of their courage and good government, in the highest expressions that could be conceived; with promises of standing by them, and assisting them, with every thing that should be found necessary for the publick Service: And they were as good as their word: for the King, having laid before them the charge of the next Year's War, the estimate rising to above four millions, the vastest sum that ever a King of *England* had asked of his people, they agreed to it; the opposition, that was made, being very inconsiderable; And they consented to the Funds proposed, which were thought equal to that, which was demanded, tho' these proved afterwards to be defective. The Administration was so just and gentle, that there were no grievances to inflame the House; by which the most promising beginnings of some Sessions, in former Reigns, had often miscarried.

Some indeed began to complain of a mismanagement of the Publick Money: But the Ministry put a stop to that, by moving for a Bill, empowering such, as the Parliament should name, to examine into all Accounts, with all particulars relating to them; giving them authority to bring all persons, that they should have occasion for, before them, and to tender them an Oath,



1690 to discover their knowledge of such things, as they should ask of them. This was like the power of a Court of Inquisition: And how unusual soever such a Commission was, yet it seemed necessary to grant it; for the bearing down, and silencing all scandalous reports. When this Bill was brought to the Lords, it was moved, that since the Commons had named none, but Members of their own House, that the Lords should add some of their Number: This was done by ballot; And the Earl of *Rochester* having made the motion, the greatest number of ballots were for him; But he refused to submit to this, with so much firmness, that the other Lords, who were named with him, seemed to think they were in Honour bound to do the same; so, since no Peer would suffer himself to be named, the Bill passed as it was sent up. Many complaints were made, of the illegal Commitments of suspected persons for High Treason; tho' there was nothing sworn against them. But the Danger was so apparent, and the Publick safety was so much concerned in those Imprisonments, that the House of Commons made a precedent, for securing a Ministry, that should do the like, upon the like necessity, and yet maintained the *Habeas Corpus* Act; They indemnified the Ministry, for all that had been done contrary to that Act.

*Ireland*  
much wast-  
ed by the  
*Rapparees*  
and the Ar-  
my there.

Great Complaints were brought over from *Ireland*, where the King's Army was almost as heavy on the Country, as the *Rapparees* were: There was a great Arrear due to them; for which reason, when the King settled a Government in *Ireland*, of three Lords Justices, he did not put the Army under their Civil Authority, but kept them in a military subjection to their Officers: For he said, since the Army was not regularly paid, it would be impossible to keep them from Mutiny, if they were put under strict Discipline, and punished accordingly. The Under Officers, finding that they were only answerable to their Superior Officers, took great Liberties in their Quarters; and, instead of protecting the Country, they oppressed it. The King had brought over an Army of seven thousand *Danes*, under the command of a very gallant Prince, one of the Dukes of *Wirtemberg*; But they were cruel friends, and thought they were Masters; Nor were the *English* Troops much better. The *Dutch* were the least complained of; *Ginkle*, who had the chief command, looked strictly to them; But he did not think it convenient to put those of other Nations, under the same severe measures. But the Pay, due for some months, being now sent over, the Orders were changed; And the Army was made subject to the Civil Government: Yet it was understood,



stood, that Instructions were sent to the Lord's Justices, to be 1690  
cautious in the exercise of their Authority over them; so the  
Country still suffered much by these Forces.

The House of Commons past a Vote, to raise a million of money, out of the Forfeitures and Confiscations in *Ireland*: And in order to that, they passed a Bill of Attainder of all those, who had been engaged in the Rebellion of *Ireland*, and appropriated the Confiscations, to the raising a Fund for defraying the expence of the present War; Only they left a power to the King, to grant away a third part of those confiscated Estates, to such as had served in the War; and to give such Articles and Capitulations to those, who were in Arms, as he should think fit. Upon this Bill, many petitions were offered, the creditors of some, and the heirs of others, who had continued faithful to the Government, desired proviso's for their security. The Commons, seeing that there was no end of Petitions, for such proviso's, rejected them all; imitating in this too much the mock Parliament, that King *James* held in *Dublin*; in which about 3000 persons were attainted, without proof or process, only because some of them were gone over to *England*, and others were absconding, or informed against in *Ireland*. But when this Bill was brought up to the Lords, they thought they were in justice bound to hear all petitions: Upon this, the Bill was like to be clogg'd with many proviso's; And the matter must have held long: So the King, to stop this, sent a message to the Commons: And he spoke to the same purpose, afterwards from the Throne, to both Houses: He promised, he would give no Grants of any confiscated Estates; but would keep that matter entire, to the consideration of another Session of Parliament: By which the King intended only, to assure them, that he would give none of those Estates to his Courtiers or Officers; But he thought, he was still at liberty, to pass such Acts of Grace, or grant such Articles to the *Irish*, as the state of his affairs should require.

There were no important Debates, in the House of Lords. The Earl of *Torrington's* Business held them long: The form of his Commitment was judged to be illegal; And the Martial Law, to which, by the Statute, all who served in the Fleet were subject, being lodged in the Lord High Admiral, it was doubted, whether, the Admiralty being now in Commission, that power was lodged with the Commissioners. The Judges were of opinion, that it was: Yet, since the power of life and death was too sacred a thing, to pass only by a construction of Law, it was thought the safest course, to pass an Act, declaring, that the powers

A Bill concerning the *Irish* Forfeitures.

The Earl of *Torrington* tried and justified.



1690 powers of a Lord High Admiral did vest in the Commissioners. The secret Enemies of the Government, who intended to embroil matters, moved that the Earl of *Torrington* should be impeached in Parliament; Proceedings in that way being always slow, Incidents were also apt to fall in, that might create disputes between the two Houses, which did sometimes end in a Rupture: But the King was apprehensive of that; And, tho' he was much incensed against that Lord, and had reason to believe, that a Council of War would treat him very favourably; yet he chose rather to let it go so, than to disorder his affairs. The Commissioners of the Admiralty named a Court to try him, who did it with so gross a partiality, that it reflected much on the Justice of the Nation; so that, if it had not been for the great Interest the King had in the States, it might have occasioned a breach of the Alliance between them and us. He came off safe as to his Person and Estate, but much loaded in his Reputation; some charging him with want of courage, while others imputed his ill conduct, to a haughty fullness of temper, that made him, since orders were sent him, contrary to the advices he had given, to resolve indeed to obey them, and fight; but in such a manner, as should cast the blame on those, who had sent him the Orders, and give them cause to repent of it.

Designs against the Marquiss of *Caermarthen*.

Another Debate was moved in the House of Lords (by those who intended to revive the old Impeachment of the Marquiss of *Caermarthen*) whether Impeachments continued, from Parliament to Parliament, or whether they were not extinguished by an Act of Grace: Some antient Precedents were brought to favour this, by those who intended to keep them up: But in all these, there had been an order of one Parliament, to continue them on to the next: So they did not come home to the present case: and how doubtful soever it was, whether the King's Pardon could be pleaded in Bar to an Impeachment; yet, since the King had sent an Act of Grace, which had passed in the first Session of this Parliament, it seemed very unreasonable, to offer an Impeachment against an Act of Parliament. All this discovered a design against that Lord, who was believed to have the greatest credit, both with the King and Queen, and was again falling under an universal hatred. In a House of Commons, every motion against a Minister, is apt to be well entertained; Some envy him; Others are angry at him; Many hope to share in the spoils of him, or of his Friends, that fall with him; And a love of change, and a wantonness of mind, makes the attacking a Minister, a diversion to the rest: The thing was well laid, and fourteen leading men had under-



undertaken to manage the matter against him; In which the Earl of *Shrewsbury* had the chief hand, as he himself told me; For he had a very bad opinion of the man, and thought his advices would, in conclusion, ruin the King and his affairs. But a Discovery was at this time made, that was of great consequence; And it was managed chiefly, by his means, so that put an end to the designs against him for the present.

The Session of Parliament was drawing to a conclusion: And the King was making haste over, to a great Congress of many Princes, who were coming to meet him at the *Hague*. The Jacobites thought this opportunity was not to be lost; They fancied it would be easy, in the King's absence, to bring a Revolution about: So they got the Lord *Preston* to come up to *London*, and to undertake the Journey to *France*, and to manage this Negotiation. They thought, no time was to be lost, and that no great force was to be brought over with King *James*; but that a few resolute men, as a guard to his person, would serve the turn, now that there was so small a force left within the Kingdom, and the Nation was so incensed at a burthen of four millions in Taxes. By this means, if He surpris'd us, and managed his coming over with such secrecy, that he should bring over with himself the first news of it, they believed this Revolution would be more easy, and more sudden, than the last. The men that laid this design were, the Earl of *Clarendon*, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord *Preston*, and his brother Mr. *Graham*, and *Pen* the famous Quaker. Lord *Preston* resolved to go over, and to carry Letters, from those who had joined with him in the design, to King *James* and his Queen. The Bishop of *Ely*'s Letters were writ in a very particular stile; He undertook both for his elder Brother, and the rest of the Family; which was plainly meant of *Sancroft*, and the other deprived Bishops: In his Letter to King *James*'s Queen, he assured her of his, and all their zeal for the Prince of *Wales*; and that they would no more part with that, than with their hopes of Heaven. *Ashton*, a servant of that Queen's, hired a vessel to carry them over; But the owner of the vessel, being a man zealous for the Government, discovered all he knew; which was only, that he was to carry some persons over to *France*: The notice of this was carried to the Marquis of *Caermarthen*: And the matter was so ordered, that Lord *Preston*, *Ashton*, and a young man (*Elliot*) were got aboard, and falling down the River, when the Officer sent to take them came, on pretence to search, and press for Seamen; And drew the three Passengers out of the Hold, in which they were hid. Lord *Preston*

1690

Lord *Preston* sent over to *France*.



1690 left his Letters behind him in the Hold, together with King *James's* Signet; *Ashton* took them up, on design to have thrown them in the Sea; But they were taken from him.

Both they and their Letters were brought to *Whitehall*. Lord *Preston's* mind sunk so visibly, that it was concluded, he would not die, if confessing all he knew could save him. *Ashton* was more firm and fullen; *Elliot* knew nothing. There was among their Papers one, that contained the heads of a Declaration, with assurances of Pardon, and promises to preserve the Protestant Religion, and the Laws; Another paper contained short memorials, taken by Lord *Preston*, in which many of the Nobility were named: The most important of all was, a relation of a Conference, between some Noblemen and Gentlemen, Whigs and Tories; by which it appeared, that, upon a conversation on this subject, they all seemed convinced, that upon this occasion *France* would not study to conquer, but to oblige *England*; and that King *James* would be wholly governed by Protestants, and follow the Protestant and *English* Interest.

Taken, tried, and condemned.

The Prisoners were quickly brought to their Trial; Their design of going to *France*, and the treasonable Papers found about them, were fully proved: Some of them were writ in Lord *Preston's*, and some in *Ashton's* hand. They made but a poor defence: They said, a similitude of hands was not thought a good proof in *Sidney's* Case; But this was now only a circumstance; in what hand soever the Papers were writ, the Crime was always the same, since they were open, not sealed: So they knew the contents of them, and thus were carrying on a Negotiation of High Treason, with the King's Enemies: Upon full evidence they were condemned.

*Ashton* suffered.

*Ashton* would enter into no Treaty with the Court; but prepared himself to die. And he suffered with great decency and seriousness. He left a Paper behind him, in which he owned his dependance on King *James*, and his fidelity to him; He also affirmed, that he was sure the Prince of *Wales* was born of the Queen; He denied, that he knew the contents of the Papers, that were taken with him. This made some conclude, that his paper was penned by some other person, and too hastily copied over by himself, without making due reflections on this part of it; for I compared this paper, which he gave the Sheriff, and which was written in his own hand, with those found about him; and it was visible, both were writ in the same hand.

Lord *Preston* went backward and forward: He had no mind to die, and yet was not willing to tell all he knew; He acted



a weak part in all respects: When he was heated by the Im-  
portunities of his friends, who were violently engaged against  
the Government, and after he had dined well, he resolved he  
would die heroically; But by next morning, that heat went off;  
And when he saw Death in full view, his heart failed him.  
The Scheme he carried over was so foolish, so ill concerted,  
and so few engaged in it, that those who knew the whole se-  
cret concluded, that if he had got safe to the Court of *France*,  
the Project would have been so despised, that he must have  
been suspected, as sent over to draw King *James* into a Snare,  
and bring him into the King's hands. The Earl of *Clarendon*  
was seized, and put in the Tower; But the Bishop of *Ely*,  
*Grimes*, and *Pen*, absconded. After some months, the King,  
in regard to the Earl of *Clarendon*'s relation to the Queen, would  
proceed to no extremities against him, but gave him leave to live,  
confined to his house in the Country.

1690  
Lord Pres-  
ton was par-  
doned.

The King had suffered the deprived Bishops to continue, now  
above a Year, at their Sees: They all the while neglected the  
concerns of the Church, doing nothing, but living privately in  
their Palaces. I had, by the Queen's Order, moved both the  
Earl of *Rochester*, and Sir *John Trevor*, who had great credit  
with them, to try whether, in case an Act could be obtained,  
to excuse them from taking the Oaths, they would go on, and  
do their functions in Ordinations, Institutions, and Confirma-  
tions; and assist at the Publick Worship, as formerly; But  
they would give no answer; Only they said, they would  
live quietly, that is, keep themselves close, till a proper time  
should encourage them to act more openly. So all the thoughts  
of this kind were, upon that, laid aside. One of the consider-  
ablest men of the party, Dr. *Sherlock*, upon King *James*'s going  
out of *Ireland*, thought that this gave the present Government  
a thorough settlement; And in that case, he thought it lawful  
to take the Oaths; And upon that, not only took them him-  
self, but publickly justified what he had done; Upon which, he  
was most severely libelled by those, from whom he withdrew.  
The discovery of the Bishop of *Ely*'s correspondence, and en-  
gagement in the name of the rest, gave the King a great ad-  
vantage in filling those vacant Sees; which he resolved to do,  
upon his return from the Congress, to which he went over in  
*January*.

The Beha-  
viour of the  
deprived Bi-  
shops.

In his way, he ran a very great hazard; When he got within  
the *Maese*, so that it was thought, two hours rowing would bring  
him to Land, being weary of the Sea, he went into an open  
Boat with some of his Lords: But by Mists and Storms, he was  
tossed

A Congress  
of Princes at  
the Hague.



1690 tossed up and down above sixteen hours, before he got safe to Land. Yet neither he, nor any of those who were with him, were the worse for all this cold and wet Weather. And, when the Seamen seemed very apprehensive of their danger, the King said in a very intrepid manner; What are you afraid to die in my Company? He soon settled some points, at which the States had stuck long; And they created the Funds for that Year. The Electors of *Bavaria* and *Brandenburg*, the Dukes of *Zell* and *Wolfenbuttel*, with the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and a great many other *German* Princes, came to this Interview, and entred into consultations concerning the operations of the next Campaign. The Duke of *Savoy's* affairs were then very low; But the King took care of him, and both furnished, as well as procured him such Supplies, that his affairs had quickly a more promising face. Things were concerted among the Princes themselves, and were kept so secret, that they did not trust them to their Ministers: At least, the King did not communicate them to the Earl of *Nottingham*, as he protested solemnly to me, when he came back. The Princes shewed to the King all the respects that any of their rank ever paid to any crowned Head; And they lived together in such an easy freedom, that points of Ceremony occasioned no disputes among them; tho' those are often, upon less solemn interviews, the subjects of much quarrelling, and interrupt more important Debates.

A new Pope chosen after a long Conclave.

During this Congress, Pope *Alexander* the Eighth, *Ottoboni*, died. He had succeeded Pope *Innocent*, and sat in that Chair almost a Year and a half: He was a *Venetian*, and intended to enrich his Family as much as he could. The *French* King renounced his pretensions to the Franchises: And he, in return for that, promoted *Fourbin*, and some others, recommended by that Court, to be Cardinals; which was much resented by the Emperor. Yet he would not yield the point of the Regale to the Court of *France*: Nor would he grant the Bulls for those, whom the King had named to the vacant Bishopricks in *France*, who had signed the Formulary, passed in 1682, that declared the Pope fallible, and subject to a General Council. When Pope *Alexander* felt himself near Death, he passed a Bull in due Form, by which he confirmed all Pope *Innocent's* Bulls: And by this he put a new stop, to any Reconciliation with the Court of *France*. This he did, to render his Name and Family more acceptable to the *Italians*, and most particularly to his Countrymen, who hated the *French* as much as they feared them. Upon his Death, the Conclave continued shut up for five months, before they could agree upon an Election. The party of the Zealots



lots stood long firm to *Barbarigo*, who had the reputation of 1690 a Saint, and seemed in all things to set Cardinal *Borromeo* before him as a Pattern: They at last were persuaded to consent to the choice of *Pignatelli*, a *Neapolitan*, who, while he was Archbishop of *Naples*, had some disputes with the Viceroy, concerning the Ecclesiastical Immunities, which he asserted so highly, that he excommunicated some of the Judges, who, as he thought, had invaded them. The *Spaniards* had seemed displeased at this; which recommended him so to the *French*, that they also concurred to his Elevation. He assumed Pope *Innocent's* name, and seemed resolved to follow his maxims and steps; for he did not seek to raise his Family; Of which the King told me a considerable instance: One of his nearest kindred was then in the *Spanish* Service in *Flanders*; and hasted to *Rome* upon his promotion; He received him kindly enough, but presently dismissed him, giving him no other present, if he said true, but some snuff. It is true, the *Spaniards* afterwards promoted him: But the Pope took no notice of that.

To return to the Low Countries: The King of *France* resolved to break off the Conferences at the *Hague*, by giving the Alarm of an early Campaign: *Mons* was besieged; And the King came before it in person. It was thereupon given up, as a lost Place; For the *French* Ministers had laid that down among their chief maxims, that their King was never to undertake any thing in his own person, but where he was sure of success. The King broke up the Congress, and drew a great Army very soon together: And, if the Town had held out so long as, they might well have done, or if the Governour of *Flanders* had performed what he undertook, of furnishing Carriages to the Army, the King would either have raised the Siege, or forced the *French* to a Battle. But some Priests had been gained by the *French*, who laboured so effectually among the Townsmen, who were almost as strong as the Garrison, that they at last forced the Governour to capitulate. Upon that, both Armies went into Quarters of refreshment: And the King came over again to *England* for a few weeks.

He gave all necessary Orders for the Campaign in *Ireland*; in which *Ginkle* had the chief command. *Russel* had the command of the Fleet, which was soon ready, and well manned. The *Dutch* Squadron came over in good time. The proportion of the Quota, settled between *England* and the *States*, was, that we were to furnish five, and they three Ships of equal rates and strength.

The Siege of Mons.

Affairs settled for the next Campaign.



1690

Affairs in  
Scotland.

Affairs in *Scotland* were now brought to some temper : Many of the Lords, who had been concerned in the late Plot, came up, and confessed and discovered all, and took out their pardon ; They excused themselves, as apprehending that they were exposed to ruin ; and that they dreaded the tyranny of Presbytery, no less than they did Popery : And they promised that, if the King would so balance matters, that the Lord *Melville*, and his party, should not have it in their power to ruin them and their friends, and in particular, that they should not turn out the Ministers of the Episcopal Perswasion, who were yet in office, nor force Presbyterians on them, they would engage in the King's Interests faithfully and with zeal : They also undertook to quiet the Highlanders, who stood out still, and were robbing the Country in Parties : And they undertook to the King, that, if the Episcopal Clergy could be assured of his protection, they would all acknowledge and serve him : They did not desire, that the King should make any step towards the changing the Government, that was settled there ; They only desired, that Episcopal Ministers might continue to serve, in those places that liked them best ; and that no man should be brought into trouble for his opinion, as to the government of the Church ; and that such Episcopal men, as were willing to mix with the Presbyterians in their Judicatories, should be admitted, without any severe imposition in point of opinion.

Some  
Changes  
made in  
Scotland.

This looked so fair, and agreed so well with the King's own sense of things, that he very easily hearkned to it ; And I did believe that it was sincerely meant ; so I promoted it with great zeal ; tho' we afterwards came to see, that all this was an artifice of the Jacobites, to engage the King to disgust the Presbyterians ; And by losing them, or at least rendring them remiss in his Service, they reckoned they would be soon Masters of that Kingdom. For the party resolved now to come in generally, to take the Oaths ; But in order to that, they sent one to King *James*, to shew the necessity of it, and the service they intended him in it ; and therefore they asked his leave to take them. That King's answer was more honest ; He said, he could not consent to that, which he thought unlawful ; But if any of them took the Oaths on design to serve him, and continued to advance his interests, he promised, it should never be remembered against them. Young *Dalrymple* was made conjunct Secretary of State, with the Lord *Melville* ; And he undertook to bring in most of the Jacobites to the King's Service ; but they entred at the same time, into a close correspondence with St. *Germain* : I believed nothing



nothing of all this at that time, but went in cordially to serve many, who intended to betray us. 1690

The truth was, the Presbyterians, by their violence and other foolish practices, were rendring themselves both odious and contemptible: They had formed a General Assembly, in the end of the former Year, in which they did very much expose themselves, by the weakness and peevishness of their conduct: Little Learning or Prudence appeared among them; Poor preaching and wretched haranguing; partialities to one another, and violence and injustice to those who differed from them, shewed themselves in all their Meetings. And these did so much sink their reputation, that they were weaning the Nation most effectually from all fondness to their Government: But the fallhood of many, who, under a pretence of moderating matters, were really undermining the King's Government, helped in the sequel to preserve the Presbyterians, as much as their own conduct did now alienate the King from them.

The next thing the King did was, to fill the Sees vacant by Deprivation. He judged right, that it was of great consequence, both to his Service and to the interests of Religion, to have *Canterbury* well filled: for the rest would turn upon that. By the Choice, he was to make, all the Nation would see, whether he intended to go on, with his first design of moderating matters, and healing our Breaches, or if he would go into the passions and humours of a High Party, that seemed to court him as abjectly, as they inwardly hated him. Dr. *Tillotson* had been now well known to him for two Years; his soft and prudent Counsels, and his zeal for his Service, had begot, both in the King and Queen, a high and just opinion of him. They had both, for above a Year, pressed him to come into this Post: And he had struggled against it with great earnestness: As he had no ambition, nor aspiring in his temper, so he foresaw what a scene of trouble and slander he must enter on, now in the decline of his age. The prejudices, that the Jacobites would possess all people with, for his coming into the room of One, whom they called a Confessor, and who began now to have the publick compassion on his side, were well foreseen by him. He also apprehended the continuance of that heat and averfion, that a violent party had always expressed towards him, tho' he had not only avoided to provoke any of them, but had, upon all occasions, done the chief of them great services, as oft as it was in his Power. He had large Principles, and was free from Superstition; His zeal had been chiefly against Atheism and Popery: But he had never shewed much sharpness against the Dissenters. He had

The vacant  
Sees filled.



1690 had lived in a good correspondence with many of them : He had brought several over to the Church, by the force of reason, and the softness of perswasion and good usage ; but was a declared enemy to violence and severities on those heads. Among other prejudices against him, one related to myself : He and I had lived, for many Years, in a close and strict friendship ; He laid before the King all the ill effects, that, as he thought, the promoting him would have on his own Service : But all this had served only to increase the King's esteem of him, and fix him in his purpose.

Many Promotions in the Church.

The Bishop of *Ely's* Letters to *St. Germain's*, gave so fair an occasion of filling those Sees, at this time, that the King resolved to lay hold on it : And *Tillotson*, with great uneasiness to himself, submitted to the King's command : And soon after, the See of *York* falling void, *Dr. Sharp* was promoted to it : So those two Sees were filled with the two best Preachers, that had sat in them in our time : Only *Sharp* did not know the World so well, and was not so steady as *Tillotson* was. *Dr. Patrick* was advanced to *Ely*, *Dr. More* was made Bishop of *Norwich*, *Dr. Cumberland* was made Bishop of *Peterborow*, *Dr. Fowler* was made Bishop of *Glocester*, *Ironside* was promoted to *Hereford*, *Grove* to *Chichester*, and *Hall* to *Bristol* ; as *Hough*, the President of *Magdalen's*, was the Year before this, made Bishop of *Oxford*. So that in two Years time, the King had named fifteen Bishops ; And they were generally looked on as the learnedest, the wisest, and best men, that were in the Church. It was visible, that in all these nominations, and the filling the inferior Dignities, that became void by their promotion, no ambition, nor Court favour, had appeared ; Men were not scrambling for Preferment, nor using arts, or employing friends to set them forward ; On the contrary, men were sought for, and brought out of their Retirements ; And most of them very much against their own inclinations : They were men both of moderate Principles and of calm tempers : This great promotion was such a discovery of the King and Queen's designs, with relation to the Church, that it served much to remove the jealousies, that some other steps the King had made, were beginning to raise in the Whigs, and very much softened the ill humour, that was spread among them.

The Campaign in Flanders.

As soon as this was over ; the King went back to command his Army in *Flanders*. Both Armies were now making haste to take the Field. But the *French* were quicker than the Confederates had yet learned to be. Prince *Waldeck* had not got above eighteen thousand men together, when *Luxemburg*,  
with



with an Army of forty thousand men, was marching to have surprized *Brussels*: And at the same time, *Boufflers*, with another Army, came up to *Liege*. *Waldeck* posted his Army so well, that *Luxemburgh*, believing it stronger than indeed it was, did not attempt to break through, in which it was believed he might have succeeded. The King hastned the rest of the Troops, and came himself to the Army in good time, not only to cover *Brussels*, but to send a detachment to the relief of *Liege*; which had been bombarded for two days. A Body of *Germans*, as well as that which the King sent to them, came in good time to support those of *Liege*, who were beginning to think of Capitulating. So *Boufflers* drew off; And the *French* kept themselves so close in their Posts, all the rest of the Campaign, that though the King made many motions, to try if it was possible to bring them to a Battle, yet he could not do it. Signal preservations of his person did again shew, that he had a watchful Providence still guarding him. Once he had stood under a tree for some time, which the Enemy observing, they levelled a Cannon so exactly, that the tree was shot down two minutes after the King was gone from the place. There was one, that belonged to the train of Artillery, who was corrupted to set fire to the Magazine of powder: And he fired the matches of three Bombs, two of these blew up, without doing any mischief, tho' there were twenty four more Bombs in the same Waggon, on which they lay, together with a Barrel of powder: The third Bomb was found, with the match fired, before it had its effect. If this wicked practice had succeeded, the confusion, that was in all reason to be expected, upon such an accident, while the Enemy was not above a League from them, drawn up, and looking for the success of it, must have had terrible effects. It cannot be easily imagined, how much mischief might have followed upon it, in the mere destruction of so many as would have perished immediately, if the whole Magazine had taken fire; as well as in the pannick fear, with which the rest would have been struck upon so terrible an accident; by the surprize of it, the *French* might have had an opportunity to have cut off the whole Army. This may well be reckoned one of the Miracles of Providence, that so little harm was done, when so much was so near being done. The two Armies lay along between the *Samber* and the *Maese*: But no Action followed. When the time came of going into Quarters, the King left the Armies in Prince *Waldeck's* hands, who was observed not to march off with that caution, that might have been expected from so old a Captain:



1690 *Luxemburgh* upon that drew out his Horse, with the King's Household, designing to cut off his Rear; And did, upon the first surprize, put them into some disorder; But they made so good a stand, that, after a very hot action, the *French* marched off, and lost more men on their side than we did. *Auverquerque* commanded the Body, that did this service: And with it the Campaign ended in *Flanders*.

Affairs at  
Sea.

Matters went on at Sea with the same caution. *Dunkirk* was for some time block'd up by a Squadron of ours. The great Fleet went to find out the *French*; But they had Orders to avoid an Engagement: And, though for the space of two months, *Russel* did all he could to come up to them, yet they still kept at a distance, and sailed off in the night: So that, though he was sometimes in view of them, yet he lost it next day. The trading part of the Nation was very apprehensive of the danger the *Smirna* Fleet might be in, in which the *Dutch* and *English* Effects together, were valued at four millions: for, tho' they had a great Convoy, yet the *French* Fleet stood out to intercept them: But they got safe into *Kinsale*. The Season went over without any Action; And *Russel*, at the end of it, came into *Plymouth* in a Storm: which was much censured; for that Road is not safe: and two considerable Ships were lost upon the occasion. Great Factions were among the Flag Officers: And no other Service was done by this great Equipment, but that our Trade was maintained.

The Cam-  
paign in Ire-  
land.

But, while we had no success, either in *Flanders* or at Sea, we were more happy in *Ireland*, even beyond expectation. The Campaign was opened with the taking of *Baltimore*, on which the *Irish* had wrought much, that *Athlone* might be covered by it: We took it in one day; and the Garrison had only Ammunition for a day more. *St. Ruth*, one of the violentest of all the Persecutors of the Protestants in *France*, was sent over with two hundred Officers to command the *Irish* Army: This first action reflected much on his Conduct, who left a thousand men, with so slender a provision of Ammunition, that they were all made Prisoners of War. From thence *Ginkle* advanc'd to *Athlone*, where *St. Ruth* was posted on the other side of the *Shannon*, with an Army in number equal to his: The River was deep, but fordable in several places: The Castle was soon turned to a ruin by the Cannon: But the passing the River, in the face of an Enemy, was no easy thing, the Ford being so narrow, that they could not pass above twenty in front: Parties were sent out to try other Fords, which probably made the Enemy imagine, that they never intended to pass the River, just under



under the Town, where the Ford was both deep and narrow. 1690  
*Talmash*, a General Officer, moved, that two Battallions might  
 have Guineas apiece to encourage them; And he offered to  
 march over at the Head of them; which was presently executed  
 by *Mackay*, with so much resolution, that many ancient Officers  
 said, it was the gallantest action they had ever seen. They past  
 the River, and went through the Breaches into the Town, with  
 the loss only of fifty men, having killed above a thousand of *Arblona*  
 the Enemy; And yet they spared all, that asked quarter. *St.*  
*Ruth* did not, upon this occasion, act suitably to the reputa-  
 tion he had formerly acquired; He retired to *Aghrem*; where  
 he posted himself to great advantage, and was much superior to  
*Ginkle* in number; for he had abandoned many small Garrisons,  
 to increase his Army, which was now twenty eight thousand  
 strong; whereas *Ginkle* had not above twenty thousand; so that  
 the attacking him was no advisable thing, if the courage of the  
*English*, and the cowardice of the *Irish*, had not made a difference  
 so considerable, as neither numbers nor posts could balance.

*St. Ruth* had indeed taken the most effectual way possible  
 to infuse courage into the *Irish*: He had sent their Priests *The Battle*  
 about among them, to animate them by all the methods they *of Aghrem.*  
 could think of: And, as the most powerful of all others, they  
 made them swear on the Sacrament, that they would never  
 forsake their Colours. This had a great effect on them: For  
 as, when *Ginkle* fell on them, they had a great Bog before them;  
 and the Grounds on both sides were very favourable to them:  
 With those advantages, they maintained their Ground much  
 longer, than they had been accustomed to do. They disputed  
 the matter so obstinately, that for about two hours the Action  
 was very hot, and every Battalion and Squadron, on both sides,  
 had a share in it. But nature will be always too strong for art;  
 The *Irish*, in conclusion, trusted more to their heels, than to  
 their hands; The Foot threw down their Arms, and ran away.  
*St. Ruth*, and many more Officers, were killed, and about eight  
 thousand Soldiers, and all their Cannon and Baggage was taken.  
 So that it was a total Defeat; Only the night favoured a Body  
 of Horse, that got off. From thence *Ginkle* advanced to *Gal-*  
*loway*, which capitulated; so that now *Limerick* was the only  
 place that stood out; A Squadron of Ships was sent to shut up  
 the River. In the mean while, the Lords Justices issued out a  
 new Proclamation, with an offer of life and estate, to such as,  
 within a fortnight, should come under the King's Protection.

*Ginkle*



1691

Limerick  
besieged.

*Ginkle* pursued his advantages : And, having reduced all *Connaught*, he came and sat down before *Limerick*, and bombarded it ; But that had no great effect ; And though most of the houses were beat down, yet as long as the *Connaught* side was open, fresh men and provisions were still brought into the place. When the Men of War were come up, near the Town, *Ginkle* sent over a part of his Army to the *Connaught* side, who fell upon some Bodies of the *Irish* that lay there, and broke them ; and pursued them so close, as they retired to *Limerick*, that the *French* Governour *D'usson*, fearing that the *English* would have come in with them, drew up the Bridge ; so that many of them were killed and drowned. This contributed very much towards heightning the prejudices, that the *Irish* had against the *French*. The latter were so inconsiderable, that, if *Sarsfield* and some of the *Irish* had not joined with them, they could not have made their party good. The Earl of *Tyrconnell* had, with a particular view, studied to divert the *French*, from sending over Soldiers into *Ireland* ; For he designed, in case of new misfortunes, to treat with the King, and to preserve himself and his friends ; And now he began to dispose the *Irish* to think of treating ; since they saw that otherwise their ruin was inevitable. But as soon as this was suspected, all the military men, who resolved to give themselves up entirely to the *French* Interest, combined against him, and blasted him as a feeble and false man, who was not to be trusted. This was carried so far ; that to avoid affronts, he was advised to leave the Army : And he staid all this Summer at *Limerick*, where he died of grief, as was believed : But before he died, he advised all that came to him, not to let things go to extremities, but to accept of such terms as could be got : And his words seemed to weigh more after his death, than in his life-time : For the *Irish* began generally to say, that they must take care of themselves, and not be made sacrifices to serve the ends of the *French*. This was much heightned, by the slaughter of the *Irish*, whom the *French* Governor had shut out, and left to perish. They wanted no provisions in *Limerick*. And a Squadron of *French* Ships stood over to that Coast, which was much stronger than ours, that had sailed up to the Town. So it was to be feared, that they might come into the River to destroy our Ships.

To hinder that, another Squadron of *English* Men of War was ordered thither. Yet the *French* did not think fit to venture their Ships within the *Shannon*, where they had no places of shelter ; The misunderstanding that daily grew, between the

*Irish*



*Irish* and the *French* was great; And all appearance of relief 1691 from *France* failing, made them resolve to capitulate. This was very welcome to *Ginkle* and his Army, who began to be in great wants; For that Country was quite wasted, having been the Seat of War for three Years: And all their draught-horses were so wearied out, that their Camp was often ill supplied.

When they came to capitulate, the *Irish* insisted on very high demands; which was set on by the *French*, who hoped they would be rejected: But the King had given *Ginkle* secret directions, that he should grant all the demands they could make, that would put an end to that War: So every thing was granted, to the great disappointment of the *French*, and the no small grief of some of the *English*, who hoped this War should have ended in the total ruine of the *Irish* Interest. During the Treaty, a saying of *Sarsfield's* deserves to be remembred; for it was much talked of, all *Europe* over. He asked some of the *English* Officers, if they had not come to a better opinion of the *Irish*, by their behaviour during this War; And, whereas they said, it was much the same, that it had always been; *Sarsfield* answered, as low as we now are, change but Kings with us, and we will fight it over again with you. Those of *Limerick* treated, not only for themselves, but for all the rest of their Countrymen, that were yet in Arms. They were all indemnified and restored to all, that they had enjoyed in King *Charles's* time. They were also admitted to all the Privileges of Subjects, upon their taking the Oaths of Allegiance to their Majesties, without being bound to take the Oath of Supremacy. Not only the *French*, but as many of the *Irish* as had a mind to go over to *France*, had free liberty, and a safe transportation. And upon that, about twelve thousand of them went over.

And thus ended the War of *Ireland*: And with that our Civil War came to a final end. The Articles of Capitulation were punctually executed; and some doubts that arose, out of some ambiguous words, were explained in favour of the *Irish*. So earnestly desirous was the King to have all matters quieted at home, that he might direct his whole force against the Enemy abroad. The *English* in *Ireland*, tho' none could suffer more, by the continuance of the War, than they did, yet were uneasy, when they saw that the *Irish* had obtained such good conditions; Some of the more violent men among them, who were much exasperated with the wrongs, that had been done them, began to call in question the legality of some of the Articles: But the Parliament of *England* did not think fit to enter upon that discussion; Nor made they any motions to-



1691 wards the violating the Capitulation. *Ginkle* came over full of honour, after so glorious a Campaign, and was made Earl of *Athlone*, and had noble rewards for the great Service he had done; though, without detracting from him, a large share of all that was done, was due to some of the General Officers, in particular to *Rouvigny*, made upon this Earl of *Galloway*, to *Mackay*, and *Tallmash*. Old *Rouvigny* being dead, his Son offered his Service to the King, who unwillingly accepted of it; because he knew that an estate, which his Father had in *France*, and of which, he had still the income, would be immediately confiscated: But he had no regard to that, and heartily engaged in the King's Service, and has been ever since employed in many eminent Posts; in all which he has acquitted himself with that great reputation, both for Capacity, Integrity, Courage, and Application, as well as Success in most of his Undertakings, that he is justly reckoned among the great men of the Age: And to crown all, he is a man of eminent Vertues, great Piety, and Zeal for Religion.

Affairs in  
Hungary.

The Emperor's affairs in *Hungary* went on successfully this Year, under the command of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; tho' he committed an error, that was like to have proved fatal to him: His stores lay near him, in great boats on the *Danube*: But upon some design, he made a motion off from that River; Of which the Grand *Vizier* took the advantage, and got into his Camp, between him and his stores; so he must either starve, or break through to come at his provisions. The *Turks* had not time to fortify themselves in their new Camp: So he attacked them with such fury, that they were quite routed, and lost Camp and Cannon, and a great part of their Army; The Grand *Vizier* himself being killed. If the Court of *Vienna* had really desired a Peace, they might have had it, upon this Victory, on very easy terms: But they resolved they would be Masters of all *Transilvania*; And, in order to that, they undertook the Siege of *Great Waradin*, which they were forced to turn to a Blockade: So that it fell not into their hands till the Spring following. The Emperor was led on by the Prophecies, that assured him of constant Conquests, and that he should, in conclusion, arrive at *Constantinople* itself: So that the practices of those, whom the *French* had gained about him, had but too much matter to work on in himself.

The Max-  
ims of the  
Court of  
*Vienna*.

The news of the total reduction of *Ireland*, confirmed him in his resolutions, of carrying on the War in *Hungary*. It was reckoned that *England*, being now disengaged at home, would, with the rest of the Protestant Allies, be able to carry on the War



War with *France*. And the two chief passions in the Emperor's mind, being his hatred of Heresy, and his hatred of *France*, it was said, that those about him, who served the interests of that Court, perswaded him that he was to let the War go on between *France*, and those he esteemed Hereticks; Since he would be a gainer, which side soever should lose; either *France* would be humbled, or the Hereticks be exhausted; while he should extend his Dominions, and conquer Infidels: The King had a sort of regard and submission to the Emperor, that he had to no other Prince whatsoever: So that he did not press him, as many desired he should, to accept of a Peace with the *Turks*, that so he might turn his whole force against *France*.

*Germany* was now more entirely united in one common interest than ever: The third party, that the *French* had formed, to obstruct the War, were now gone off from those measures, and engaged in the general interest of the Empire: The two Northern Kings had some satisfaction given them, in point of Trade, that so they might maintain their neutrality: And they were favourable to the Allies, though not engaged with them. The King of *Sweden*, whom the *French* were pressing to offer his mediation for a Peace, wrote to the Duke of *Hannover*, assuring him, he would never hearken to that proposition, till he had full assurances from the *French*, that they would own the present Government of *England*.

That Duke, who had been long in a *French* management, did now break off all commerce with that Court, and enter'd into a Treaty, both with the Emperor and with the King: He promised great supplies against *France*, and the *Turk*, if he might be made an Elector of the Empire; In which the King concurred to press the matter so earnestly, at the Court of *Vienna*, that they agreed to it, in case he could gain the consent of the other Electors; which the Emperor's Ministers resolved to oppose, underhand, all they could. He quickly gained the consent of the greater number of the Electors; Yet new objections were still made. It was said, that if this was granted, another Electorate in a *Popish* Family, ought also to be created, to balance the advantage that this gave the *Lutherans*: And they moved that *Austria* should be made an Electorate. But this was so much opposed, since it gave the Emperor two Votes in the Electoral College, that it was let fall. In conclusion, after a Year's negotiation, and a great opposition, both by *Popish* and *Protestant* Princes, (some of the latter, considering more their jealousies of the House of *Hannover*, than the interest of their Religion,) the Investiture was given, with the Title of Elector of

1691

The State of  
the Empire.

A Ninth E-  
lector creat-  
ed.



1691 of *Brunswick*, and Great Marshal of the Empire. The *French* opposed this, with all the artifices they could set at work. The matter lay long in an unsettled state; Nor was he now admitted into the College; it being said, that the unanimous consent of all the Electors must be first had.

Affairs in  
Savoy.

The Affairs of *Savoy* did not go on so prosperously as was hoped for: *Caraffa*, that commanded the Imperial Army, was more intent on raising Contributions, than on carrying on the War: He crossed every good motion that was made: *Montmelian* was lost, which was chiefly imputed to *Caraffa*; The young Duke of *Schomberg*, sent thither to command those Troops, that the King paid, undertook to relieve the place, and was assured that many Protestants in *Dauphiny*, would come and join him. But *Caraffa*, and indeed the Court of *Turin*, seemed to be more afraid of the strength of Heresy, than of the Power of *France*; and chose to let that important place fall into their hands, rather than suffer it to be relieved by those they did not like. When the Duke of *Savoy's* Army went into Quarters, *Caraffa* obliged the neighbouring Princes, and the State of *Genoa*, to contribute to the subsistence of the Imperial Army, threatening them otherwise with Winter Quarters: So that how ill soever he managed the Duke of *Savoy's* concerns, he took care of his own. He was recalled, upon the Complaints made against him on all hands; and *Caprara* was sent to command in his room.

The Elector  
of *Bavaria*  
commanded  
in *Flanders*.

The greatest danger lay in *Flanders*, where the feebleness of the *Spanish* Government, did so exhaust and weaken the whole Country, that all the strength of the Confederate Armies was scarce able to defend it: The *Spaniards* had offered to deliver it up to the King, either as he was King of *England*, or as he was Stadtholder of the United Provinces. He knew the bigotry of the people so well, that he was convinced, it was not possible to get them to submit to a Protestant Government; But he proposed the Elector of *Bavaria*, who seemed to have much heat, and an ambition of signalizing himself in that Country, which was then the chief scene of War: And he could support that Government by the Troops and Treasure, that he might draw out of his Electorate: Besides, if he governed that Country well, and acquired a fame in Arms, that might give him a Prospect of succeeding to the Crown of *Spain*, in the right of his Electors, who, if the House of *Bourbon* was set aside, was next in that Succession. The *Spaniards* agreed to this Proposal; But they would not make the first offer of it to that Elector, nor would he ask it; and it stuck for some time at this: But the

Court



Court of *Vienna* adjusted the matter, by making the proposition, which the Elector accepted: And that put a new life into those oppressed and miserable Provinces. 1691

This was the general state of affairs, when a new Session of Parliament was opened at *Westminster*, and then it appeared, that a Party was avowedly formed against the Government. They durst not own that before, while the War of *Ireland* continued. But now, since that was at an end, they began to infuse into all people, that there was no need of keeping up a great Land Army, and that we ought only to assist our Allies, with some auxiliary Troops, and increase our force at Sea. Many that understood not the state of foreign affairs, were drawn into this conceit; not considering, that if *Flanders* was lost, *Holland* must submit, and take the best terms they could get. And the conjunction of those two great Powers at Sea, must presently ruine our Trade, and in a little time subdue us entirely. But it was not easy to bring all people to apprehend this aright; And those who had ill intentions, would not be beaten out of it, but covered worse designs with this pretence: And this was still kept up as a prejudice, against the King and his Government, that he loved to have a great Army about him; and that when they were once modelled, he would never part with them, but govern in an arbitrary way, as soon as he had prepared his Soldiers to serve his ends.

A Session of Parliament.

Another prejudice had more colour, and as bad effects. The King was thought to love the *Dutch* more than the *English*, to trust more to them, and to admit them to more freedom with him. He gave too much occasion to a general disgust, which was spread both among the *English* Officers, and the Nobility: He took little pains to gain the affections of the Nation; Nor did he constrain himself enough to render his Government more acceptable: He was shut up all the day long; And his silence, when he admitted any to an audience, distasted them as much, as if they had been denied it. The Earl of *Marlborough* thought, that the great services he had done, were not acknowledged nor rewarded, as they well deserved; and began to speak like a man discontented. And the strain of all the Nation almost was, that the *English* were overlooked, and the *Dutch* were the only persons favoured or trusted. This was National; And the *English* being too apt to despise other Nations, and being of more lively tempers than the *Dutch*, grew to express a contempt and an aversion for them, that went almost to a mutiny. It is true, the *Dutch* behaved themselves so well, and so regularly in their Quarters, and paid for every thing so punctually, whereas the

Jealousies of the King.



1691 *English* were apt to be rude and exacting; especially those who were all this Winter coming over from *Ireland*, who had been so long in an Enemy's Country, that they were not easily brought into order; so that the common people were generally better pleased with the *Dutch* Soldiers, than with their own Countrymen, but it was not the same as to the Officers. These seeds of discontent, were carefully managed by the Enemies of the Government; And by those means, matters went on heavily in the House of Commons. The King was also believed to be so tender, in every point that seemed to relate to his Prerogative, that he could not well bear any thing, that was a diminution of it: And he was said to have taken a dislike and mistrust of all those, whose notions leaned to publick Liberty, tho' those were the persons that were the firmest to him, and the most zealous for him. The men, whose notions of the Prerogative were the highest, were suspected to be Jacobites: Yet it was observed, that many of these were much courted, and put into Employments, in which they shewed so little affection to the Government, and so close a Correspondence with its professed Enemies, that it was generally believed they intended to betray it. The blame of employing these men, was cast on the Earl of *Nottingham*, who, as the Whigs said, infused into the King Jealousies of his best Friends, and inclined him to court some of his bitterest Enemies.

1692 The taking off Parliament men, who complained of grievances, by Places and Pensions, was believed to be now very generally practised. *Seimour*, who had, in a very injurious manner, not only opposed every thing, but had reflected on the King's Title and Conduct, was this Winter brought into the Treasury, and the Cabinet Council: Yet tho' a great opposition was made, and many delays contrived, all the money that was asked was at length given. Among the Bills that were offered to the King, at the end of the Session, one was to secure the Judges Salaries; and to put it out of the King's power to stop them. The Judges had their Commission, during their good behaviour; Yet their Salaries were not so secured to them, but that these were at the King's pleasure. But the King put a stop to this, and refused to pass the Bill: for it was represented to him, by some of the Judges themselves, that it was not fit they should be out of all dependence on the Court; tho' it did not appear, that there was any hurt in making Judges, in all respects, free and independent. A Parliament was summoned to meet in *Ireland*, to annul all that had



had passed in King *James's* Parliament; to confirm anew the 1692  
Act of Settlement; and to do all other things, that the broken  
state of that impoverished Island required, and to grant such  
Supplies, as they could raise, and as the state of their affairs would  
permit.

Affairs in *Scotland* were put in another method; Lord *Tweed-* Affairs in  
Scotland.  
*dale* was made Lord Chancellor, and not long after a Marquis  
in that Kingdom: Lord *Melville* was put in a less important  
Post; And most of his creatures were laid aside; But several  
of those, who had been in *Montgomery's* Plot, were brought into  
the Council and Ministry. *Johnstoun*, who had been sent Envoy  
to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, was called home, and made  
Secretary of State for that Kingdom: It began soon to appear  
in *Scotland*, how ill the King was advised, when he brought in  
some of the Plotters into the chief Posts of that Government;  
As this disgusted the Presbyterians, so it was very visible, that  
those pretended Converts came into his Service, only to have it  
in their power, to deliver up that Kingdom to King *James*:  
They scarce disguised their designs; So that the trusting such  
men amazed all people. The Presbyterians had very much of-  
fended the King, and their fury was instrumental in raising  
great Jealousies of him in *England*: He well foresaw the ill  
effects this was like to have; And therefore he recommended to  
a General Assembly, that met this Winter, to receive the Epis-  
copal Clergy, to concur with them, in the Government of the  
Church, upon their desiring to be admitted: And in case the  
Assembly could not be brought to consent to this, the King or-  
dered it to be dissolved, without naming any other time or place  
of meeting. It was not likely, that there could be any agree-  
ment, where both Parties were so much inflamed one against  
another; And those, who had the greatest credit with both,  
studied rather to exasperate, than to soften them. The Episcopal  
Party carried it high; They gave it out, that the King was now  
theirs; and that they were willing to come to a concurrence  
with Presbytery, on design to bring all about to Episcopacy,  
in a little time: The Presbyterians, who at all times were stiff  
and peevish, were more than ordinarily so at this time: They  
were jealous of the King; Their Friends were now disgraced,  
and their bitterest Enemies were coming into favour: So they  
were surly, and would abate in no point of their Government:  
And upon that, the Assembly was dissolved. But they pretended,  
that by Law they had a right to an Annual meeting, from which  
nothing could cut them off; for they said, according to a dis-  
tinction much used among them, that the King's power of cal-



1692

calling Synods and Assemblies was cumulative, and not private; That is, he might call them if he would, and appoint time and place; but that, if he did not call them, they might meet by an inherent right that the Church had, which was confirmed by Law: Therefore they adjourned themselves. This was represented to the King as a high strain of insolence, that invaded the Rights of the Crown, of which he was become very sensible: Most of those, who came now into his Service, made it their business to incense him against the Presbyterians, in which he was so far engaged, that it did alienate that party much from him.

The Affair  
of Glencoe.

There was, at this time, a very barbarous Massacre committed in *Scotland*, which shewed both the cruelty and the treachery of some of those, who had unhappily insinuated themselves, into the King's Confidence: The Earl of *Braidalbin* formed a Scheme of quieting all the Highlanders, if the King would give twelve or fifteen thousand pounds for doing it, which was remitted down from *England*; And this was to be divided among the Heads of the Tribes, or Clanns of the Highlanders. He employed his Emiffaries among them, and told them, the best service they could do King *James*, was to lie quiet, and reserve themselves to a better time; And if they would take the Oaths, the King would be contented with that, and they were to have a share of this sum, that was sent down to buy their quiet; But this came to nothing; Their demands rose high; They knew this Lord had money to distribute among them; They believed he intended to keep the best part of it to himself; So they asked more than he could give: Among the most clamorous and obstinate of these, were the *Mackdonalds* of *Glencoe*, who were believed guilty of much robbery, and many murders; And so had gained too much by their pilfering War, to be easily brought to give it over. The head of that Vally had so particularly provoked Lord *Braidalbin*, that as his Scheme was quite defeated, by the opposition that he raised, so he designed a severe revenge. The King had, by a Proclamation, offered an indemnity to all the Highlanders, that had been in Arms against him, upon their coming in, by a prefixed day, to take the Oaths; The day had been twice or thrice prolonged; And it was at last carried to the end of the Year 1691; with a positive threatening, of proceeding to military execution, against such as should not come into his obedience, by the last day of *December*.

All were so terrified, that they came in; and even that *Macdonald* went to the Governor of Fort *William*, on the last  
of



of *December*, and offered to take the Oaths; But he, being only 1692 a military man, could not, or would not tender them; And *Macdonald* was forced to seek for some of the Legal Magistrates, to tender them to him. The Snows were then fallen, so four or five days passed, before he could come to a Magistrate; He took the Oaths in his presence, on the fourth or fifth of *January*, when, by the strictness of Law, he could claim no benefit by it; The matter was signified to the Council; and the person had a reprimand, for giving him the Oaths, when the day was past.

This was kept up from the King; And the Earl of *Braidalbin* came to Court, to give an account of his diligence, and to bring back the money, since he could not do the service, for which he had it. He informed against this *Macdonald*, as the chief person, who had defeated that good design; And that he might both gratify his own revenge, and render the King odious to all the Highlanders, he proposed, that Orders should be sent for a military execution, on those of *Glencoe*. An Instruction was drawn by the Secretary of State, to be both signed and countersigned by the King (that so he might bear no part of the blame, but that it might lie wholly on the King) that such as had not taken the Oaths, by the time limited, should be shut out of the benefit of the Indemnity, and be received only upon mercy. But when it was found, that this would not authorize what was intended, a second Order was got to be signed and countersigned, that if the *Glencoe* men could be separated, from the rest of the Highlanders, some Examples might be made of them, in order to strike terror into the rest. The King signed this, without any enquiry about it; for he was too apt to sign papers in a hurry, without examining the importance of them. This was one effect of his slowness in dispatching business: for as he was apt to suffer things to run on, till there was a great heap of papers laid before him; so then he signed them, a little too precipitately. But all this while, the King knew nothing of *Macdonald's* offering to take the Oaths, within the time, nor of his having taken them soon after it was past, when he came to a proper Magistrate. As these Orders were sent down, the Secretary of State writ many private Letters to *Levingston*, who commanded in *Scotland*, giving him a strict charge and particular directions for the execution of them: And he ordered the passes in the Valley to be kept, describing them so minutely, that the Orders were certainly drawn by one, who knew the Country well. He gave also a positive direction, that no Prisoners should be taken, that so the execution might be as



1692 terrible as was possible. He pressed this upon *Levingston*, with strains of vehemence, that looked as if there was something more than ordinary in it; He indeed grounded it on his zeal for the King's service, adding, that such Rebels and Murderers should be made Examples of.

In *February*, a Company was sent to *Glencoe*, who were kindly received, and quartered over the Valley; the Inhabitants thinking themselves safe, and looking for no Hostilities; After they had staid a week among them, they took their time in the night, and killed about six and thirty of them, the rest taking the alarm, and escaping: This raised a mighty out-cry, and was published by the *French* in their Gazettes, and by the Jacobites in their Libels, to cast a reproach on the King's Government, as cruel and barbarous; tho' in all other instances it had appeared, that his own inclinations were gentle and mild, rather to an excess. The King sent Orders to inquire into the matter; But when the Letters, writ upon this business, were all examined, which I myself read, it appeared, that so many were involved in the matter, that the King's gentleness prevailed on him to a fault; and he contented himself with dismissing only the Master of *Stair* from his Service: The Highlanders were so inflamed with this, that they were put in as forward a disposition, as the Jacobites wished for, to have rebelled upon the first favourable opportunity: And indeed the not punishing this with a due rigour, was the greatest blot in this whole Reign, and had a very ill effect in alienating that Nation, from the King and his Government.

The Earl of  
*Marlboro'*  
disgraced.

An Incident happened near the end of this Session, that had very ill effects; which I unwillingly mention, because it cannot be told without some reflections on the memory of the Queen, whom I always honoured, beyond all the persons I had ever known. The Earl of *Nottingham* came to the Earl of *Marlborough*, with a message from the King, telling him, that he had no more use for his Service, and therefore he demanded all his Commissions. What drew so sudden and so hard a message was not known: For he had been with the King that morning, and had parted with him in the ordinary manner. It seemed, some Letter was intercepted, which gave suspicion: It is certain, that he thought he was too little considered, and that he had, upon many occasions, censured the King's conduct, and reflected on the *Dutch*. But the original cause of his disgrace, arose from another consideration; The Princess thought herself too much neglected by the King, whose cold way towards her, was soon observed: After the King was on the Throne, no propositions were



were made to her of a Settlement, nor any advances of money. 1692  
So she, thinking she was to be kept in a necessitous dependance on the Court, got some to move in the House of Commons, in the year 1690, when they were in the Debate concerning the Revenue, that she should have assignments, suitable to her Dignity. This both King and Queen took amiss from her; The Queen complained more particularly, that she was then ill, after her lying-in of the Duke of *Glocester* at *Hampton-Court*, and that she herself was treating her and the young child, with the tenderness of a mother, and that yet such a motion was made, before she had tried, in a private way, what the King intended to assign her. The Princess, on the other hand, said, she knew the Queen was a good wife, submissive and obedient to every thing that the King desired; so she thought, the best way was to have a Settlement by Act of Parliament: On the other hand, the custom had always been, that the Royal Family (a Prince of *Wales* not excepted) was kept in a dependance on the King, and had no allowance, but from his meer favour and kindness; yet in this case, in which the Princess was put out of the Succession, during the King's life, it seemed reasonable, that somewhat more than ordinary should be done in consideration of that. The Act past, allowing her a Settlement of fifty thousand pounds. But upon this a coldness followed, between not only the King, but even the Queen, and the Princess. And the blame of this motion was cast on the Countess of *Marlborough*, as most in favour with the Princess: And this had contributed much to alienate the King from her husband, and had disposed him to receive ill impressions of him.

Upon his disgrace, his Lady was forbid the Court; The Princess would not submit to this; She thought, she ought to be allowed to keep what persons she pleased about herself. And when the Queen insisted on the thing, she retired from the Court. There were, no doubt, ill offices done on all hands, as there were some that pressed the Princess to submit to the Queen, as well as others who pressed the Queen to pass it over; but without effect: Both had engaged themselves, before they had well reflected on the consequences of such a breach: And the matter went so far, that the Queen ordered, that no publick Honours should be shewed the Princess, besides many other lesser matters, which I unwillingly reflect on, because I was much troubled to see the Queen carry such a matter so far: And the breach continued to the end of her life. The Enemies of the Government tried what could be made of this, to create distractions among us; But the Princess gave no encouragement to

A Breach  
between the  
Queen and  
the Princess.



1692 to them. So that this misunderstanding had no other effect, but that it gave Enemies much ill-natured joy, and a secret spiteful diversion.

*Russel* commanded the Fleet. The King gave *Russel* the Command of the Fleet; tho' he had put himself in ill terms with him, by pressing to know the grounds of the Earl of *Marlborough's* disgrace: He had not only lived in great friendship with him, but had carried the first messages that had passed between him and the King, when he went over to *Holland*; He almost upbraided the King with the Earl of *Marlborough's* Services, who, as he said, had set the Crown on his head. *Russel* also came to be in ill terms with the Earl of *Nottingham*, who as he thought, supported a faction among the Flag Officers against him; And he fell indeed into so ill an humour, on many accounts, that he seemed to be for some time in doubt, whether he ought to undertake the command of the Fleet, or not: I tried, at the desire of some of his friends, to soften him a little, but without success.

A Descent  
in *England*,  
prepared by  
K. *James*.

The King went over to *Holland* in *March*, to prepare for an early Campaign. He intimated somewhat in his Speech to the Parliament, of a descent designed upon *France*; But we had neither men nor money to execute it. And, while we were pleasing our selves with the thoughts of a descent in *France*, King *James* was preparing for a real one in *England*. It was intended to be made in the end of *April*: He had about him fourteen thousand *English* and *Irish*; And Marshal *Belfonds* was to accompany him, with about three thousand *French*. They were to sail from *Cherbourg* and *La Hogue*, and some other places in *Normandy*, and to land in *Sussex*, and from thence to march with all haste to *London*. A Transport-Fleet was also brought thither: They were to bring over only a small number of horses; for their party, in *England*, undertook to furnish them with horses, at their landing. At the same time, the King of *France* was to march with a great Army into *Flanders*; and he reckoned, that the descent in *England*, would either have succeeded, since there was a very small force left within the Kingdom; or at least, that it would have obliged the King to come over, with some of his *English* Troops: And in that case, which way soever the War of *England* had ended, he should have mastered *Flanders*, and so forced the *States* to submit: And, in case other designs had failed, there was one in reserve, managed by the *French* Ministry, and by *Luxembourg*, of assassinating the King, which would have brought about all their designs. The *French* King seemed to think the Project was so well laid, that it could not miscarry: for he said publickly, before he set out, that he was going to make



make an end of the War. We in *England* were all this while 1692 very secure, and did not apprehend we were in any danger. Both the King and his Secretaries were much blamed, for taking so little care to procure Intelligence ; If the winds had favoured the *French*, they themselves would have brought us the first news of their design ; They sent over some persons, to give their friends notice, but a very few days, before they reckoned, they should be on our Coast : One of these was a *Scotchman*, and brought the first discovery to *Johnstoun* : Orders were presently sent out, to bring together such Forces as lay scattered in Quarters ; And a Squadron of our Fleet, that was set to Sea, was ordered to lay on the Coast of *Normandy* : But the Heavens fought against them more effectually, than we could have done. There was, for a whole month together, such a Storm that lay on their Coast, that it was not possible for them to come out of their Ports ; nor could Marshal *D'Estrees* come about with the Squadron from *Toulon*, so soon as was expected. In the beginning of *May*, about forty of our Ships were on the Coast of *Normandy*, and were endeavouring to destroy their Transport Ships : Upon which, Orders were sent to Marshal *Tourville*, to sail to the Channel, and fight the *English* Fleet. They had a Westerly wind to bring them within the Channel : But then the wind struck into the East, and stood so long there, that it both brought over the *Dutch* Fleet, and brought about our great Ships. By this means, our whole Fleet was joined : So that *Tourville's* design, of getting between the several Squadrons that composed it, was lost. The King of *France*, being then in *Flanders*, upon this change of wind, sent Orders to *Tourville* not to fight : Yet the Vessel that carried these was taken, and the duplicate of these Orders, that was sent by another conveyance, came not to him till the day after the Engagement.

On the nineteenth of *May*, *Russel* came up with the *French*, and was almost twice their number ; Yet not above the half of his Ships could be brought into the Action, by reason of the winds : *Rook*, one of his Admirals, was thought more in fault. The number of the Ships that engaged was almost equal ; Our men said, that the *French* neither shewed courage nor skill in the Action ; The night and a fog separated the two Fleets, after an Engagement that had lasted some hours. The greatest part of the *French* Ships drew near their Coasts ; But *Russel* not casting anchor, as the *French* did, was carried out by the tide : So next morning he was at some distance from them. A great part of the *French* Fleet sailed Westward, through a dangerous Sea, called the Race of *Alderney* : *Ashby* was sent to pursue them:



1692 them: And he followed them some leagues: But then, the Pilots pretending danger, he came back; so twenty six of them, whom if *Ashby* had pursued, by all appearance, he had destroyed them all, got into *St. Malo's*. *Russel* came up to the *French* Admiral, and the other Ships that had drawn near their Coasts; *Delaval* burnt the Admiral, and his two Seconds: And *Rook* burnt sixteen more before *La Hogue*.

But not followed as it might have been.

It was believed, that if this Success had been pursued with vigour, considering the consternation, with which the *French* were struck, upon such an unusual and surprizing blow, that this Victory might have been carried much farther than it was. But *Russel* was provoked by some Letters and Orders, that the Earl of *Nottingham* sent him from the Queen, which he thought were the effects of ignorance; And upon that he fell into a crossness of disposition; He found fault with every Order that was sent him; But would offer no advices on his part. And he came soon after to *St. Helens*; which was much censured; for tho' the disabled Ships must have been sent in, yet there was no such reason for bringing in the rest, that were not touched. Cross winds kept them long in Port; So that a great part of the Summer was spent, before he went out again. The *French* had recovered out of the first disorder, that had quite dispirited them. A descent in *France* came to be thought on, when it was too late: About seven thousand men were shipped; And it was intended to land them at *St. Malo's*; But the Seamen were of opinion, that neither there, nor any where else, a descent was then practicable. They complained, that the Earl of *Nottingham* was ignorant of Sea affairs, and yet that he set on propositions relating to them, without consulting Seamen, and sent Orders which could not be obeyed, without endangering the whole Fleet. So the men, who were thus shipped, lay some days on board, to the great reproach of our Counsels: But that we might not appear too ridiculous, both at home and abroad, by landing them again in *England*; the King ordered them to be sent over to *Flanders*, after they had been for some weeks on Shipboard; And so our Campaign on the Sea, that began so gloriously, had a poor conclusion. The common reflection that was made on our conduct was, that the providence of God, and the valour of our men, had given us a victory, of which we knew not what use we should make: And which was worse, our Merchants complained of great losses this Summer; for the *French* having laid up their Fleet, let their Seamen go and serve in Privateers, with which they watched all the motions of our Trade: And so, by an odd Reverse of things, as we made no

con-



considerable losses, while the *French* were Masters of our Sea, 1692  
two years before; so now, when we triumphed on that Element, our Merchants suffered the most. The conclusion of all was, *Russel* complained of the Ministry, particularly of the Earl of *Nottingham*; and they complained no less of him; and the Merchants complained of the Admiralty: But they, in their own defence said, that we had not Ships nor Seamen, both to furnish out a great Fleet, and at the same time to send out Convoys for securing the Trade.

In *Flanders*, the design, to which the *French* trusted most, A Design to  
failed: That was laid for assassinating the King: One *Grand-* assassinate  
*val* had been in treaty with *Louvoy* about it; And it was intended to be executed the former year. He joined with *Du*  
*Mont* to follow the King and shoot him, as he was riding about in his ordinary way, moving slowly, and visiting the posts of his Army. The King of *France* had lost two Ministers, one after another. *Seignelay* died first, who had no extraordinary genius, but he knew all his father's methods, and pursued them so, that he governed himself, both by his father's maxims, and with his tools. *Louvoy* did not survive him long; He had more fire, and so grew uneasy at the authority, *Madam de Maintenon* took in things which she could not understand: And was, in conclusion, so unacceptable to the King, that once, when he flung his bundle of papers down upon the floor before him, upon some provocation, the King lifted up his cane: But the Lady held him from doing more; Yet that affront, as was given out, sunk so deep into *Louvoy's* spirits, that he died suddenly a few days after. Some said, it was of an Apoplexy; Others suspected poison; for a man that knew so many secrets, would have been dangerous, if he had out-lived his favour. His Son *Barbesieux* had the survivance of his place, and continued in it for some years; But, as he was young, so he had not a capacity equal to the post. He found, among his father's papers, a memorandum of this design of *Grandval's*; So he sent for him, and resolved to pursue it; in which *Madam de Maintenon* concurred, and *Luxemburgh* was trusted with the direction of it. *Du Mont* retired this winter to *Zell*, as one that had forsaken the *French* Service: From some practices and discourses of his, a suspicion arose, of which Sir *William Colt*, the King's Envoy there, gave notice: So one *Leefdale*, a Dutch Papist, was secretly sent to *Paris*, as a person that would enter into the design; But, in reality, went on purpose to discover it.

*Grandval*



1692

*Grandval*  
suffered for  
it, and con-  
fesses it.

*Grandval* and he came back to *Flanders*, to set about it ; But *Leefdale* brought him into a party, that seized on him : Both King *James*, and his Queen, were, as *Grandval* said, engaged in the design ; One *Parkher*, whom they employed in many black designs, had concerted the matter with *Grandval*, as he confessed, and had carried him to King *James*, who encouraged him to go on with it, and promised great rewards. When *Grandval* saw there was full proof against him, he confessed the whole series of the management, without staying till he were put to the torture. Mr. *Morel* of *Berne*, a famous Medalist, (who had, for some years, the charge of the *French* King's cabinet of medals, but being a Protestant, and refusing to change his Religion, was kept a close prisoner in the *Bastile* for seven years) was let out in *April* this year. And, before he left *Paris*, his curiosity carried him to St. *Germain*s, to see King *James* : He happened both to go and come back in the Coach with *Grandval* ; And while he was there, he saw him in private discourse with King *James* : *Grandval* was full of this project, and, according to the *French* way, he talked very loosely to *Morel*, not knowing who he was ; but fancied he was well affected to that Court. He said there was a design in hand, that would confound all *Europe* : For the Prince of *Orange*, so he called the King, would not live a month. This *Morel* writ over to me in too careless a manner ; for he directed his Letter with his own hand, which was well known at Court ; Yet it came safe to me. The King gave Orders, that none belonging to him should go near *Grandval*, that there might be no colour for saying, that the hopes of life had drawn his Confession from him ; Nor was he strictly interrogated concerning Circumstances ; but was left to tell his story, as he pleased himself. He was condemned ; and suffered with some slight remorse, for going into a design to kill a King : His Confession was printed. But how black soever it represented the Court of *France*, no notice was taken of it : Nor did any of that Court offer to disown or disprove it, but let it pass and be forgotten : Yet so blind and violent was their party among us, that they resolved they would believe nothing, that either blemished King *James*, or the *French* Court.

*Namur* was  
taken by the  
*French*.

But tho' this miscarried, the *French* succeeded in the Siege of *Namur* : A place of great importance, that commanded both the *Maese* and *Sambre*, and covered both *Liege* and *Mastricht* : The Town did soon capitulate, but the Citadel held out much longer. The King came with a great Army to raise the Siege ; *Luxemburgh* lay in his way with another to cover it, and the

Me-



*Mebaigne* lay between. The King intended to pass the River, and force a Battle; But such rains fell, the night before he designed to do it, and the River swelled so much, that he could not pass it for some days: He tried, by another motion, to come and raise the Siege. But the Town having capitulated so early, and the Citadel laying on the other side of the *Sambre*, he could not come at it: So after a month's Siege it was taken. This was looked on as the greatest action of the *French* King's life; that, notwithstanding the depression of such a defeat at Sea, he yet supported his measures, so as to take that important place, in the view of a great Army. The King's conduct was on this occasion much censured: It was said, he ought to have put much to hazard, rather than suffer such a place to be taken in his fight.

After *Namur* surrendered, that King went back to *Paris* in his usual method; for, according to the old *Persian* Luxury, he used to bring the Ladies with him, with the Musick, Poems, and Scenes, for an Opera, and a Ball; in which he and his actions were to be set out, with the pomp of much flattery. When this action was over, his Forces lay on the Defensive, and both Armies made some motions, watching and waiting on one another.

At *Steenkirk*, the King thought he had a favourable occasion for attacking the *French*, in their Camp; But the ground was found to be narrower, and less practicable, than the King had been made to believe it was. Ten Battalions begun the Attack, and carried a Post with Cannon, and maintained it long, doing great execution on the Enemy; And if they had been supported, or brought off, it had proved a brave attempt: But they were cut in pieces. In the whole action, the *French* lost many more men than the Confederates did; for they came so thick, that our fire made great execution. The conduct of this affair was much censured. It was said, the ground ought to have been better examined, before the attack was begun; And the men ought to have been better maintained, than they were: For many thought, that if this had been done, we might have had a total Victory. Count *Solms* bore the blame of the errors, committed on this occasion. The *English* had been sometimes check'd by him, as he was much disgusted with their heat and pride: So they charged all on him, who had some good qualities; but did not manage them in an obliging manner. We lost in this action about five thousand men, and many brave Officers; Here *Mackay* was killed, being ordered to a Post that he saw could not be maintained; He sent his opinion about

The Battle  
of Steen-  
kirk.





1692 it; But the former Orders were confirmed: So he went on, saying only, The Will of the Lord be done. He was a man of such strict principles, that he would not have served in a War that he did not think lawful. He took great care of his Soldiers morals, and forced them to be both sober and just in their Quarters: He spent all the time that he was master of, in secret Prayers, and in the reading of the Scriptures. The King often observed, that when he had full leisure for his devotions, he acted with a peculiar exaltation of courage. He had one very singular quality; In Councils of War, he delivered his opinion freely, and maintained it with due zeal; But how positive soever he was in it, if the Council of War over-ruled it, even tho' he was not convinced by it, yet to all others he justified it, and executed his part with the same zeal, as if his own opinion had prevailed. After the Action at *Steenkirk*, there was little done this Campaign. A Detachment, that the King sent from his Army, joined with those Bodies that came from *England*, broke in some way in to the *French* Conquests: They fortified *Dixmuyde* and *Furnes*, and put the Country about them under Contribution, and became very uneasy neighbours to *Dunkirk*. The Command of those Places was given to the Count of *Horn*, who understood well the way to make all possible advantages by Contributions; But he was a man of no great worth, and of as little courage. This disgusted the *English* still more; who said, the *Dutch* were always trusted and preferred, while they were neglected. They had some colour to censure this choice the following winter: For, upon the motion of some *French* Troops, *Horn* (without studying to amuse the Enemy, or to gain time, upon which, much may depend in Winter) did immediately abandon *Dixmuyde*. All he had to justify himself, was a Letter from the Elector of *Bavaria*, telling him, that he could send him no relief; and therefore he ordered him to take care of the Garrison, which was of more importance than the Place itself. Thus the Campaign ended in *Flanders*; *Namur* was lost; The Reputation of the King's conducting Armies was much sunk, and the *English* were generally discontented, and alienated from the *Dutch*.

Affairs in  
Germany.

Nothing was done on the *Rhine*. The Elector of *Saxony* had promised to bring an Army thither: But *Shening* his General, who had great power over him, was gained by the *French*, to break his design. The Duke of *Saxony* complained, that the Emperor favoured the Circles of *Franconia* and *Swabia* so much, that he could have no good Quarters assigned him for his Army: And upon this occasion it was said, that the Emperor drew much money





money from those Circles, that they might be covered from 1692 Winter Quarters ; and that he applied all that to carrying on the War in *Hungary* ; and so left the weight of the War with *France*, to lie very heavy on the Princes of the Empire. This contest went on so high, that *Shening*, who was thought the ill instrument in it, going for his health to the Hot Baths in *Bohemia*, was seized on by the Emperor's Orders ; Upon which, great expostulations passed between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Dresden*. There were two small Armies, that acted separately on the *Rhine*, under the Command of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Marquis of *Bareith* : But they were not able to cover the Empire : And another small Army, brought together by the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, for the defence of his Country, was totally defeated ; Not only Cannon and Baggage, but the Duke himself fell into the Enemies hands.

But, tho' the Emperor did, as it were, abandon the Empire to the *French*, he made no great progress in *Hungary* : The *Turks* lay upon a defensive ; And the Season was spent in motions, without either Battle or Siege. There was still some discourse, but no great probability of Peace. Two *English* Ambassadors dying, the one, Sir *Thomas Hussy*, soon after his arrival at *Constantinople* ; and the other, Mr. *Harbord*, on his way thither ; The Lord *Paget*, then our Ambassador at the Emperor's Court, was ordered to go thither, to mediate the Peace. He found the Mediation was, in a great measure, spoiled by the *Dutch* Ambassador, before his arrival : for he had been prevailed on, by the Court of *Vienna*, to offer the Mediation of the *Dutch* upon a very high Scheme. *Caminieck*, and the *Ukrain*, and *Podolia*, with *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, were demanded for *Poland* : *Transilvania*, with the person of Count *Tekeli*, for the Emperor ; and *Achaia* and *Livadia*, as an Antemurale to cover the *Morea*, for the *Venetians*. The Court of *Vienna*, by offering such a Project, reckoned the War must go on, which they desired. The Ministers of the *Porr*, who were gained by the *French* to carry on the War, were glad to see so high a Project ; They were afraid of Tumults ; So they spread this Project over the whole Empire, to shew, on what ignominious terms the Mediation was proposed ; And by that they justified their going on with the War. But the Lord *Paget* offered the King's Mediation upon another Project ; which was, that every Prince was to keep what he was then possessed of : And *Caminieck* was only demanded to be razed. If this had been offered at first, the *Ottoman* Court durst not have refused it : The people were become so weary under a long and unprosperous War ;

But

Affairs in  
*Hungary*,



1692 But the *Vizier* suppressed this, and made it still pass among them, that the *English* pressed the same Project, that the *Dutch* had proposed; which was the more easily believed there, because how ignorant soever they were at that Court, they knew well what an interest the King of *England* had in the *States*. So the War was still carried on there; And *Trumbal*, who came over to *England* at this time, told the King, that if instead of sending Embassies, he would send a powerful Fleet into the Mediterranean, to destroy the *French* Trade, and stop the Commerce with *Turkey*, he would quickly bring that Court to other measures, or raise such tumults among them, as would set that Empire, and even *Constantinople* itself, all in a flame.

Affairs in  
Piedmont.

In *Piedmont*, the Campaign was opened very late; And the *French* were on a defensive: So the Duke of *Savoy* entered into *Dauphiny* with an Army; And if he had carried on that attempt with the Spirit, with which he began it, he had put the affairs of *France* on that side into great disorder: But he was either ill served, or betrayed in it; He sat down before *Ambrun*, and besieged it in form: So that a place, which he might have carried in three days, cost him some weeks: And in every step, he made it appear, there was either a great feebleness, or much treachery in his Counsels. He made no great progress; Yet the disorder, it threw that and the neighbouring Provinces into, was very great. He was stopped by the Small Pox, which saved his honour, as much as it endangered his person: The retreat of his Army, when his life was in danger, looked like a due caution. He recovered of the Small Pox, but a ferment remained still in his Blood, and broke out so often into feverish relapses, that it was generally thought he was poisoned. Many months passed, before he was out of danger. So the Campaign ended there with considerable losses to the *French*, but with no great advantage to the Duke. The greatest prejudice the *French* suffered this year, was from the Season; They had a very bad harvest, and no vintage in the Northern parts. We in *England* had great apprehensions of as bad an one, from a very cold and wet Summer. Great deluges of rain continued till the very time of harvest. But, when we were threatened with a famine, it pleased God to send such an extraordinary change of the Season, that we had a very plentiful crop, enough both to serve our selves, and to supply our neighbours, which made us easy at home, and brought in much wealth, for that Corn which we were able to spare.

A great  
Earthquake.

In the beginning of *September*, there was an Earthquake felt in most places in *England*; and was at the same time felt in many



many parts of *France*, *Germany*, and the *Netherlands*. No harm was done by it, tho' it continued for three or four minutes. I can write nothing of it from my own Observation ; for it was not sensible in the place where I happened to be at that time ; Nor can it be determined, whether this had any relation to those terrible Earthquakes that happened, some months after this, in *Sicily* and *Malta* : Upon which I cannot enlarge, having seen no other account of them, than what was in publick Gazettes, which represented them as the dreadfulest by much, of any that are in History : It was estimated, that about one hundred thousand persons perished by them in *Sicily*. It is scarce to be imagined, that the Earthquake, which about the same time destroyed the best part of the chief Town in *Jamaica*, could have any connection with these in *Europe*. These were very extraordinary things, which made those, who studied Apocalyptical matters, imagine that the end of the World drew near. It had been happy for us, if such dismal accidents had struck us with a deeper sense of the Judgments of God.

We were indeed brought to more of an outward face of vertue and sobriety : And the great examples, that the King and Queen set the Nation, had made some considerable alterations, as to publick practices : But we became deeply corrupted in principle : A disbelief of Revealed Religion, and a profane mocking at the Christian Faith, and the Mysteries of it, became avowed and scandalous. The Queen, in the King's absence, gave orders to execute the Laws against Drunkenness, Swearing, and the Profanation of the Lord's Day ; and sent directions over *England*, to all Magistrates to do their duty in executing them ; to which the King joined his Authority, upon his return to *England*. Yet the Reformation of Manners, which some zealous men studied to promote, went on but slowly : Many of the inferior Magistrates were not only remiss, but very faulty themselves : They did all they could to discourage those, who endeavoured to have Vice suppressed and punished : And it must be confessed, that the behaviour of many Clergymen gave Atheists no small advantage : They had taken the Oaths, and read the Prayers for the present Government ; They observed the Orders for publick Fasts and Thanksgivings ; And yet they shewed in many places their aversion to our Establishment but too visibly : So that the offence that this gave, in many parts of the Nation, was too evident : In some places, it broke out in very indecent Instances, that were brought into Courts of Law, and censured. This made many conclude, that the Clergy were a sort of men, that would swear and pray, even against their

A great  
Corruption  
over Eng-  
land.



1692 Consciences, rather than lose their Benefices; and by consequence, that they were governed by Interest, and not by Principle. The Jacobites grew still to be more and more outrageous, while the Clergy seemed to be Neutrals in the dispute; And which was yet the most extraordinary thing in the whole matter, the Government itself acted with so much remissness, and so few were enquired after, or punished, that those who were employed by the King, behaved themselves, in many places, as if they had secret Instructions to be heavy upon his best friends, and to be gentle to his Enemies. Upon the whole matter, the Nation was falling under such a general corruption, both as to Morals and Principles; And that was so much spread among all sorts of people, that it gave us great apprehensions of heavy Judgments from Heaven.

A Session of  
Parliament.

The Session of Parliament was opened under great disadvantages. The Earl of *Marlborough*, and some other Peers, had been put in the Tower, upon a false accusation of High Treason, which was evidently proved to be a Conspiracy, designed by some profligate creatures, who fancied that forgeries and false swearing would be as acceptable, and as well rewarded, in this Reign, as they had been formerly. But till this was detected, the persons accused were kept in Prison; and were now only out upon Bail: So it was said to be contrary to the nature and freedom of Parliaments, for Prisoners to sit in it. It was confessed, that in times of danger, and such was the former Summer, it must be trusted to the discretion of a Government, to commit such persons as were suspected: But when the danger was over, by our Victory at Sea, those against whom there lay nothing besides suspicions, ought to have been set at liberty: And this was thought reasonable. There was an Association pretended to be drawn against the Government, to which the Subscriptions of many Lords were set so dexterously, that the Lords themselves said, they could not distinguish between their true Subscriptions, and those that were forged for them. But the manner of the discovery, with several other circumstances, carried such marks of Imposture, that the Lords of the Council ordered a strict prosecution of all concerned in it, which ended in a full conviction of the forgery: And those who had combined in it, were whipt and pilloried, which, to the reproach of our Constitution, is the only punishment that our Law has yet provided for such practices. The Lords passed some Votes, asserting their Privileges; and were offended with the Judges, for detaining some in prison, tho' there was no reason nor colour for their displeasure. But where



where the Privilege, or the Dignity of Peerage is in question, it is not easy to keep the House within bounds. 1692

The Debate went off in a Bill, that indemnified the Ministry for those Commitments, but limited them, for the future, by several rules; all which rules were rejected by the Commons. They thought those Limitations gave a Legal power to commit, in cases where they were observed; whereas they thought the safer way was, to indemnify the Ministry, when it was visible they did not commit any but upon a real danger, and not to set them any rules: Since, as to the committing of suspected persons, where the danger is real and visible, the publick safety must be first looked to, and supersede all particular Laws. When this was over, an attempt was made in both Houses, for the Abjuration of King *James*: The King himself was more set on it, than he had been formerly. It was rejected by the House of Commons: And tho' some steps were made in it by the Lords, yet the opposition was so great, that it was let fall.

The affairs at Sea occasioned much heat in both Houses. The Earl of *Nottingham* laid before the Lords, upon an Address they had made to the King, all the Letters that had past between himself and *Russel*; with all the Orders he had sent him: And he aggravated *Russel's* errors and neglects very severely. But the House of Commons justified *Russel*, and gave him thanks over and over again; and remained so fixed in this, that tho' the Lords then communicated the papers, the Earl of *Nottingham* had laid before them, to the Commons, they would not so much as read them, but renewed their first Votes, that justified *Russel's* fidelity, courage, and conduct.

The King was now possessed against him: For he dismissed him from his Service, and put the Command of the Fleet into the hands of three persons, *Killigrew*, *Delaval*, and *Shovel*: The two first were thought so inclinable to King *James's* Interests, that it made some insinuate, that the King was in the hands of those, who intended to betray him to his Enemies: For tho' no exception lay against *Shovel*, yet it was said, he was only put with the other Two, to give some reputation to the Commission, and that he was One against Two; so that he could neither hinder nor do any thing. The chief blame of this Nomination was thrown on the Earl of *Nottingham*; and of those, who belonged to his Office, many stories were raised and spread about, as if there had been among them, besides a very great remissness in some of the concerns of the Government, an actual betraying of all our Secrets and Counsels. The opinion of this was spread both within and without the Kingdom; And

Jealousies of  
the King's  
Ministers.



1692 And most of our Confederates were possessed with it. He justified not only himself, but all his Under Secretaries ; Both King and Queen continued still to have a good opinion of his fidelity ; But they saw some defects in his Judgment, with a most violent Party heat, that appeared upon all occasions, and even in the smallest matters. The Bills for the supply went on with a heavy progress in the House of Commons ; Those who could not oppose them, yet shewed their ill humour in delaying them, and clogging them with unacceptable clauses all they could. And they continued that wasteful method, of raising money upon remote Funds ; by which there lay a heavy discount on Tallies ; so that above a fourth part was, in some of them, to be discounted : The parties of Whig and Tory appeared almost in every debate, and in every question.

Complaints  
in Parlia-  
ment.

The ill humour prevailed most in the House of Lords, where a strong opposition was made to every thing that was proposed for the Government. They past many Votes, and made many Addresses to the King, which were chiefly designed to load the Administration, and to alienate the King from the *Dutch*. The Commons begun with great complaints of the Admiralty : And then they had the conduct in *Flanders*, particularly in the Action at *Steenkirk*, before them : And they voted some heads of an Address relating to those matters : But by a secret management, they let the whole thing fall, after they had passed those angry Votes. Any thing that the Lords could do, was of less moment, when it was not like to be seconded by the Commons ; Yet they shewed much ill humour.

1693 This was chiefly managed by the Marquis of *Halifax*, and the Earl of *Mulgrave* ; And they drew in the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who was very ill pleased with the credit, that some had with the King, and lived in a particular friendship with the Earl of *Marlborough* ; and thought that he was both ungratefully and unjustly persecuted. These Lords had all the Jacobites ready to assist them, in every thing that could embroil matters ; A great many Whigs, who were discontented, and jealous of the Ministry, joined with them : They knew that all their murmuring would signify little, unless they could stop a Money-bill : And, since it was settled in the House of Commons as a maxim, that the Lords could not make any alterations in Money-bills ; When the Bill for four shillings in the pound Land-tax came up, they put their strength to carry a clause, that the Peers should tax themselves. And tho', in the way in which this clause was drawn up, it could not be defended, yet they did all



all that was possible, to put a stop to the Bill ; and with unusual vehemence pressed for a delay, till a Committee should be appointed to examine Precedents. This the Earl of *Mulgrave* pressed for many hours, with a force of Argument and Eloquence, beyond any thing that I had ever heard in that House. He insisted much upon the dignity of Peerage ; and made this, which was now proposed, to be so main a part of that dignity, that he exhausted all the topicks of Rhetorick, to convince the Lords, that, if they yielded to this, they divested themselves of their true greatness ; and nothing would remain, but the name and shadow of a Peer, which was but a Pageant. But after all the pomp and heat of his Oratory, the Lords considered the safety of the Nation, more than the shadow of a Privilege ; And so they passed the Bill.

These Lords also set on foot a proposition, that had never been offered, but when the Nation was ready to break out into Civil Wars ; And that was, that a Committee of Lords and Commons should be appointed to confer together, concerning the state of the Nation : This once begun, would have grown in a very short time, to have been a Council of State ; And they would soon have brought all affairs under their inspection ; But this was so strongly opposed, that it was soon let fall.

When the Party, that was set against the Court, saw they could carry nothing in either House of Parliament, then they turned their whole strength against the present Parliament, to force a dissolution ; And in order to that, they first loaded it with a name of an ill sound ; And, whereas King *Charles's* Long Parliament was called the Pensioner Parliament, they called this the Officer's Parliament ; because many, that had Commands in the Army, were of it : And the word, that they gave out among the people, was, that we were to be governed by a standing Army, and a standing Parliament. They tried to carry a Bill, that render'd all Members of the House of Commons incapable of places of trust or profit ; so that every Member that accepted a place, should be expelled the House, and be incapable of being chosen again, to sit in the current Parliament. The truth was, it came to be observed, that some got credit by opposing the Government ; and that to silence them, they were preferred : And then they changed their note, and were as ready to flatter, as before to find fault. This gave a specious colour to those, who charged the Court with designs of corrupting Members, or at least of stopping their mouths by places and pensions. When this Bill was set on, it went through the House of Commons with little or no difficulty : Those who



1693 were in places, had not strength and credit to make great opposition to it, they being the persons concerned, and looked on as Parties : And those who had no places, had not the courage to oppose it ; for in them it would have looked as an art to recommend themselves to one. So the Bill passed in the House of Commons : but it was rejected by the Lords ; since it seemed to establish an opposition between the Crown and the People, as if those who were employed by the one, could not be trusted by the other.

A Bill to exclude Members of Parliament from Places.

Another for a Triennial Parliament.

When this failed, another attempt was made in the House of Lords ; in a Bill that was offered, enacting, That a Session of Parliament should be held every year, and a new Parliament be summoned every third year, and that the present Parliament should be dissolved within a limited time. The Statutes, for Annual Parliaments in King *Edward* the first, and King *Edward* the third's time, are well known. But it is a question, whether the supposition *if need be* falls upon the whole Act, or only upon those words, *or oftner* : It is certain these Acts were never observed ; And the non-observance of them was never complained of as a grievance. Nor did the famous Act in King *Charles* the first's time, carry the necessity of holding a Session further, than to once in three years. Antiently, considering the haste and hurry in which Parliaments sat, an annual Parliament might be no great inconvenience to the Nation : But by reason of the slow methods of Sessions now, an annual Parliament in times of peace would become a very insupportable grievance. A Parliament of a long continuance, seemed to be very dangerous, either to the Crown, or to the Nation : If the conjuncture, and their proceedings, gave them much credit, they might grow very uneasy to the Crown, as happened in King *Charles* the first's time ; Or in another situation of affairs, they might be so practised upon by the Court, that they might give all the money, and all the liberties of *England* up, when they were to have a large share of the money, and were to be made the instruments of Tyranny ; as it was in King *Charles* the second's time. It was likewise hoped, that frequent Parliaments would put an end to the great expence Candidates put themselves to in Elections ; and that it would oblige the Members to behave themselves so well, both with relation to the Publick, and in their private deportment, as to recommend them to their Electors at three years end : Whereas when a Parliament was to sit many years, Members covered with Privileges were apt to take great liberties, forgot that they represented others, and took care only of themselves. So it was thought, that *England* would have a truer Representative,



tative, when it was chosen anew every third year, than when it run on to the end of a Reign. All that was objected against this was, that frequent Elections would make the Freeholders proud and insolent, when they knew that applications must be made to them at the end of three years: This would establish a Faction in every body, that had a right to an Election; And whereas now an Election put men to a great charge all at once, then the charge must be perpetual all the three years, in laying in for a new Election, when it was known how soon it must come round. And as for the dissolution of the present Parliament, some were for leaving it to the general triennial clause, that it might still sit three years; They thought that, during so critical a War, as that in which we were now engaged, it was not advisable to venture on a new Election; since we had so many among us, who were so ill affected to the present Establishment: yet it was said, this Parliament had already sat three years; and therefore, it was not consistent with the general reason of the Act, to let it continue longer. So the Bill passed in the House of Lords: And tho' a Bill from them, dissolving a Parliament, struck only at the House of Commons, the Lords being still the same men; so that, upon that single account, many thought they would have rejected it, yet they also passed it, and fixed their own dissolution to the twenty fifth of *March* in the next year; So that they reserved another Session to themselves. The King let the Bill lie for some time on the Table; So that mens eyes and expectations were much fixed on the issue of it. But in conclusion, he refused to pass it; So the Session ended in ill humour. The rejecting a Bill, tho' an unquestionable right of the Crown, has been so seldom practised, that the two Houses are apt to think it a hardship, when there is a Bill denied.

But to soften the distaste this might otherwise give, the King made considerable alterations in his Ministry. All people were now grown weary of the Great Seal's being in Commission; It made the proceedings in Chancery, to be both more dilatory, and more expensive: And there were such exceptions made, to the Decrees of the Commissioners, that Appeals were brought against most of them, and generally they were reversed. Sir *John Somers* had now got great reputation, both in his Post of Attorney General, and in the House of Commons; So the King gave him the Great Seal. He was very learned in his own Profession, with a great deal more Learning in other Professions, in Divinity, Philosophy, and History. He had a great capacity for business, with an extraordinary temper: for he was fair and gentle,

A Change  
in the Mi-  
nistry.



1693 gentle, perhaps to a fault, considering his Post. So that he had all the patience and softness, as well as the justice and equity, becoming a great Magistrate. He had always agreed in his notions with the Whigs; and had studied to bring them to better thoughts of the King, and to a greater confidence in him. *Trenchard* was made Secretary of State: He had been engaged far with the Duke of *Monmouth*, as was told formerly. He got out of *England*, and lived some years beyond Sea, and had a right understanding of affairs abroad: He was a calm and sedate man; and was much more moderate, than could have been expected, since he was a leading man in a party. He had too great a regard to the Stars, and too little to Religion. The bringing these men into those Posts, was ascribed chiefly to the great credit the Earl of *Sunderland* had gained with the King; He had now got into his confidence, and declared openly for the Whigs. These advancements had a great effect on the whole party: and brought them to a much better opinion of the King. A young man, Mr. *Montague*, a branch of the Earl of *Manchester's* family, began to make a great figure in the House of Commons. He was a Commissioner of the Treasury, and soon after made Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had great vivacity and clearness, both of thought and expression: His spirit was at first turned to Wit and Poetry, which he continued still to encourage in others, when he applied himself to more important business. He came to have great notions, with relation to all the concerns of the Treasury, and of the Publick Funds, and brought those matters into new and better methods: He shewed the error of giving money upon remote Funds, at a vast discount, and with great premiums to raise Loans upon them; which occasioned a great out-cry, at the sums that were given, at the same time that they were much shrunk, before they produced the money, that was expected from them. So he pressed the King to insist on this as a maxim, to have all the money for the service of a year, to be raised within that year.

Factions  
formed a-  
gainst the  
Court.

But as the employing these men had a very good effect on the King's affairs, so a party came to be now formed, that studied to cross and defeat every thing; This was led by *Seimour* and *Musgrave*. The last was a Gentleman of a noble family in *Cumberland*, whose life had been regular, and his deportment grave. He had lost a place in King *James's* time: for tho' he was always a high Tory, yet he would not comply with his designs. He had indeed contributed much to increase his revenue, and to offer him more than he asked; yet he would not go into the taking off the Tests. Upon the Revolution, the



the place out of which he had been turned, was given to a 1693 man, that had a good share of merit in it. This alienated him from the King; And he, being a man of good judgment, and of great experience, came to be considered as the Head of the Party; in which he found his account so well, that no offers that were made him, could ever bring him over to the King's Interests. Upon many critical occasions, he gave up some important points, for which the King found it necessary to pay him very liberally.

But the Party of the Tories was too inconsiderable to have raised a great opposition, if a Body of Whigs had not joined with them; Some of these had such Republican notions, that they were much set against the Prerogative: And they thought the King was become too stiff in maintaining it: Others were offended, because they were not considered nor preferred, as they thought they deserved. The chief of these were, Mr. *Paul Foley* and Mr. *Harley*; The first of these was a younger son of one, who from mean beginnings had, by Iron Works, raised one of the greatest estates, that had been in *England* in our time. He was a learned, tho' not a practising Lawyer; and was a man of virtue, and good principles, but morose and wilful: And he had the affectation of passing for a great Patriot, by his constant finding fault with the Government, and keeping up an ill humour, and a bad opinion of the Court. *Harley* was a man of a noble family, and very eminently learned; much turned to Politicks, and of a restless Ambition. He was a man of great industry and application; and knew forms, and the Records of Parliament so well, that he was capable both of lengthening out, and of perplexing debates. Nothing could answer his aspiring temper: So He and *Foley* joined with the Tories to create jealousies, and raise an opposition: They soon grew to be able to delay matters long; and set on foot some very uneasy things, that were popular; such as the Bill against Parliament men's being in places, and that for dissolving the Parliament, and for having a new one every third year.

That which gave them much strength was, the King's cold and reserved way; He took no pains to oblige those that came to him; nor was he easy of access; He lived out of Town at *Kensington*; And his chief Confidants were *Dutch*. He took no notice of the Clergy, and seemed to have little concern in the matters of the Church, or of Religion: And at this time some Atheists and Deists, as well as Socinians, were publishing Books against Religion in general, and more particularly against



1693 the Myſteries of our Faith. Theſe expreſſed great zeal for the Government: which gave a handle to thoſe, who were waiting for all advantages, and were careful of increaſing and improving them, to ſpread it all over the Nation, that the King, and thoſe about him, had no regard to Religion, nor to the Church of *England*.

Affairs in  
*Flanders*.

But now I go on to the tranſactions of this Summer: The King had, in his Speech to the Parliament, told them, he intended to land a conſiderable Army in *France* this year. So after the Seſſion, Orders were given for hiring a Fleet for Transports, with ſo great a train of Artillery, that it would have ſerved an Army of forty thouſand men: This was very acceptable to the whole Nation, who loved an active War; and were very uneaſy to ſee ſo much money paid, and ſo little done with it: But all this went off without any effect. The *French* had attempted this Winter the Siege of *Rhinſeldt*, a place of no great conſequence. But it lay upon the *Rhine*, not far from *Coblentz*; And by it *Franconia* would have been open to them. They could not cut off the communication by the *Rhine*: ſo that freſh ſupplies of men and proviſions were every day ſent to them, by the care of the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, who managed the matter with ſuch ſucceſs, that after a fortnight's ſtay before it, the *French* were forced to raiſe the Siege; which was a repulſe, ſo ſeldom given them, that upon it ſome ſaid, they were then ſure, *Louvoy* was dead. The *French* had alſo made another attempt upon *Huy*, of a ſhorter continuance, but with the like ſucceſs. The Campaign was opened with great Pomp in *Flanders*: for the King of *France* came thither in perſon, accompanied by the Ladies of the Court, which appeared the more ridiculous, ſince there was no Queen at the head of them; unleſs *Madam de Maintenon* was to be taken for one, to whom reſpects were indeed paid with more ſubmiſſion, than is commonly done to Queens; ſo that what might be wanting in the outward ceremony, was more than ballanced by the real authority that ſhe had. It was given out, that the King of *France*, after he had amuſed the King for ſome days, intended to have turned either to *Bruffels* on the one hand, or to *Liege* on the other. In the mean while the *French* were working on the *Dutch*, by their ſecret practices, to make them hearken to a ſeparate Peace; And the ill humour that had appeared in the Parliament of *England* againſt them, was an argument much made uſe of, to convince them how little ground they had, to truſt to their Alliance with *England*: So that, as *French* practices had raiſed this ill humour among us, they made now this uſe of it, to break our mutual confidence, and by conſequence



sequence our Alliance with the *States*. The King made great haste, and brought his Army much sooner together, than the *French* expected: He encamped at *Park* near *Louvain*; by which he broke all the *French* measures: for he lay equally well posted to relieve *Brussels*, or *Liege*. It was grown the more necessary to take care of *Liege*; because tho' the Bishop was true to the Allies, yet there was a faction formed among the Capitulars, to offer themselves to the *French*; But the Garrison adhered to the Bishop; And now, when so great an Army lay near them, they broke the measures which that faction had taken. The *French* King, seeing that the practices of treachery, on which he chiefly relied, succeeded so ill, resolved not to venture himself in any dangerous enterprize; so he and the Ladies went back to *Versailles*.

The *Dauphin*, with a great part of the Army, was sent to make head against the *Germans*, who had brought an Army together, commanded by the Elector of *Saxony*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Prince of *Baden*: The *Germans* moved slowly, and were retarded by some disputes about the Command: So that the *French* came on to *Heidelberg*, before they were ready to cover it: The Town could make no long resistance; But it was too soon abandoned by a timorous Governor. The *French* were not able to hinder the conjunction of the *Germans*, tho' they endeavoured it; They advanced towards them. And tho' the *Dauphin* was much superior in numbers, and studied to force them to action, yet they kept close; and he did not think fit to attack them in their Camp. The *French* raised great contributions in the *Wirtemberg*; But no action happened on the *Rhine* all this Campaign. The *French* had better success and less opposition in *Catalonia*: They took *Roses*, and advanced to *Barcelona*, expecting their Fleet, which was to have bombarded it from the Sea, while their Army attacked it by Land: This put all *Spain* under a great consternation; The design of this Invasion was, to force them to treat of a separate Peace; while they felt themselves so vigorously attacked, and saw that they were in no condition to resist.

Affairs in *Piedmont* gave them a seasonable relief: The Duke of *Savoy's* motions were so slow, that it seemed, both sides were resolved to lie upon the defensive. The *French* were very weak there, and they expected to be as weakly opposed. But in the end of *July*, the Duke began to move: And he obliged *Catinat* to retire with his small Army, having made him quit some of his Posts. And then he formed the Siege of *St. Bridget*, a fort that lay above *Pignerol*, and, as was believed, might command



1693 mand it. After twelve days Siege, the *French* abandoned it, and he was master of it. But he was not furnished for undertaking the Siege of *Pignerol*: And so the Campaign went off in Marches and Countermarches: But in the end of it, *Catinat*, having increased his Army by some detachments, came up to the Duke of *Savoy*. They engaged at *Orbasson*, where the honour of the action, but with that the greatest loss, fell to the *French*: for tho' they carried it by their numbers, their bodies being less spent and fuller, yet the resistance that was made, was such, that the Duke of *Savoy* gained more in his reputation, than he suffered by the loss of the day.

The Battle  
of Landen.

The two Armies lay long in *Flanders*, watching one another's motions, without coming to action. In *July*, *Luxembourg* went to besiege *Huy*, and carried it in two or three days. The King moved that way, on design either to raise the Siege, or to force a Battle. Those in *Huy* did not give him time to come to their relief; And *Luxembourg* made a feint towards *Liege*, which obliged the King to send some Battallions to reinforce the Garrison of that Place. He had also sent another great detachment, commanded by the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, to force the *French* Lines, and to put their Country under Contribution; which he executed with great success, and raised above four millions. *Luxembourg* thought this was an advantage not to be lost: So that, as soon as he had received Orders from the King of *France* to attack the King in his Camp, He came up to him near *Landen*, upon the River *Gitte*. He was about double the King's number, chiefly in Horse. The King might have secured himself from all attacks, by passing the River: And his conduct in not doing it, was much censured, considering his strength, and the Enemy's. He chose rather to stay for them; But sent away the Baggage and heavy Cannon to *Mechelen*; and spent the whole night in planting Batteries, and casting up Retrenchments. On the twenty ninth of *July*, the *French* began their attack, early in the morning, and came on with great resolution, tho' the King's Cannon did great execution: They were beat off, with the loss of many Officers in several attacks: Yet they came still on with fresh Bodies; till at last, after an action of seven or eight hours continuance, they broke through, in a place where there was such a Body of *German* and *Spanish* Horse, that the Army on no side was thought less in danger. These Troops gave way; And so the *French* carried the honour of the day, and were masters both of the King's Camp and Cannon: But the King passed the river, and cut the bridges, and lay secure out of reach. He had supported the whole action with



with so much courage, and so true a judgment, that it was thought, he got more honour that day, than even when he triumphed at the *Boyne*: He charged himself in several places. Many were shot round about him, with the Enemies Cannon: One musket-shot carried away part of his scarf, and another went through his hat, without doing him any harm. The *French* lost so many men, and suffered so much, in the several onsets they had made, that they were not able to pursue a Victory, which cost them so dear. We lost in all about 7000: And among these, there was scarce an Officer of note; Only the Count *de Solms* had his Leg shot off by a Cannon Ball, of which he died in a few hours. By all the accounts that came from *France*, it appeared, that the *French* had lost double the number, with a vastly greater proportion of Officers. The King's behaviour, during the Battle, and in the retreat, was much magnified by the Enemy, as well as by his own side. The King of *France* was reported to have said upon it, that *Luxemburgh's* behaviour was like the Prince of *Condé's*, but the King's like M. *Turenne's*. His Army was, in a few days, as strong as ever, by recalling the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and the Battalions he had sent to *Liege*, and some other Bodies, that he drew out of Garrisons. And the rest of the Campaign past over, without any other action; Only at the end of it, after the King had left the Army, *Charleroy* was besieged by the *French*: The Country about it had been so eat up, that it was not possible to subsist an Army, that might have been brought to relieve it: The Garrison made a brave resistance, and held out a month; But it was taken at last.

*Charleroy*  
taken by the  
*French*.

Thus the *French* triumphed every where: But their successes were more than ballanced by two bad harvests, that came successively one after another: They had also suffered much in their vintage; so that they had neither bread nor wine. Great diligence was used to bring in Corn from all parts; And strict Orders were given by that Court, for regulating the price of it; and for furnishing their Markets: There was also a liberal distribution ordered by that King, for the relief of the poor. But misery will be misery still, after all possible care to alleviate it; Great multitudes perished for want, and the whole Kingdom fell under an extream poverty: So that all the pomp of their Victories could not make them easy at home. They tried all possible methods for bringing about a general Peace; or if that failed, for a separate Peace with some of the Confederates; But there was no disposition in any of them to hearken to it; nor could they engage the Northern Crowns to offer their mediation.

Attempts  
made for a  
Peace.



1693 diation. Some steps were indeed made ; for they offered to acknowledge the present Government of *England* : But in all other points, their demands were still so high, that there was no prospect of a just Peace, till their affairs should have brought them to an humbler posture.

Our Affairs  
at Sea.

But while the Campaign, in all its scenes, was thus unequal and various, the *French*, tho' much weaker at Sea, were the most successful there : And tho' we had the superior strength, we were very unprosperous ; And by our ill conduct we lost much, both in our honour and interest, on that Element. The great difficulty that the *French* were under in their Marine was, by reason of their two great Ports, *Brest* and *Toulon* ; and from the bringing their Fleets together, and sending them back again. The danger they ran in that, and the delays that it put them under, were the chief occasions of their losses last year : But these were, in a great measure, made up to them now. We were sending a very rich Fleet of Merchants Ships to the Mediterranean, which was valued at many millions ; Some of these had lain ready a year and a half, waiting for a Convoy, but were still put off by new delays ; nor could they obtain one after *Russel's* Victory, tho' we were then Masters at Sea. They were promised a great one in Winter. The number of the Merchant Ships did still increase ; so that the Convoy, which was at first designed, was not thought equal to the riches of the Fleet, and to the danger they might run by Ships, that might be sent from *Toulon* to intercept them. The Court of *France* was watching this carefully : A Spy among the Jacobites gave advice, that certain Persons sent from *Scotland* to *France*, to shew with how small a force they might make themselves Masters of that Kingdom, had hopes given them for some time ; Upon which several military men went to *Lancashire* and *Northumberland*, to see what could be expected from thence, if commotions should happen in *Scotland* : But in *February* the *French* said, they could not do what was expected ; And the *Scotch* Agents were told, that they were obliged to look after the *Smirna* Fleet ; which they reckoned might be of more consequence, than even the carrying *Scotland* could be. The Fleet was ready in *February*, But new excuses were again made ; For it was said, the Convoy must be increased to twenty Men of War ; *Rook* was to command it ; A new delay was likewise put in, on the pretence of staying for advice from *Toulon*, whether the Squadron that was laid up there, was to lie in the Mediterranean this year, or to come about to *Brest*. The Merchants were very uneasy under those delays ; since the charge was like to eat up the profit of the



the Voyage : But no dispatch could be had ; and very probable reasons were offered to justify every new retardment. The *French* Fleet had gone early out of *Toulon*, on design to have destroyed the *Spanish* Fleet, which lay in the Bay of *Puzzolo* ; But they lay so safe there, that the *French* saw they could not succeed in any attempt upon them ; Afterwards they stood off to the Coast of *Catalonia*, to assist their Army, which was making some Conquests there. Yet these were only feints to amuse and to cover their true design. The Fleet at *Brest* sailed away from thence so suddenly, that they were neither compleatly manned nor victualled ; And they came to *Lagos* Bay in *Algarve*. Tenders were sent after them, with the necessary Complement of men and provisions ; This sudden and unprovided motion of the *French* Fleet looked, as if some secret advice had been sent from *England*, acquainting them with our designs. But at the Secretary's office, not only there was no Intelligence concerning their Fleet, but when a Ship came in, that brought the news of their having sailed from *Brest*, they were not believed. Our main Fleet sailed out into the Sea, for some leagues with *Rook*, and the Merchant Ships : And when they thought they were out of danger, they came back. *Rook* was unhappy in that, which, upon any other occasion, would have been a great happiness ; He had a fair and a strong gale of wind ; so that no advice sent after him could overtake him : Nor did he meet with any Ships at Sea, that could give him notice of the danger that lay before him. He doubled the Cape of *St. Vincent*, and had almost fallen in with the *French* Fleet, before he was aware of it : He dreamed of no danger, but from the *Toulon* Squadron, till he took a Fire-ship ; The Captain whereof endeavoured to deceive him, by a false story, as if there had been only fifteen men of War lying at *Lagos*, that intended to join *D'Estrees* : The Merchants were for going on, and believed the information ; They were confirmed in this, by the disorder the *French* seemed to be in ; for they were cutting their cables, and drawing near the Shore. The truth was, when they saw *Rook's* Fleet, they apprehended, by their numbers, that the whole Fleet of *England* was coming toward them : And indeed had they come so far with them, here was an occasion offered, which perhaps may not be found again in an Age, of destroying their whole strength at Sea. But as the *French* soon perceived their error, and were forming themselves into a Line ; *Rook* saw his error likewise, and stood out to Sea, while the Merchants fled, as their fears drove them ; a great many of them sticking still close to him : Others sailed to *Cadiz*, and some got to

1693

The *Turkey*  
Fleet in  
great dan-  
ger.

Gi-



1693 *Gibraltar*: And instead of pursuing their Voyage, put in there: Some Ships were burnt or sunk, and a very small number was taken by the *French*. They did not pursue *Rook*, but let him sail away to the *Maderas*; And from thence he came, first to *Kinsale*, and then into *England*. The *French* tried what they could do upon *Cadiz*; but found that it was not practicable. They came next to *Gibraltar*, where the Merchants sunk their Ships, to prevent their falling into their hands: From thence they sailed along the Coast of *Spain*, and burnt some *English* and *Dutch* Ships, that were laying at *Malaga*, *Alicant*, and in some other places. They hoped to have destroyed the *Spanish* Fleet; But they put in at *Port Mahone*, where they were safe: At length, after a very glorious Campaign, the *French* came back to *Toulon*: It is certain, if *Tourville* had made use of all his advantages, and had executed the design, as well as it was projected, he might have done us much mischief; Few of our Men of War, or Merchant-men, could have got out of his hands: The loss fell heaviest on the *Dutch*: The Voyage was quite lost; And the disgrace of it was visible to the whole World, and very sensible to the trading part of the Nation.

Great Jealousies of the King's Ministry.

The appearances were such, that it was generally surmised, our Counsels were betrayed. The Secretary, that attended on the Admirals, was much suspected, and charged with many things: But the suspicions rose high, even as to the Secretary of State's office. It was said, that our Fleet was kept in port, till the *French* were laid in their way, and was then ordered to sail, that it might fall into their hands: Many particulars were laid together, which had such colours, that it was not to be wondered at, if they created jealousy, especially in minds sufficiently prepared for it. Upon enquiry it appeared, that several of those, who, for the last two years, were put in the subaltern employments, through the Kingdom, did upon many occasions shew a disaffection to the Government, and talked and acted like Enemies. Our want of intelligence of the motions of the *French*, while they seemed to know every thing that we either did, or designed to do, cast a heavy reproach upon our Ministers, who were now broke so in pieces, that they acted without union or concert: Every one studied to justify himself, and to throw the blame on others: A good share of this was cast on the Earl of *Nottingham*; The Marquis of *Caermarthen* was much suspected: The Earl of *Rochester* began now to have great credit with the Queen; and seemed to be so violently set against the Whigs, that they looked for dreadful things from him, if he came again



to govern: For, being naturally warm, and apt to heat himself in company, he broke out into Sallies, which were carried about, and began to create jealousies, even of the Queen herself. 1693

I was in some sort answerable for this: For, when the Queen came into *England*, she was so possessed against him, that he tried all his Friends and Interest in the Court, to be admitted to clear himself, and to recover her favour, but all in vain; for they found her so alienated from him, that no person would undertake it. Upon that, he addressed himself to me: I thought that, if he came into the service of the Government, his relation to the Queen would make him firm and zealous for it: And I served him so effectually, that the Queen laid aside all her resentments, and admitted him, by degrees, into a high measure of favour and confidence. I quickly saw my error: And he took pains to convince me effectually of it: For he was no sooner possessed of her favour, than he went into an interest, very different from what I believed he would have pursued. He talked against all favour to Dissenters, and for setting up the notions of Persecution and Violence, which he had so much promoted in King *Charles's* time, and professed himself an enemy to the present Bishops, and to the methods they were taking, of preaching and visiting their Dioceses, of obliging the Clergy to attend more carefully to their Functions, and of endeavouring to gain the Dissenters by gentle and calm methods.

The King had left the matters of the Church wholly in the Queen's hands. He found he could not resist Importunities, which were not only vexatious to him, but had drawn preferments from him, which he came soon to see were ill bestowed: So he devolved that care upon the Queen, which she managed with strict and religious prudence: She declared openly against the preferring of those, who put in for themselves; and took care to inform herself particularly of the merits of such of the Clergy, as were not so much as known at Court, nor using any methods to get themselves recommended: So that we had reason to hope, that, if this course should be long continued, it would produce a great change in the Church, and in the temper of the Clergy. She consulted chiefly with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom she favoured and supported in a most particular manner. She saw what need there was of it: For a party was formed against him, who set themselves to censure every thing he did. It was a melancholy thing to consider that, tho' we never saw an Archbishop before him, apply himself so entirely, without partiality or bias, to all the concerns of the Church and

The State of  
the Clergy  
and Church.



1693 Religion, as he did; and that the Queen's heart was set on promoting them, yet such an evil spirit should seem to be let loose upon the Clergy. They complained of every thing that was done, if it was not in their own way: And the Archbishop bore the blame of all. He did not enter into any close correspondence, or the concerting measures with the Ministry, but lived much abstracted from them: So they studied to depress him all they could. This made a great impression upon him. He grew very uneasy in his great Post: We were all soon convinced, that there was a sort of Clergymen among us, that would never be satisfied, as long as the Toleration was continued: And they seemed resolved to give it out, that the Church was in danger, till a prosecution of Dissenters should be again set on foot: Nor could they look at a man with patience, or speak of him with temper, who did not agree with them in these things. The Bishops fell under the displeasure of the Whigs, by the methods they took, not only of protecting, but of preferring some of these men, hoping by that means both to have softened them, and their friends: But they took their preferments, as the rewards that they supposed were due to their merit; and they employed the credit and authority which their preferments brought them, wholly against those to whom they owed them. The Whigs were much turned against the King; and were not pleased with those who had left them, when they were so violent in the beginning of this Reign: And it was a hard thing, in such a divided time, to resolve to be of no party, since men of that temper are pushed at by many, and protected by no side. Of this we had many instances at that time: And I myself had some very sensible ones: but they are too inconsiderable to be mentioned. In this bad state we were, when a Session of Parliament came on with great apprehensions, occasioned by our ill success, and by the King's temper, which he could no way constrain, or render more complaisant, but chiefly from the disposition of mens minds, which was practised on with great industry, by the enemies of the Government, who were driving on Jealousies daily.

Affairs in  
Ireland.

A Parliament had been summoned in *Ireland* by the Lord *Sidney*; But they met full of discontent, and were disposed to find fault with every thing: And there was too much matter to work upon; for the Lord Lieutenant was apt to excuse or justify those, who had the address to insinuate themselves into his favour: So that they were dismissed, before they brought their Bills to perfection. The *English* in *Ireland* thought the Government favoured the *Irish* too much; some said, this was the effect of Bribery, whereas others thought, it was necessary to keep



keep them safe from the prosecutions of the *English*, who hated them, and were much sharpened against them. The protecting the *Irish* was indeed in some sort necessary, to keep them from breaking out, or from running over to the *French*: But it was very plain, that the *Irish* were *Irish* still, enemies to the *English* Nation, and to the present Government: So that all kindness shewed them, beyond what was due in strict justice, was the cherishing an inveterate enemy. There were also great complaints of an ill Administration, chiefly in the Revenue, in the pay of the Army, and in the embezzelling of Stores. Of these, much noise was made in *England*, which drew Addresses from both Houses of Parliament to the King, which were very inviously penned: Every particular being severely aggravated. So the King called back the Lord *Sidney*, and put the Government of *Ireland*, into three Lords Justices; Lord *Capel*, Brother to the Earl of *Essex*, Sir *Cyril Wyche*, and Mr. *Duncomb*. When they were sent from Court, the Queen did very earnestly recommend to their care, the reforming of many disorders, that were prevailing in that Kingdom: For, neither had the late destructive War, out of which they were but beginning to recover themselves, nor their poverty, produced those effects, that might have been well expected.

The state of *Ireland* leads me to insert here a very particular instance of the Queen's pious care, in the disposing of Bishopricks: Lord *Sidney* was so far engaged in the interest of a great Family of *Ireland*, that he was too easily wrought on, to recommend a Branch of it to a vacant See. The representation was made with an undue character of the person: So the Queen granted it. But when she understood, that he lay under a very bad character, she wrote a letter, in her own hand, to Lord *Sidney*, letting him know what she had heard, and ordered him to call for six *Irish* Bishops, whom she named to him, and to require them to certify to her their opinion of that person: They all agreed, that he laboured under an ill fame: And, till that was examined into, they did not think it proper to promote him; so that matter was let fall. I do not name the person; for I intend not to leave a blemish on him: But set this down as an Example, fit to be imitated by Christian Princes.

Another effect of the Queen's pious care of the Souls of her people was finished this year, after it had been much opposed, and long stopped. Mr. *Blair*, a very worthy man, came over from *Virginia*, with a proposition for erecting a College there. In order to which, he had set on foot a voluntary Subscription, which arose to a great Sum: And he found out some branches

The Queen's  
Strictness  
and pious  
Designs.

of



1693 of the Revenue there, that went all into private hands, without being brought into any publick account, with which a Free-School and College might be well endowed. The *English* born there were, as he said, capable of every thing, if they were provided with the means of a good education; And a foundation of this kind in *Virginia*, that lay in the middle, between our Southern and Northern Plantations, might be a common Nursery to them all; and put the people born there, in a way of further improvement. Those concerned in the management of the Plantations, had made such advantages of those particulars, out of which the Endowment was to be raised, that all possible objections were made to the Project, as a design that would take our Planters off from their mechanical employments, and make them grow too knowing, to be obedient and submissive. The Queen was so well pleased with the design, as apprehending the very good effects it might have, that no objection against it could move her: She hoped, it might be a means of improving her own people, and of preparing some to propagate the Gospel among the Natives; And therefore, as she espoused the matter with a particular zeal, so the King did very readily concur with her in it. The Endowment was fixed, and the Patent was passed for the College, called from the Founders, the *William and Mary* College.

Affairs in  
Scotland.

Affairs in *Scotland* grew more and more out of joint. Many whom the King had trusted in the Ministry there, were thought enemies to Him and his Government; and some took so little care to conceal their inclinations, that, when an Invasion was looked for, they seemed resolved to join in it. They were taken out of a Plot, which was managed by perswading many to take Oaths to the Government, on design to betray it; and were now trusted with the most important Posts. The Presbyterians began to see their error, in driving matters so far, and in provoking the King so much; And they seemed desirous to recover his favour, and to manage their matters with more temper. The King came likewise to see, that he had been a little too sudden in trusting some, who did not deserve his confidence. Duke *Hamilton* had for some years withdrawn from business; But he was now prevailed with to return to Council; Many Letters were intercepted between *France* and *Scotland*: In those from *Scotland*, the easiness of engaging that Nation was often repeated, if no time were lost; It seemed therefore necessary to bring that Kingdom into a better state.

A Session of  
Parliament  
there.

A Session of Parliament was held there, to which Duke *Hamilton* was sent as the King's Commissioner; The Supplies that were



were asked were granted; And now the whole Presbyterian Party was again entire in the King's Interest; The matters of the Church were brought to more temper, than was expected: The Episcopal Clergy had more moderate terms offered them; They were only required to make an Address to the General Assembly, offering to subscribe to a Confession of Faith, and to acknowledge Presbytery to be the only Government of that Church, with a promise to submit to it; upon which, within a fortnight after they did that, if no matter of scandal was objected to them, the Assembly was either to receive them into the Government of the Church; or, if they could not be brought to that, the King was to take them into his protection, and maintain them in their Churches, without any dependance on the Presbytery. This was a strain of Moderation, that the Presbyterians were not easily brought to; A Subscription that owned Presbytery to be the only Legal Government of that Church, without owning any Divine Right in it, was far below their usual pretensions. And this Act vested the King with an authority, very like that which they were wont to condemn as *Erastianism*. Another act was also passed, requiring all in any Office in Church or State, to take, besides the Oath of Allegiance, a Declaration called the *Assurance*, owning the King and Queen to be their rightful and lawful Sovereigns, and promising Fidelity to them against King *James*, and all his Adherents. The Council was also impowered to tender these, as they should see cause for it, and to fine and imprison such as should refuse them. When the Session was near an end, *Nevil Payne* was brought before the Parliament, to be examined, upon the many Letters that had been intercepted. There was a full evidence against him in many of his own Letters; But he sent word to several of the Lords, in particular to Duke *Hamilton*, that as long as his Life was his own, he would accuse none: But he was resolved he would not die; and he could discover enough to deserve his pardon. This struck such terror into many of them, whose Sons or near Relations had been concerned with him, that he moving for a delay, on a pretence of some witnesses that were not then at hand, a time was given him beyond the continuance of the Session; so he escaped, and that enquiry was stifled: The Session ended calmly. But the King seemed to have forgot *Scotland* so entirely, that he let three months go over, before he took notice of any of their Petitions: And, tho' he had asked, and had Supplies for an Augmentation of Forces; and many had been gained to consent to the Tax, by the hope of Commissions in the Troops, that were to be levied; yet the



1693 King did not raise any new ones, but raised the Supply, and applied it to other uses: This began again to raise an ill humour, that had been almost quite laid down, in the whole course of this Session, which was thought a reconciling One. The Clergy let the day prefixed, for making their submission to the Assembly, slip, and did not take the Oaths; so they could claim no Benefit by the Act, that had been carried in their favour, not without some difficulty. And the Law, that was intended to save them, did now expose them to ruine; since by it, they, not taking the Oaths, had lost their Legal Rights to their Benefices. Yet they were suffered to continue in them, and were put in hope, that the King would protect them, tho' it was now against Law. They were also made to believe, that the King did not desire that they should take the Oaths, or make any submission to Presbytery: And it is certain, that no publick signification of the King's mind was made to them; so they were easily imposed on by surmizes and whispers; upon this the distractions grew up afresh. Many concluded there, as well as in *England*, that the King's heart led him still to court his Enemies, even after all the manifest reasons he had to conclude, that the steps they made towards him were only feign'd Submissions, to gain such a Confidence, as might put it in their power to deliver him up.

The Earl of  
*Middletoun*  
went to  
*France*.

The Earl of *Middletoun* went over to *France*, in the beginning of this Year: And it was believed, he was sent by a great body among us, with a Proposition, which, had he had the assurance to have made, and they the wisdom to have accepted, might have much increased our Factions and Jealousies. It was, that King *James* should offer to resign his Title in favour of his Son, and likewise to send him to be bred in *England*, under the direction of a Parliament, till he should be of Age; But I could never hear that he ventured on this advice; in another he succeeded better. When King *James* thought the Invasion from *Normandy*, the former Year, was so well laid, that he seemed not to apprehend it could miscarry, he had prepared a Declaration, of which some Copies came over. He promised nothing in it, and pardoned no body by it. But he spoke in the stile of a Conquerour, who thought he was Master, and therefore would limit himself by no promises, but such as were conceived in general words, which might be afterwards expounded at pleasure. This was much blamed, even by his own party, who thought that they themselves were not enough secured by so loose a Declaration: so the Earl of *Middletoun*, upon his going over, procured one of another strain, which, as far as

Words



Words could go, gave all content: For he promised every thing, 1693  
and pardoned all persons. His Party got this into their hands; I saw a Copy of it, and they waited for a fit occasion to publish it to the Nation.

We were also at this time alarmed with a Negotiation, that the Court of *France* was setting on Foot at *Madrid*: They offered to restore to the Crown of *Spain* all that had been taken from it, since the Peace of *Munster*, on condition that the Duke of *Anjou* should be declared the Heir of that Crown, in default of Issue by the King: The Grandees of *Spain*, who are bred up to a disregard and contempt of all the World besides themselves, were inclinable to entertain this Proposition; tho' they saw that by so doing, they must lose the House of *Austria*, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and many of their other Allies. But the King himself, weak as he was, stood firm and intractable; and seemed to be as much set on watching their conduct, as a man of his low Genius could possibly be. He resolved to adhere to the Alliance, and to carry on the War; tho' he could do little more than barely resolve on it. The *Spaniards* thought of nothing, but their Intrigues at *Madrid*; And for the management of the War, and all their affairs, they left the care of that to their Stars, and to their Allies.

The Duke of Anjou offered to the Spaniards.

The King came over to *England* in *November*; He saw the necessity of changing both his Measures and his Ministers; He expressed his dislike of the whole conduct at Sea; and named *Russel* for the Command of the Fleet next Year: He dismissed the Earl of *Nottingham*, and would immediately have brought the Earl of *Shrewsbury* again into the Ministry: But when that Lord came to him, he thought the King's Inclinations were still the same, that they had been for some Years, and that the turn, which he was now making, was not from choice, but force; So that went off; and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* went into the Country: Yet the King soon after sent for him, and gave him such assurances, that he was again made Secretary of State, to the general satisfaction of the Whigs. But the person, that had the King's Confidence to the highest degree, was the Earl of *Sunderland*, who, by his long experience and his knowledge of men and things, had gained an ascendant over him, and had more credit with him, than any *Englishman* ever had: He had brought the King to this Change of Councils, by the prospect he gave him of the ill condition his affairs were in, if he did not entirely both trust and satisfy those, who, in the present conjuncture, were the only party, that both could and would support him. It was said, that the true secret of this change of measures

The Duke of Shrewsbury is again made Secretary of State.



1693 measures was, that the Tories signified to the King plainly, that they could carry on the War no longer, and that therefore he must accept of such a Peace, as could be had: This was the most pernicious thing that could be thought on, and the most contrary to the King's notions and designs; but they being positive, he was forced to change hands, and to turn to the other Party; So the Whigs were now in favour again, and every thing was done that was like to put them in good humour. The Commission of the Lieutenancy for the City of *London*, on which they had set their hearts, much more perhaps than it deserved, was so altered, that the Whigs were the superior number; and all other Commissions over *England* were much changed. They were also brought into many places of Trust and Profit; So that the King put his affairs chiefly into their hands: Yet so, that no Tory, who had expressed zeal or affection for the Government, was turned out. Upon this, the Whigs expressed new zeal, and confidence in the King. All the Money that was asked, for the next Year's expence, was granted very readily.

A Bank  
erected.

Among other Funds that were created, One was for constituting a Bank, which occasioned great debates: Some thought a Bank would grow to be a Monopoly. All the Money of *England* would come into their hands; And they would in a few years become the Masters of the Stock and Wealth of the Nation. Others argued for it: That the credit it would have, must increase Trade and the circulation of Money, at least in Bank Notes. It was visible, that all the Enemies of the Government set themselves against it, with such a vehemence of zeal, that this alone convinced all people, that they saw the strength that our affairs would receive from it. I had heard the *Dutch* often reckon up the great advantages they had from their Banks; And they concluded that, as long as *England* continued jealous of the Government, a Bank could never be settled among us, nor gain credit enough to support itself: And upon that, they judged that the superiority in Trade must still lie on their side. This, with all the other remote Funds that were created, had another good effect: It engaged all those, who were concerned in them, to be, upon the account of their own Interest, zealous for maintaining the Government; since it was not to be doubted, but that a Revolution would have swept all these away. The advantages that the King, and all concerned in Tallies, had from the Bank, were soon so sensibly felt, that all people saw into the secret reasons, that made the Enemies of the



the Constitution set themselves with so much earnestness against it. 1693

The enquiry into the conduct at Sea, particularly, with relation to the *Smirna* Fleet, took up much time, and held long: Great exceptions were taken to the many delays; by which it seemed a train was laid, that they should not get out of our Ports, till the *French* were ready to lie in their way, and intercept them; Our want of Intelligence was much complained of: The Instructions that the Admirals, who commanded the Fleet, had received from the Cabinet Council, were thought ill given, and yet worse executed; Their Orders seem'd weakly drawn, ambiguous, and defective: Nor had they shewed any zeal in doing more, than strictly to obey such orders: They had very cautiously kept within them, and had been very careful never to exceed them in a tittle: They had used no diligence to get certain information, concerning the *French* Fleet, whether it was still in *Brest*, or had sailed out; But in that important matter, they had trusted general and uncertain reports too easily: Nor had they sailed with *Rook*, till he was past danger. To all this their answer was, that they had observed their Orders; They had reason to think, the *French* were still in *Brest*; that therefore it was not safe to sail too far from the Coast of *England*, when they had (as they understood) ground to believe, that they had left behind them a great Naval force, which might make an impression on our Coast, when they were at too great a distance from it; The getting certain Intelligence from *Brest*, was represented as impracticable. They had many specious things to say in their own defence, and many friends to support them; For it was now the business of one party to accuse, and of another to justify that conduct. In conclusion, there was not ground sufficient to condemn the Admirals; as they had followed their Instructions: So a Vote passed in their favour. The rest of the business of the Session was managed both with dexterity and success: All ended well, tho' a little too late: for the Session was not finished before the end of *April*. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* came this Winter to concert measures with the King: He stayed above two Months in *England*, and was treated with very singular respects, and at a great expence.

The Tories began in this Session, to obstruct the King's Measures more openly than before; The Earls of *Rochester* and *Nottingham* did it in the House of Lords, with a peculiar edge and violence: They saw how great a reputation, the fair Administration of Justice by the Judges, and more particularly that

The Conduct of the Fleet examined.

The Government misrepresented.



1694 Equity, which appeared in the whole proceedings of the Court of Chancery, gave the Government; therefore they took all occasions, that gave them any handle to reflect on these. We had many sad declamations, setting forth the Misery the Nation was under, in so tragical a strain, that those who thought it was quite otherwise with us, and that under all our taxes and losses, there was a visible encrease of the Wealth of the Nation, could not hear all this without some Indignation.

The Bishops  
are heavily  
charged.

The Bishops had their share of ill humour vented against them; It was visible to the whole Nation, that there was another face of strictness, of humility and charity among them, than had been ordinarily observed before: They visited their Dioceses more; They confirmed and preached oftner, than any who had in our memory gone before them; They took more care in examining those whom they Ordained, and in looking into the behaviour of their Clergy, than had been formerly practised; But they were faithful to the Government, and zealous for it; They were gentle to the Dissenters, and did not rail at them, nor seem uneasy at the Toleration. This was thought such a heinous matter, that all their other diligence was despised; And they were represented as men, who designed to undermine the Church, and to betray it.

Debates  
concerning  
Divorce.

Of this, I will give one Instance; The matter was of great importance; and it occasioned great and long Debates in this, and in the former Session of Parliament: It related to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had proved his Wife guilty of Adultery, and did move for an Act of Parliament, dissolving his Marriage, and allowing him to marry again: In the later Ages of Popery, when Marriage was reckoned among the Sacraments, an opinion grew to be received, that Adultery did not break the Bond, and that it could only entitle to a separation, but not such a dissolution of the Marriage, as gave the party, that was injured, a right to marry again: This became the Rule of the Spiritual Courts; tho' there was no Definition made about it, before the Council of *Trent*. At the time of the Reformation, a suit of this nature was prosecuted by the Marquis of *Northampton*: The Marriage was dissolved, and he married a second time; But he found it necessary to move for an Act of Parliament, to confirm this subsequent Marriage: In the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws, that was prepared by *Cranmer* and others, in King *Edward's* time, a Rule was laid down, allowing of a second Marriage, upon a Divorce for Adultery. This matter had lain asleep above an hundred years, till the present Duke of *Rutland*, then Lord *Roos*, moved for the like liberty. At that time



time a sceptical and libertine spirit prevailed, so that some began to treat Marriage, only as a Civil Contract, in which the Parliament was at full liberty, to make what Laws they pleased; And most of King *Charles's* Courtiers applauded this, hoping by this doctrine, that the King might be divorced from the Queen. The greater part of the Bishops, apprehending the consequence that Lord *Ross's* Act might have, opposed every step that was made in it; tho' many of them were persuaded, that in the case of Adultery, when it was fully proved, a second Marriage might be allowed. In the Duke of *Norfolk's* case, as the Lady was a Papist, and a busy Jacobite, so a great Party appeared for her. All that favoured the Jacobites, and those who were thought engaged in lewd Practices, espoused her concern with a zeal that did themselves little honour. Their number was such, that no progress could be made in the Bill, though the proofs were but too full, and too plain. But the main question was, whether, supposing the matter fully proved, the Duke of *Norfolk* should be allowed a second Marriage: The Bishops were desired to deliver their opinions, with their reasons: All those, who had been made during the present Reign, were of opinion, that a second Marriage in that case was lawful, and conformable, both to the Words of the Gospel, and to the Doctrine of the Primitive Church; and that the contrary opinion was started in the late and dark Ages: But all the Bishops, that had been made by the two former Kings, were of another opinion; tho' some of them could not well tell why they were so. Here was a colour for men, who looked at things superficially, to observe that there was a difference of opinion, between the last made Bishops, and those of an elder standing: from which they inferred, that we were departing from the received Doctrine of our Church; and upon that topick, the Earl of *Rochester* charged us very vehemently. The Bill was let fall at this time; Nor was the Dispute kept up, for no Books were writ on the subject of either side.

The King went beyond Sea in *May*; And the Campaign was opened soon after: The Armies of both sides came very near one another: The King commanded that of the Confederates, as the Dauphin did the *French*: They lay between *Brussels* and *Leige*; And it was given out, that they intended to besiege *Mastricht*; The King moved toward *Namur*, that he might either cut off their provisions, or force them to fight; But they were resolved to avoid a Battle: So they retired likewise, and the Campaign past over in the ordinary manner; both of them moving, and watching one another. The King sent

The Campaign in Flanders.



1694 sent a great Detachment to break into the *French* Countrey at *Pont Esperies*: But tho' the Body he sent had made a great advance, before the *French* knew any thing of their march, yet they sent away their Cavalry with so much hast, and in so continued a march, that they were possessed of the Pass before the Body, the King had sent, could reach it; whereby they gained their point, tho' their Cavalry suffered much. This design failing, the King sent another Body towards *Huy*, who took it in a few days: It was become more necessary to do this, for the covering of *Liege*, which was now much broken into faction; Their Bishop was dead, and there was a great division in the Chapter: Some were for the Elector of *Cologne*, and others were for the Elector *Palatine's* Brother: But that for the Elector of *Cologne* was the stronger party, and the Court of *Rome* judged in their favour. The differences between that Court, and that of *Versailles*, were now so far made up, that the Bulls for the Bishops, whom the King had named to the vacant Sees, were granted, upon the submission of all those, who had been concerned in the Articles of 1682. Yet after all that Reconciliation, the real Inclinations of the Court of *Rome* lay still towards the Confederates: The Alliance that *France* was in with the Turk, was a thing of an odious sound at *Rome*. The taking of *Huy* covered *Liege*; So that they were both safer and quieter. The Confederates, especially the *English* and the *Dutch*, grew weary of keeping up vast Armies, that did nothing else, but lay for some Months advantageously posted, in view of the Enemy, without any Action.

On the  
*Rhine.*

On the *Rhine*, things went much in the usual manner; only at the end of the Campaign, the Prince of *Baden* passed the *Rhine*, and raised great Contributions in *Alsace*, which the *French* suffered him to do, rather than hazard a Battle. There was nothing of any importance done on either side in *Piedmont*; Only there appeared to be some secret management between the Court of *France*, and that of *Turin*, in order to a Peace: It was chiefly negotiated at *Rome*, but was all the while denied by the Duke of *Savoy*.

And in  
*Catalonia.*

In *Catalonia*, the *Spaniards* were beat off from some Posts, and *Gironne* was taken; nor was *Barcelona* in any condition to have resisted, if the *French* had set down before it. The Court of *Madrid* felt their weakness, and saw their danger so visibly, that they were forced to implore the Protection of the *English* Fleet: The *French* had carried the best part of their Naval Force into the *Mediterranean*, and had resolved to attack *Barcelona*, both by Sea and Land, at the same time: And, upon their success there, to have gone round *Spain*, destroying their Coast every where.



where. All this was intended to force them to accept the offers 1694  
the *French* were willing to make them; But to prevent this, *Russel* was ordered to sail into the *Mediterranean*, with a Fleet of threescore great Ships: He was so long stopt in his Voyage by contrary Winds, that the *French*, if they had pursued their advantages, might have finished the Conquest of *Catalonia*; But they resolved not to hazard their Fleet; So it was brought back to *Toulon*, long before *Russel* could get into the *Mediterranean*, which was now left entirely to him. But it was thought, that the *French* intended to make a second Attempt, in the end of the year, as soon as he should sail back to *England*: So it was proposed, that he might lie at *Cadiz* all the winter. This was an affair of that importance, that it was long and much debated, before it was resolved on. It was thought a dangerous thing, to expose the best part of our Fleet, so much as it must be, while it lay at so great a distance from us, that Convoys of Stores and Provisions might easily be intercepted: And indeed, the Ships were so low in their Provisions, when they came back to *Cadiz* (the Vessels that were ordered to carry them, having been stopt four months in the Channel by contrary winds) that our Fleet had not then above a fortnight's Victuals on Board: Yet when the whole matter was thoroughly canvast, it was agreed, that our Ships might both lie safe, and be well careened at *Cadiz*; Nor was the difference in the expence, between their lying there, and in our own Ports, considerable. By our lying there, the *French* were shut within the *Mediterranean*; so that the Ocean and their Coasts were left open to us. They were in effect shut up within *Toulon*; for they, having no other Port in those Seas but that, resolved not to venture abroad; So that now we were Masters of the Seas every where. These considerations, determined the King to send Orders to *Russel*, to lie all the winter at *Cadiz*; which produced very good effects; The *Venetians* and the *Great Duke* had not thought fit to own the King till then: A great Fleet of Stores and Ammunition, with all other provisions for the next Campaign, came safe to *Cadiz*: and some clean Men of War were sent out, in exchange for others, which were ordered home.

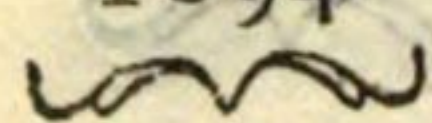
Our Fleet  
lay at *Cadiz*.

But while we were very fortunate in our main Fleet, we had not the like good success, in an attempt that was made on *Camaret*, a small neck of Land that lies in the mouth of the River of *Brest*, and would have commanded that River, if we could have made our selves Masters of it. *Talmash* had formed the design of seizing on it; He had taken care to be well informed of every thing relating to it; 6000 Men seemed to

A design on  
*Camaret*.



1694



be more than were necessary for taking and keeping it: The design, and the preparations for it, were kept so secret, that there was not the least suspicion of the Project, till the hiring Transport Ships discovered it. A proposition had been made of this two years before to the Earl of *Nottingham*; who, among other things, charged *Russel* with it, that this had been laid before him, by men that came from thence, but that he had neglected it: Whether the *French* apprehended the design from that motion, or whether it was now betrayed to them, by some of those who were in the secret, I know not: It is certain, that they had such timely knowledge of it, as put them on their guard. The Preparations were not quite ready, by the day that was settled: And, when all was ready, they were stopt by a westerly wind for some time: So that they came thither, a month later than was intended. They found the place was well fortified by many Batteries, that were raised in different Lines upon the Rocks, that lay over the place of Descent: And great numbers were there ready to dispute their landing. When our Fleet came so near as to see all this, the Council of Officers were all against making the attempt; But *Talmash* had set his heart so much upon it, that he could not be diverted from it:

It miscarried.

He fancied, the men they saw were only a Rabble brought together to make a show, tho' it appeared very evidently, that there were regular bodies among them, and that their numbers were double to his. He began with a landing of six hundred men, and put himself at the head of them; the men followed him with great courage; But they were so exposed to the Enemies Fire, and could do them so little harm, that it quickly appeared, it was needlessly throwing away the lives of brave men, to persist longer in so desperate an undertaking. The greatest part of those who landed, were killed, or taken prisoners; And not above an hundred of them came back. *Talmash* himself was shot in the thigh, of which he died in a few days, and was much lamented; For he was a brave and generous man, and a good Officer, very fit to animate and encourage inferior Officers and Soldiers; But he was much too apt to be discontented, and to turn mutinous; so that upon the whole, he was one of those dangerous men, that are capable of doing as much mischief, as good service. Thus that Design miscarried, which, if it had been undertaken at any time, before the *French* were so well prepared to receive us, might have succeeded; And must have had great effects.

Our



Our Fleet came back to *Plymouth*; and after they had set the 1694  
Land Forces ashore, being well furnished with Bomb-vessels and  
Ammunition, they were ordered to try what could be done on <sup>The French</sup>  
the *French Coast*; They lay first before *Dieppe*, and burnt it <sup>Coast bom-</sup>  
almost entirely to the ground; They went next to *Havre de*  
*Grace*, and destroyed a great part of that Town: *Dunkirk* was  
the place of the greatest Importance: So that attempt was long  
pursued in several ways; But none of them succeeded. These  
Bombardings of the *French Towns* soon spread a Terror, a-  
mong all that lived near the Coast; Batteries were every where  
raised, and the people were brought out to defend their Coun-  
try; But they could do us no hurt, while our Bombs at a  
mile's distance did great execution: The action seemed inhu-  
man; But the *French*, who had bombarded *Genoa*, without a  
previous Declaration of War, and who had so often put whole  
Countries under Military Execution, even after they had paid  
the Contributions, that had been laid on them (for which they  
had protection given them) had no reason to complain of this  
way of carrying on the War, which they themselves had first  
begun.

The Campaign ended every where, to the advantage of the <sup>Affairs in</sup>  
Confederates, tho' no signal successes had happened to their <sup>Turky.</sup>  
Arms; And this new scene of action at Sea raised the hearts of  
our people, as much as it sunk our Enemies. The War in  
*Turky*, went on this year with various success: The *Venetians*  
made themselves Masters of the Isle of *Scio*, the richest and the  
best peopled of all the Islands in the *Archipelago*: Those of  
that Island had a greater share of liberty left them, than any  
Subjects of the *Ottoman Empire*; and they flourished accord-  
ingly: The great Trade of *Smirna*, that lay so near them, made  
them the more considerable: The *Venetians* fortified the Port,  
but used the Natives worse than the *Turks* had done: And  
as the Island had a greater number of People upon it, than  
could subsist by the productions within themselves, and the *Turks*  
prohibited all Commerce with them from *Asia*, from whence  
they had their Bread; the *Venetians* could not keep this Pos-  
session, unless they had carried off the greatest part of the In-  
habitants to the *Morea*, or their other Dominions, that wanted  
People. The *Turks* brought their whole power at Sea toge-  
ther, to make an attempt for recovering this Island: Two Ac-  
tions happened at Sea, within ten days one of another; In the  
last of which, the *Venetians* pretended they had got a great Vic-  
tory: But their abandoning *Scio*, in a few days after, shewed  
that they did not find it convenient to hold that Island, which  
obliged



1694 obliged them to keep a Fleet, at such a distance from their other Dominions, and at a charge, which the keeping the Island could not ballance. The *Turks* sent, as they did every year, a great Convoy to *Caminieck*, guarded by the *Crim-Tartars*: The *Polish* Army routed the Convoy, and became Masters of all the Provisions; But a second Convoy was more happy, and got into the place; Otherwise it must have been abandoned. There was great distraction in the Affairs of *Poland*: Their Queen's intrigues with the Court of *France*, gave much jealousy; Their Diets were broke up in confusion; And they could never agree so far in the Preliminaries, as to be able by their forms to do any business. In *Transylvania*, the Emperor had, after a long Blockade, forced *Giula* to surrender; So that the *Turks* had now nothing in those parts, on the North of the *Danube*, but *Temeswaer*. The Grand *Vizier* came into *Hungary* with a great Army, while the Emperor had a very small one to oppose him. If the *Turks* had come on resolutely, and if the weather had continued good, it might have brought a fatal reverse on all the Imperial affairs, and retrieved all that the *Turks* had lost. But the Grand *Vizier* lay still, while the Emperor's Army encreased, and such rains fell, that nothing could be done. The affairs of *Turky* were thus in great disorder: The Grand Seignior died soon after: And his Successor in that Empire gave his Subjects such hopes of Peace, that they were calmed for the present.

Attempts  
for a Peace.

At the end of the Campaign, the Court of *France* flattered their People with hopes of a speedy end of the War: And some men of great consideration were sent to try, what terms they could bring the Empire or the States to: But the *French* were yet far from offering conditions, upon which a just or a safe Peace could be treated of: The *States* sent some, as far as to *Mastricht*, to see what Powers, those sent from *France*, had brought with them; before they would grant them the Passports, that they desired: And when they saw how limited these were, the Negotiation was soon at an end; or rather, it never began. When the *French* saw this, they disowned their having sent any on such an errand; And pretended, that this was only an artifice of the Confederates, to keep one another and their people in heart, by making them believe, that they had now only a small remnant of the War before them, since the *French* had Instruments, every where at work, to solicit a Peace.

A Session of  
Parliament.

The King came to *England* in the beginning of *November*; And the Parliament was opened with a calmer face, than had appeared in any Session during this Reign: The Supplies that were



were demanded, the total amounting to five Millions, were all granted readily: An ill humour indeed appeared in some, who opposed the Funds, that would most easily and most certainly raise the money that was given, upon this pretence, that such Taxes would grow to be a general Excise; and that the more easily money was raised, it would be the more easy to continue such Duties to a longer period, if not for ever; the truth was, the secret Enemies of the Government proposed such Funds, as would be the heaviest to the people, and would not fully answer what they were estimated at; that so the Nation might be uneasy under that load, and that a constant Deficiency might bring on such a Debt, that the Government could not discharge, but must sink under it.

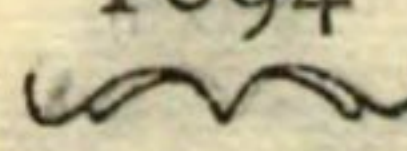
With the Supply Bills, as the price or bargain for them, the Bill for frequent Parliaments went on; It enacted, that a new Parliament should be called every third year, and that the present Parliament should be dissolved before the *First of January* 1695-6; And to this, the Royal Assent was given: It was received with great Joy, many fancying that all their other Laws and Liberties were now the more secure, since this was passed into a Law. Time must tell what effects it will produce; whether it will put an end to the great Corruption, with which Elections were formerly managed, and to all those other practices that accompanied them. Men that intended to sell their own Votes within doors, spared no cost to buy the Votes of others in Elections: But now it was hoped we should see a Golden Age, wherein the character men were in, and reputation they had, would be the prevailing considerations in Elections: And by this means it was hoped, that our Constitution, in particular that part of it, which related to the House of Commons, would again recover both its strength and reputation; which was now very much sunk; for Corruption was so generally spread, that it was believed every thing was carried by that method.

But I am now coming towards the fatal period of this Book. The Queen continued still to set a great Example to the whole Nation, which shined in all the Parts of it. She used all possible methods for reforming whatever was amiss: She took Ladies off from that Idleness, which not only wasted their time, but exposed them to many temptations; She engaged many both to read and to work; she wrought many hours a day her self, with her Ladies and her Maids of Honour working about her, while one read to them all; The Female part of the Court had been, in the former Reigns, subject to much censure; And there was great cause for it; But she freed her Court so en-

An Act for frequent Parliaments.

The Queen's Administration.



1694  tirely from all suspicion, that there was not so much as a colour for discourses of that sort; She did divide her Time so regularly, between her closet and business, her work and diversion, that every minute seemed to have its proper employment: She expressed so deep a sense of Religion, with so true a regard to it; She had such right principles and just notions; And her deportment was so exact in every part of it, all being natural and unconstrained, and animated with due life and cheerfulness; She considered every thing that was laid before her so carefully, and gave such due encouragement to a freedom of Speech: She remembered every thing so exactly, observing at the same time the closest reservedness, yet with an open air and frankness: She was so candid in all she said, and cautious in every promise she made; And notwithstanding her own great capacity, she expressed such a distrust of her own thoughts, and was so entirely resigned to the King's judgment, and so constantly determined by it, that when I laid all these things together, which I had large opportunities to observe, it gave a very pleasant prospect, to ballance the melancholy view, that rose from the ill posture of our affairs, in all other respects. It gave us a very particular joy, when we saw, that the person, whose condition seemed to mark her out as the Defender and Perfecter of our Reformation, was such in all respects in her publick Administration, as well as in her private deportment, that she seemed well fitted for accomplishing that work, for which we thought she was born: But we soon saw this hopeful view blasted, and our expectations disappointed in the loss of her.

Archbishop  
Tillotson's  
Death.

It was preceeded by that of Archbishop Tillotson; who was taken ill of a fit of a dead Palsy in *November*, while he was in the Chapel at *Whitehall*, on a *Sunday*, in the Worship of God: He felt it coming on him; but not thinking it decent to interrupt the Divine Service, he neglected it too long; till it fell so heavily on him, that all remedies were ineffectual: and he died the fifth day after he was taken ill. His distemper did so oppress him, and speaking was so uneasy to him, that tho' it appeared, by signs and other indications, that his Understanding remained long clear, yet he was not able to express himself, so as to edify others. He seemed still serene and calm; And in broken words he said, He thanked God, he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do, but to wait for the Will of Heaven. I preached his Funeral Sermon, in which I gave a Character of him, which was so severely true, that I perhaps kept too much within bounds, and said less than he deserved. But we had



had lived in such friendship together, that I thought it was more decent, as it always is more safe, to err on that hand: He was the man of the truest judgment, and best temper, I had ever known: He had a clear head, with a most tender and compassionate heart; He was a faithful and zealous friend, but a gentle and soon conquered enemy; He was truly and seriously religious, but without affectation, bigotry, or superstition; His notions of Morality were fine and sublime; His thread of Reasoning, was easy, clear, and solid; He was not only the best Preacher of the age, but seemed to have brought Preaching to perfection; His Sermons were so well heard and liked, and so much read, that all the Nation proposed him as a Pattern, and studied to copy after him; His parts remained with him clear and unclouded; But the perpetual Slanders, and other ill usage he had been followed with, for many years, most particularly since his advancement to that great Post, gave him too much trouble, and too deep a concern; It could neither provoke him, nor fright him from his duty; But it affected his mind so much, that this was thought to have shortened his days.

*Sancroft* had died a year before, in the same poor and de-  
 picable manner, in which he had lived for some years; He died in a state of Separation from the Church; And yet he had not the courage to own it in any publick declaration: For neither living nor dying, did he publish any thing concerning it: His Death ought to have put an end to the Schism, that some were endeavouring to raise; upon this pretence, that a Parliamentary Deprivation was never to be allowed, as contrary to the intrinsic Power of the Church; And therefore they looked on *Sancroft* as the Archbishop still, and reckoned *Tillotson* an Usurper; And all that joined with him were counted Schismatics; They were willing to forget, as some of them did plainly condemn, the Deprivations made in the progress of the Reformation, more particularly, those in the first Parliament of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and the Deprivations made by the Act of Uniformity in the year 1662: But from thence, the Controversy was carried up to the Fourth Century; And a great deal of angry reading was brought out on both sides, to justify, or to condemn those proceedings. But arguments will never have the better of interest and humour; Yet now, even according to their own pretensions, the Schism ought to have ceased; since he, on whose account it was set up, did never assert his right; and therefore that might have been more justly construed a tacit yielding it: But those who have a mind to embroil Church or State, will never

*Sancroft's*  
 Death.

The Queen's  
 Sickbed.



1693 never want a pretence, and no Arguments will beat them from it.

*Tenison*  
succeeded.

Both King and Queen were much affected with *Tillotson's* death: The Queen for many days spoke of him, in the tenderest manner, and not without tears; He died so poor, that if the King had not forgiven his First Fruits, his debts could not have been all payed: So generous and charitable was he in a Post, out of which *Sancroft* had raised a great Estate, which he left to his Family: But *Tillotson* was rich in good works. His See was filled by *Tenison*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; Many wished that *Stillington* might have succeeded, he being not only so eminently learned, but judged a man in all respects fit for the Post. The Queen was inclined to him, she spoke with some earnestness, oftner than once, to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* on that subject: She thought, he would fill that Post with great dignity: She also pressed the King earnestly for him: But as his ill health made him not capable of the fatigue that belonged to this Province: So the Whigs did generally apprehend, that both his notions and his temper were too high; and all concurred to desire *Tenison*, who had a firmer health, with a more active temper; and was universally well liked, for having served the Cure of *St. Martin's*, in the worst time, with so much courage and discretion; So that at this time he had many Friends, and no Enemies.

The Small Pox raged this winter about *London*; Some thousands dying of them; which gave us great apprehensions, with relation to the Queen; for she had never had them.

The Queen's  
Sickness.

In conclusion, she was taken ill, but the next day that seemed to go off: I had the honour to be half an hour with her that day: And she complained then of nothing. The day following, she went abroad; But her illness returned so heavily on her, that she could disguise it no longer: She shut her self up long in her Closet that night, and burnt many Papers, and put the rest in order: After that, she used some slight remedies, thinking it was only a transient indisposition; But it increased upon her; And within two days after, the Small Pox appeared, and with very bad Symptoms. I will not enter into another's Province, nor speak of matters so much out of the way of my own Profession: But the Physicians part was universally condemned, and her death was imputed to the negligence or unskilfulness of *Dr. Ratcliffe*. He was called for; and it appeared, but too evidently, that his Opinion was chiefly considered; and was most depended on. Other Physicians were afterwards called; But not till it was too late. The King was

struck



struck with this beyond expression; He came, on the second day of her illness, and passed the Bill for frequent Parliaments; which if he had not done that day, it is very probable he would never have passed it. The day after, he called me into his Closet, and gave a free vent to a most tender passion; He burst out into tears; and cried out, that there was no hope of the Queen; and that, from being the happiest, he was now going to be the miserablest creature upon Earth. He said, during the whole course of their Marriage, he had never known one single fault in her; There was a worth in her, that no body knew besides himself; tho' he added, that I might know as much of her as any other person did. Never was such a face of universal Sorrow seen in a Court, or in a Town, as at this time: All people, men and women, young and old, could scarce refrain from Tears: On Christmas Day, the Small Pox sunk so entirely, and the Queen felt her self so well upon it, that it was for a while concluded she had the Measles, and that the danger was over. This hope was ill grounded, and of a short continuance: For before night, all was sadly changed. It appeared, that the Small Pox were now so sunk, that there was no hope of raising them. The new Archbishop attended on her; He performed all devotions, and had much private discourse with her: When the desperate condition she was in, was evident beyond doubt, he told the King, He could not do his duty faithfully, unless he acquainted her with the danger she was in: The King approved of it, and said, whatever effect it might have, he would not have her deceived in so important a matter. And, as the Archbishop was preparing the Queen, with some address, not to surprise her too much with such tidings, she presently apprehended his drift, but shewed no fear nor disorder upon it. She said, she thanked God she had always carried this in her mind, that nothing was to be left to the last hour; she had nothing then to do, but to look up to God, and submit to his Will; It went further indeed than submission; for she seemed to desire Death, rather than Life; And she continued to the last minute of her life in that calm and resigned state. She had formerly wrote her mind, in many particulars, to the King: And she gave order, to look carefully for a small Scrutoir that she made use of, and to deliver it to the King: And, having dispatched that, she avoided the giving her self or him the tenderness, which a final parting might have raised in them both. She was almost perpetually in Prayer; The day before she died, she received



1694 ed the Sacrament, all the Bishops who were attending, being admitted to receive it with her: We were, God knows, a sorrowful Company; For we were losing her, who was our chief hope and glory on Earth; She followed the whole Office, repeating it after the Archbishop; She apprehended, not without some concern, that she should not be able to swallow the Bread, yet it went down easily. When this was over, she composed her self solemnly to die; She slumbered sometimes, but said, she was not refreshed by it; and said often, that nothing did her good but Prayer; She tried once or twice to have said somewhat to the King, but was not able to go through with it. She ordered the Archbishop to be reading to her such passages of Scripture, as might fix her Attention, and raise her Devotion: Several Cordials were given, but all was ineffectual; She lay silent for some hours: And some words that came from her, shewed her thoughts began to break: In conclusion, she And Death. died on the 28th of *December*, about One in the Morning, in the Thirty third year of her Age, and in the Sixth of her Reign.

She was the most universally lamented Princess, and deserved the best to be so, of any in our Age, or in our History. I will add no more concerning her, in the way of a Character: I have said a great deal already in this work; And I wrote a Book, as an Essay on her Character, in which I have said nothing, but that which I knew to be strictly true, without the enlargement of Figure or Rhetorick. The King's affliction for her Death was as great as it was just; It was greater than those who knew him best, thought his temper capable of: He went beyond all bounds in it; During her Sickness, he was in an Agony, that amazed us all, fainting often, and breaking out into most violent Lamentations; When she died, his Spirits sunk so low, that there was great reason to apprehend, that he was following her; For some Weeks after, he was so little Master of himself, that he was not capable of minding business, or of seeing Company. He turned himself much to the Meditations of Religion, and to secret Prayer; The Archbishop was often and long with him; He entred upon solemn and serious resolutions of becoming, in all things, an exact, and an exemplary Christian. And now I am come to the Period of this Book, with a very melancholy Prospect: But God has ordered matters since, beyond all our expectations.

THE



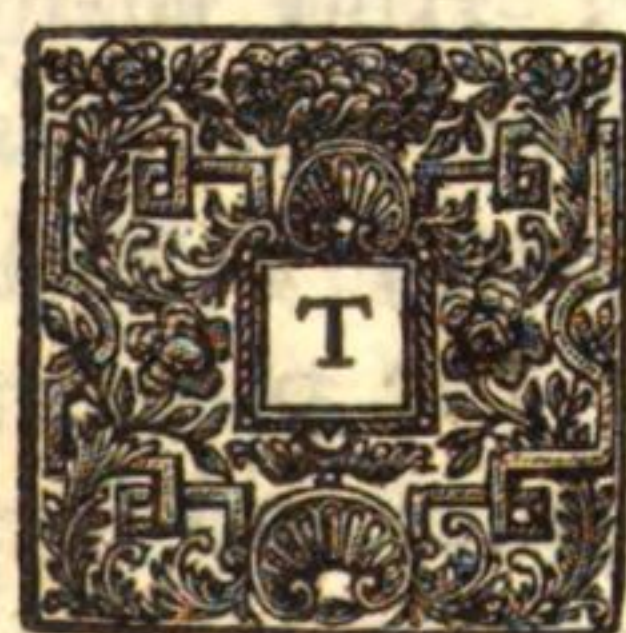


THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
My Own Times.

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BOOK VI.

*Of the Life and Reign of King*  
WILLIAM III.



THE Two Houses of Parliament set an Example, that was followed by the whole Nation, of making consolatory and dutiful Addresses to the King. The Queen was buried with the ordinary Ceremony, and with one piece of Magnificence that could never happen before; for both Houses of Parliament went in Procession before the Chariot, that carried her Body to *Westminster* Abbey; where places were prepared for both Houses, to sit in form, while the Archbishop preached the Funeral Sermon. This could never happen before, since the Sovereign's Death

1695

The Proceeding in Parliament.



1695 Death had always dissolved our Parliaments: It is true, the Earl of *Rochester* tried, if he could have raised a doubt of the Legality of this Parliament's continuance, since it was summoned by King *William* and Queen *Mary*; So upon her death, the writ, that ran in her name, seemed to die with her: This would have had fatal Consequences, if in that season of the year, all things must have stood still, till a new Parliament could have been brought together: But the Act, that put the Administration entirely in the King, tho' the Queen had a share in the dignity of Sovereign, made this cavil appear to be so ill-grounded, that no body seconded so dangerous a suggestion.

The ill state  
of the Coin.

The Parliament went on with the business of the Nation; In which the Earl of *Rochester*, and that Party, artfully studied, all that was possible, to embroil our affairs: The state of our Coin gave then too great a handle for it. We had two sorts of Coin, The one was milled, and could not be practised on: But the other was not so, and was subject to clipping; And in a course of some years, the old money was every year so much diminished, that it at last grew to be less than the half of the intrinsic value; Those who drove this Trade, were as much enriched, as the Nation suffered by it: When it came to be generally observed, the King was advised to issue out a Proclamation, that no money should pass for the future, by the tale, but by the weight, which would put a present end to clipping. But *Seimour*, being then in the Treasury, opposed this; He advised the King to look on, and let that matter have its course: The Parliament would in due time take care of it; But in the mean while, the badness of money quickened the Circulation, while every one studied to put out of his hands all the bad money; And this would make all people the readier to bring their cash into the Exchequer; And so a Loan was more easily made. The badness of the money began now to grow very visible; It was plain, that no remedy could be provided for it, but by recoinage all the Specie of *England*; And that could not be set about, in the end of a Session. The Earls of *Rochester* and *Nottingham* represented this very tragically in the House of Lords, where it was not possible to give the proper remedy; It produced only an Act, with stricter clauses and severer penalties against Clippers; This had no other effect, but that it alarmed the Nation, and sunk the value of our money in the Exchange; Guineas, which were equal in value to twenty one Shillings and Six-pence in Silver, rose to thirty Shillings, that is to say, thirty Shillings sunk to twenty one Shillings and Six-pence. This publick disgrace, put on our Coin, when the evil

was



was not cured, was in effect a great point carried, by which there was an opportunity given to sink the credit of the Government, and of the publick Funds; And it brought a discount of above 40*l. per Cent.* upon Tallies. 1695

Another Bill was set on foot, which was long pursued, and, in conclusion, carried by the Tories: It was concerning Trials for Treason; And the design of it seemed to be, to make men as safe in all treasonable Conspiracies and Practices, as was possible: Two Witnesses were to concur to prove the same Fact, at the same time: Council in matters of Fact, and Witnesses upon Oath, were by it allowed to the Prisoners; They were to have a Copy of the Indictment, and the Pannel in due time: All these things were in themselves just and reasonable: And if they had been moved by other men, and at another time, they would have met with little opposition: They were chiefly set on by *Finch*, the Earl of *Nottingham's* Brother, who had been concerned in the hard prosecutions for Treasons in the end of King *Charles's* Reign, and had then carried all Prerogative points very far; but was during this Reign, in a constant opposition to every thing, that was proposed for the King's Service: He had a copious way of speaking, with an appearance of Beauty and Eloquence to vulgar Hearers: But there was a superficialness in most of his harangues, that made them seem tedious to better Judges; His Rhetorick was all vicious, and his Reasoning was too subtle. The occasion given for this Bill, leads me to give an account of some Trials for Treason, during the last harvest, which, for the relation they have to this matter, I have reserved for this place.

A Bill concerning Trials for Treason.

*Lunt* an *Irishman*, who was bold and poor, and of a mean understanding, had been often employed to carry Letters and Messages between *Ireland* and *England*, when King *James* was there. He was once taken up on suspicion, but he was faithful to his Party, and would discover nothing; So he continued after that to be trusted by them. But, being kept very poor, he grew weary of his low estate, and thought of gaining the rewards of a discovery. He fell into the hands of one *Taff*, an *Irish* Priest, who had not only changed his Religion, but had married in King *James's* time. *Taff* came into the service of the present Government, and had a small pension. He was long in pursuit of a discovery of the Imposture in the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, and was engaged with more success in discovering the concealed Estates of the Priests, and the Religious Orders, in which some progress was made. These seemed to be sure evidences of the sincerity of the man, at least in his opposition

Trials in Lancashire.



1695  fition to those, whom he had forsaken, and whom he was provoking in so sensible a manner. All this I mention, the more particularly, to shew how little that sort of men is to be depended on; He possessed those, to whom his other discoveries gave him access, of the importance of this *Lunt*, who was then come from *St. Germans*, and who could make great discoveries: So *Lunt* was examined by the Ministers of State; And he gave them an account of some discourses and designs against the King, and of an Infurrection, that was to have broke out in the year 1692, when King *James* was designing to come over from *Normandy*; for, he said, he had carried at that time Commissions to the chief men of the party, both in *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*. A Carrier had been employed to carry down great quantities of Arms to them: One of the Chests, in which they were put up, had broke in the carriage, so the Carrier saw what was in them; And he deposed, he had carried many of the same weight and size; The persons concerned, finding the Carrier was true and secret, continued to employ him in that sort of carriage for a great while. *Lunt's* story seemed probable and coherent in all its circumstances: So orders were sent to seize on some persons, and to search houses for Arms. In one house they found Arms for a Troop of Horse, built up within walls, very dexterously. *Taff* was all this while very zealous in supporting *Lunt's* credit, and in assisting him in his discoveries; A solemn Trial of the Prisoners was ordered in *Lancashire*. When the set time drew near, *Taff* sent them word, that, if he should be well paid for it, he would bring them all off; It may be easily imagined that they stuck at nothing for such a service; He had got out of *Lunt* all his depositions, which he disclosed to them; So they had the advantage of being well prepared to meet, and overthrow his evidence in many circumstances: And at the Trial, *Taff* turned against him, and witnessed many things against *Lunt*, that shook his credit. There was another Witness that supported *Lunt's* evidence; but he was so profligate a man, that great and just objections lay against giving him any credit; But the Carrier's evidence was not shaken. *Lunt*, in the Trial, had named two Gentlemen wrong, mistaking the one for the other: But he quickly corrected his mistake, he had seen them but once, and they were both together; So he might mistake their names: But he was sure these were the two persons, with whom he had those treasonable Negotiations. *Taff* had engaged him in company in *London*, to whom he had talked very idly, like a man who resolved to make a fortune by swearing: And it seemed, by what



1695

what he said, that he had many discoveries yet in reserve, which he intended to spread among many, till he should grow rich and considerable by it: This was sworn against him: By all these things, his Evidence was so blasted, that no credit was given to him. Four of the Judges were sent down to try the Prisoners at *Manchester*, and at *Chester*; where they managed matters with an impartial exactness: Any leaning that appeared, was in favour of the Prisoners, according to a Characteristick, that Judges had always pretended to, but had not of late deserved so well, as upon this occasion, of being Council for the Prisoner. The evidence, that was brought against *Lunt*, was afterwards found to be false; But it looked then with so good an appearance, that both the King's Council and the Judges were satisfied with it; And so, without calling for the rest of the Evidence, the matter was let fall: And when the Judges gave the Charge to the Jury, it was in favour of the Prisoners, so that they were acquitted. And the rest of those, who were ordered to be tried after them, were all discharged without Trial.

The whole Party triumphed upon this, as a Victory; and complained both of the Ministers of State, and of the Judges; The matter was examined into, by both Houses of Parliament; and it evidently appeared, that the proceeding had been, not only exactly according to Law, but that all reasonable favour had been shewed the Prisoners: So that both Houses were fully satisfied; Only the Earls of *Rochester* and *Nottingham* hung on the matter long, and with great eagerness; and in conclusion, protested against the Vote, by which the Lords justified these proceedings. This Examination was brought on with much noise, to give the more strength to the Bill of Treasons: But the progress of the examination turned so much against Them, who had made this use of it, that it appeared there was no just occasion, given by that Trial, to alter the Law. Yet the Commons passed the Bill: But the Lords insisted on a clause, that all the Peers should be summoned to the Trial of a Peer, that was charged with High Treason; The Commons would not agree to that; And so the Bill was dropt for this time. By the late Trial, it had manifestly appeared, how little the Crown gained by one thing, which yet was thought an advantage; that the Witnesses for the Prisoner were not upon Oath: Many things were upon this occasion witnessed in favour of the Prisoners, which were afterwards found to be notoriously false; And it is certain, that the terror of an Oath is a great restraint, and many, whom an Oath might over-awe, would  
more



1695 more freely allow themselves the liberty of Lying, in behalf of a Prisoner, to save his life.

Complaints  
of the Bank.

When this design failed, another was set up against the Bank, which began to have a flourishing credit, and had supplied the King so regularly with money, and that upon such reasonable terms, that those who intended to make matters go heavily, tried what could be done to shake the credit of the Bank. But this attempt was rejected in both Houses with indignation; It was very evident, that publick Credit would signify little, if what was established in one Session of Parliament, might be fallen upon, and shaken in another.

Enquiries  
into corrupt  
practices.

Towards the end of the Session, complaints were made of some Military men, who did not pay their Quarters, pretending their own pay was in arrear; But it appearing, that they had been payed; and the matter being further examined into, it was found, that the superior Officers had cheated the Subalterns, which excused their not paying their Quarters. Upon this, the enquiry was carried further; And such discoveries were made, that some Officers were broke upon it, while others prevented complaints, by satisfying those, whom they had oppressed: It was found out, that the Secretary of the Treasury had taken two hundred Guineas, for procuring the Arrears due to a Regiment, to be payed; whereupon, he was sent to the Tower, and turned out of his place: Many were the more sharpened against him, because it was believed that he, as well as *Trevor* the Speaker, were deeply concerned in corrupting the Members of the House of Commons: He had held his place both in King *Charles* and King *James's* time: And the share he had in the secret distribution of money, had made him a necessary man for those methods.

But the House, being on this scent, carried the matter still further. In the former Session of Parliament, an Act had passed, creating a Fund for the repayment of the Debt owing to the Orphans, by the Chamber of *London*; And the Chamber had made *Trevor* a Present of a thousand Guineas, for the Service he did them in that matter; This was entred in their Books; So that full proof was made of it. It was indeed believed, that a much greater Present had been made him in behalf of the Orphans: But no proof of that appeared; Whereas, what had been taken in so publick a manner could not be hid. This was objected to *Trevor* as Corruption, and a Breach of Trust; And upon it, he was expelled the House; And Mr. *Paul Foley* was chosen Speaker in his room; who had got great credit by his Integrity, and his constant complaining of the Administration.

One



One discovery made way for another: It was found, that in 1695 the Books of the *East India* Company, there were Entries made of great Sums given, for secret Service done the Company, that amounted to 170000 Pounds; And it was generally believed, that the greatest part of it had gone among the Members of the House of Commons; For the two preceeding Winters, there had been attempts, eagerly pursued by some, for breaking the Company, and either opening a free Trade to the *Indies*, or at least, erecting a new Company: But it was observed, that some of the hottest sticklers against the Company, did insensibly, not only fall off from that heat, but turned to serve the Company, as much as they had at first endeavoured to destroy it. *Seimour* was among the chief of these: And it was said, that he had 12000 Pounds of their money, under the colour of a Bargain for their Salt-petre. Great pains and art was used to stifle this Enquiry; But curiosity, envy, and ill-nature, as well as vertue, will on such occasions always prevail, to set on enquiries. Those, who have had nothing, desire to know who have had something, while the guilty persons dare not shew too great a concern in opposing discoveries. Sir *Thomas Cook*, a rich Merchant, who was Governour of the Company, was examined concerning that great Sum given for Secret Service; But he refused to answer. So a severe Bill was brought in against him, in case he should not, by a prefixed day, confess how all that money had been disposed of. When the Bill was sent up to the Lords, and was like to pass, he came in, and offered to make a full discovery, if he might be indemnified, for all that he had done, or that he might say in that matter: The Enemies of the Court hoped for great discoveries, that should disgrace both the Ministers and the Favourites; But it appeared, that, whereas both King *Charles* and King *James* had obliged the Company, to make them a yearly present of 10000 Pounds, that the King had received this but once; and that, tho' the Company offered a Present of 50000 Pounds, if the King would grant them a new Charter, and consent to an Act of Parliament confirming it, the King had refused to hearken to it. There were indeed presumptions, that the Marquis of *Caermarthen* had taken a Present of 5000 Guineas, which were sent back to Sir *Thomas Cook*, the morning before he was to make his discovery. The Lords appointed twelve of their Body to meet with twenty four of the House of Commons, to examine into this matter; But they were so ill satisfied with the account, that was given them, by the four persons who had been entrusted with this secret, that by a par-

And into the Presents made by the *East-India* Company.



1695 ticular Act, that passed both Houses, they were committed to the Tower of *London*, till the end of the next Session of Parliament, and restrained from disposing of their Estates, real or personal. These were proceedings of an extraordinary nature, which could not be justified, but from the extraordinary occasion that was given for them. Some said, this looked like the setting up a Court of Inquisition, when new Laws were made on purpose to discover secret Transactions; and that no bounds could be set to such a method of proceeding. Others said, that when Entries were made of such Sums, secretly disposed of, it was as just for a Parliament to force a confession, as it was common in the course of the Law to *subpœna* a man, to declare all his knowledge of any matter, how secretly soever it might have been managed, and what person soever might have been concerned in it. The Lord President felt, that he was deeply wounded with this discovery; For while the Act, against *Cook*, was passing in the House of Lords, he took occasion to affirm, with solemn protestations, that he himself was not at all concerned in that matter; But now all had broke out: One *Firebrass* a Merchant, employed by the *East-India* Company, had treated with *Bates*, a friend of the Marquis of *Caermarthen's*; and for the favour that Lord was to do them, in procuring them a new Charter, *Bates* was to have for his use five thousand Guineas. But now a new turn was to be given to all this: *Bates* swore, that he indeed received the money, and that he offered it to that Lord, who positively refused to take it: But, since it was already payed in, he advised *Bates* to keep it to himself; tho' by the examination, it appeared, that *Bates* was to have five hundred Pounds for his own negotiating the affair: It did also appear, that the money was payed into one of that Lord's Servants; But he could not be come at: Upon this discovery, the House of Commons voted an Impeachment for a Misdemeanour against the Lord President; He, to prevent that, desired to be heard speak to that House in his own Justification; When he was before them, he set out the services that he had done the Nation, in terms that were not thought very decent; He assumed the greatest share of the honour of the Revolution to himself; He expressed a great uneasiness, to be brought under so black an Imputation, from which he cleared himself as much as words could do; In the end, he desired a present Trial. Articles were upon that brought against him; He, in answer to these, denied his having received the money. But his Servant, whose testimony only could have cleared that point, disappearing, the suspicion stuck still on him. It was intended to hang



hang up the matter to another Session ; But an Act of Grace 1695 came in the end of this, with an exception indeed as to Corruption ; Yet this whole discovery was let fall, and it was believed, too many of all sides were concerned in it : For by a common consent, it was never revived ; And thus the Session ended.

The first consultation, after it was over, was concerning the Coin, what methods should be taken to prevent further clipping, and for remedying so great an abuse. Some proposed the recoinng the money, with such a raising of the value of the Species, as should ballance the loss upon the old money, that was to be called in : This took with so many, that it was not easy to correct an error, that must have had very bad effects in the conclusion : For the only fixed standard must be the intrinsic value of an Ounce of Silver ; And it was a publick Robbery, that would very much prejudice our Trade, not to keep the value of our Species, near an equality with its weight and fineness in Silver. So that the difference, between the old and new money, could only be set right by the House of Commons, in a Supply to be given for that end. The Lord Keeper *Somers* did indeed propose that, which would have put an effectual stop to clipping for the future ; It was, that a Proclamation should be prepared with such secrecy, as to be published over all *England* on the same day, ordering money to pass only by weight ; but that, at the same time, during three or four days after the Proclamation, all persons in every County, that had money, should bring it in to be told and weighed ; and the difference was to be registred, and the money to be sealed up, to the end of the time given, and then to be restored to the owners ; and an assurance was to be given, that this deficiency in weight, should be laid before the Parliament, to be supplied another way, and to be allowed them in the following Taxes. But tho' the King liked this proposition, yet all the rest of the Council were against it. They said, this would stop the circulation of money, and might occasion tumults in the Markets. Those, whose money was thus to be weighed, would not believe that the difference, between the tale and the weight, would be allowed them, and so might grow mutinous ; Therefore, they were for leaving this matter, to the Consideration of the next Parliament. So this proposition was laid aside : which would have saved the Nation above a million of money. For now, as all people believed, that the Parliament would receive the clipt money in its tale, clipping went on, and became more visibly scandalous, than ever it had been.

Consultations about the Coin

There



1695

Confulta-  
tions among  
the Jaco-  
bites.

There was indeed reason to apprehend Tumults; For now, after the Queen's death, the Jacobites began to think, that the Government had lost the half of its strength, and that things could not be kept quiet at home, when the King should be beyond Sea. Some pretended, they were for putting the Princess, in her Sister's place; But that was only a pretence, to which she gave no sort of encouragement: King *James* lay at bottom. They fancied, an Invasion in the King's absence would be an easy attempt, which would meet with little resistance: So they sent some over to *France*, in particular one *Charnock*, a Fellow of *Magdalen* College, who in King *James*'s time had turned Papist, and was a hot and active Agent among them: They undertook to bring a Body of 2000 Horse, to meet such an Army as should be sent over; But *Charnock* came back with a cold account, that nothing could be done at that time; Upon which it was thought necessary, to send over a man of Quality, who should press the matter with some more authority: So the Earl of *Ailesbury* was prevailed on to go: He was admitted to a secret conversation with the *French* King: And this gave rise to a Design, which was very near being executed the following Winter.

A design to  
assassinate  
the King.

But if Sir *John Fenwick* did not slander King *James*, they at this time proposed a shorter and more infallible way, by assassinating the King; For he said, that some came over from *France* about this time, who assured their Party, and himself in particular, that a Commission was coming over, signed by King *James*, which they affirmed they had seen, warranting them to attack the King's Person. This, it is true, was not yet arrived; But some affirmed, they had seen it, and that it was trusted to One, who was on his way hither; Therefore, since the King was so near going over to *Holland*, that he would probably be gone before the Commission could be in *England*; it was debated among the Jacobites, whether they ought not to take the first opportunity to execute this Commission, even tho' they had it not in their hands: It was resolved to do it; and a day was set for it; But as *Fenwick* said, he broke the design; and sent them word, that he would discover it, if they would not promise to give over the thoughts of it: And upon this reason, he believed, he was not let into the secret the following winter. This his Lady told me from him, as an article of merit to obtain his pardon: But he had trusted their word very easily, it seems, since he gave the King no warning to be on his guard; And the two witnesses, whom he said he could produce to vouch this, were then under prosecution, and out-law-  
ed:



ed: So that the proof was not at hand, and the warning had not been given, as it ought to have been. But of all this, the Government knew nothing, and suspected nothing at this time.

The King settled the Government of *England* in seven Lords Justices, during his absence; And in this, a great error was committed, which had some ill effects, and was like to have had worse: The Queen, when She was dying, had received a kind Letter from, and had sent a reconciling Message to the Princess; And so, that breach was made up. It is true, the Sisters did not meet; It was thought, That might throw the Queen into too great a commotion; So it was put off till it was too late; Yet the Princess came soon after to see the King; And there was after that an appearance of a good correspondence between them: But it was little more than an appearance. They lived still in terms of civility, and in formal visits. But the King did not bring her into any share in business; nor did he order his Ministers to wait on her, and give her any account of Affairs. And now, that he was to go beyond Sea, she was not set at the head of the Councils, nor was there any care taken, to oblige those who were about her. This looked either like a jealousy and distrust, or a coldness towards her, which gave all the secret Enemies of the Government a colour of complaint. They pretended zeal for the Princess, tho' they came little to her; And they made it very visible, on many occasions, that this was only a disguise for worse designs.

Two great men had died in *Scotland* the former Winter, the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Queensbury*: They were Brothers-in-law, and had been long great friends; But they became irreconcilable Enemies. The first had more application, but the other had the greater genius; They were incompatible with each other, and indeed with all other persons; For both loved to be absolute, and to direct every thing. The Marquis of *Halifax* died in *April* this year; He had gone into all the measures of the Tories; Only he took care to preserve himself from criminal engagements; He studied to oppose every thing, and to embroil matters all he could; His spirit was restless, and he could not bear to be out of business; His vivacity and judgment sunk much in his last years, as well as his Reputation; He died of a Gangrene, occasioned by a Rupture that he had long neglected; When he saw death so near him, and was warned, that there was no hope, he shewed a great firmness of Mind, and a Calm that had much of true Philosophy at least; He professed himself a sincere Christian, and lamented the former parts of his Life,

A Government in the King's absence.

The death of some Lords.



1695 Life, with solemn resolutions of becoming in all respects another man, if God should raise him up. And so, I hope, he died a better man, than he lived.

The Lords  
Justices.

The seven Lords Justices were, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Keeper*, the Lord *Privy Seal*, the Lord *Steward*, the Lord *Chamberlain*, the First Secretary of *State*, and the First Commissioner of the *Treasury*: They had no Character nor Rank, except when Four of them were together; And they avoided assembling to that number, except at the Council Board, where it was necessary; And when they were together, they had the Regal Authority vested in them. They were chosen by the Posts they were in. So that no other person could think he was neglected, by the preference: They were not envied for this Titular Greatness; Since it was indeed only Titular; For they had no real Authority trusted with them. They took care to keep within bounds, and to do nothing, but in matters of course, till they had the King's Orders, to which they adhered exactly: So that no complaints could be made of them, because they took nothing on them, and did only keep the peace of the Kingdom, and transmit and execute the King's Orders. The Summer went over quietly at home; for tho' the Jacobites shewed their disposition on some occasions, but most signally on the Prince of *Wales's* Birth-day, yet they were wiser than to break out into any disorder, when they had no hopes of assistance from *France*.

The Cam-  
paign in  
*Flanders*.

About the end of *May*, the Armies were brought together in *Flanders*: The King drew his main Force towards the *French* Lines; And the Design was formed to break thro', and to destroy the *French Flanders*: *Luxembourg* died this Winter; So the Command of the *French* Armies was divided between *Villeroi* and *Boufflers*: But the former commanded the stronger Army. An Attempt was made on the Fort of *Knock*, in order to forcing the Lines; And there was some action about it; But all on the sudden, *Namur* was invested; And the King drew off the main part of his Army, to besiege that place, and left above 30000 Men, under the Command of the Prince of *Vaudemont*, who was the best General he had; for Prince *Waldeck* died above a year before this. With that Army, he was to cover *Flanders* and *Brabant*, while the King carried on the Siege.

The Siege  
of *Namur*.

As soon as *Namur* was invested, *Boufflers* threw himself into it, with many good Officers, and a great Body of Dragoons; The Garrison was 12000 strong: A place so happily situated, so well fortified, and so well furnished and commanded, made



made the attempt seem bold and doubtful; The dry Season put 1695 the King under another difficulty; The *Maeſe* was ſo low, that there was not water enough to bring up the Barks, loaden with Artillery and Ammunition, from *Liege* and *Maſtricht*; So that, many days were loſt in bringing theſe over Land; And if *Villeroy* had followed the King cloſe, it is thought he muſt have quitted the deſign: But the *French* preſumed upon the ſtrength of the Place and Garrifon, and on our being ſo little practiſed in Sieges: They thought, that *Villeroy* might make ſome conſiderable Conqueſt in *Flanders*, and when that was done, come in good time to raiſe the Siege. Prince *Vaudemont* managed his Army with ſuch ſkill and conduct, that as he covered all the Places, on which he thought the *French* had an eye, ſo he marched with that caution, that tho' *Villeroy* had above double his ſtrength, yet he could not force him to an engagement, nor gain any advantage over him. The Military men, that ſerved under him, magnified his conduct highly, and compared it to any thing that *Turenne*, or the greateſt Generals of the Age had done. Once it was thought, he could not get off; But he marched under the Cannon of *Ghent* without any loſs. In this, *Villeroy's* conduct was blamed, but without cauſe; For he had not overſeen his advantage, but had ordered the Duke of *Mayne*, the *French* King's beloved Son, to make a motion with the Horſe, which he commanded; And probably, if that had been ſpeedily executed, it might have had ill effects on the Prince of *Vaudemont*: But the Duke *de Mayne* deſpiſed *Villeroy*, and made no haſte to obey his Orders, ſo the advantage was loſt, and the King of *France* put him under a ſlight diſgrace for it. *Villeroy* attackt *Dixmuyde* and *Deinſe*; The Garrifons were not indeed able to make a great reſiſtance; But they were ill commanded: If their Officers had been Maſters of a true judgment, or preſence of mind, they might at leaſt have got a favourable compoſition, and have ſaved the Garrifons, tho' the Places were not tenable; Yet they were baſely delivered up, and about 7000 men were made priſoners of War. And hereupon, tho' by a Cartel that had been ſettled between the two Armies, all Priſoners were to be redeemed at a ſet price, and within a limited time: Yet the *French*, having now ſo many men in their hands, did, without either colour or ſhame, give a new eſſay of their perfidiouſneſs; for they broke it, upon this occaſion, as they had often done at Sea; indeed, as often as any advantages on their ſide tempted them to it: The Governours of thoſe places were at firſt believed to have betrayed their Truſt, and ſold the Garrifons, as well as the places



1695 places to the *French*; But they were tried afterwards; And it appeared, that it flowed from Cowardice, and want of Sense; for which one of them suffered, and the other was broke with disgrace.

*Brussel's*  
was bom-  
barded.

*Villeroy* marched toward *Brussels*, and was followed by Prince *Vaudemont*, whose chief care was, to order his motions so, that the *French* might not get between him, and the King's Camp at *Namur*. He apprehended, that *Villeroy* might bombard *Brussels*, and would have hindred it, if the Town could have been wrought on, to give him the assistance that he desired of them: Townsmen, upon all such occasions, are more apt to consider a present, tho' a small expence, than a great, tho' an imminent danger: So Prince *Vaudemont* could not pretend to cover them: The Electress of *Bavaria* was then in the Town; And tho' *Villeroy* sent a Complement to her, yet he did not give her time to retire; but bombarded the place for two days, with so much fury, that a great part of the lower Town was burnt down: The damage was valued at some Millions, and the Electress was so frightened, that she miscarried upon it of a Boy. When this execution was done, *Villeroy* marched towards *Namur*; His Army was now so much encreased, by Detachments brought from the *Rhine*, and Troops drawn out of Garrisons, that it was said to be 100000 strong: Both Armies on the *Rhine*, were so equal in strength, that they could only lie on a Defensive; neither side being strong enough to undertake any thing: M. *De L'Orge* commanded the *French*, and the Prince of *Baden*, the Imperialists: The former was sinking as much in his health as in his credit; So a great Body was ordered to march from him to *Villeroy*; And another Body equal to that, commanded by the Landgrave of *Hesse*, came and joined the King's Army.

*Namur* was  
taken.

The Siege was carried on with great vigour; The errors, to which our want of practice exposed us, were all corrected by the courage of our men; The Fortifications, both in strength, and in the extent of the out-works, were double to what they had been when the *French* took the place; Our men did not only succeed in every attack, but went much further: In the first great Sally, the *French* lost so many, both Officers and Soldiers, that after that, they kept within their Works, and gave us no disturbance: Both the King and the Elector of *Bavaria*, went frequently into the Trenches; The Town held out one Month, and the Cittadel another: Upon *Villeroy's* approach, the King drew off all the Troops that could be spared from the Siege, and placed himself in his way, with an Army of



of 60000 men; But he was so well posted, that after *Villeroy* 1695 had looked on him for some days, he found it was not advisable to attack him: Our men wished for a Battle, as that which would not only decide the fate of *Namur*, but of the whole War; The *French* gave it out, that they would put all to hazard, rather than suffer such a diminution of their King's Glory, as the retaking that place seemed to be; But the Signal of the Cittadel's treating, put an end to *Villeroy's* designs: Upon which, he apprehending that the King might then attack him, drew off with so much precipitation, that it looked liker a flight than a retreat.

The Capitulation was soon ended and signed by *Boufflers*, who, as was said, was the first Marechal of *France* that had ever delivered up a place; He marched out with 5000 men, so it appeared he had lost 7000 during the Siege: And we lost in it only about the same number. This was reckoned one of the greatest actions of the King's Life, and indeed, one of the greatest that is in the whole History of War. It raised his Character much, both at home and abroad, and gave a great reputation to his Troops: The King had the entire Credit of the matter; His General Officers having a very small share in it, being most of them men of low Genius, and little practised in things of that nature. *Coborn*, the chief Engineer, signalized himself so eminently on this occasion, that he was looked on as the greatest Man of the Age: and out-did even *Vauban*, who had gone far beyond all those, that went before him, in the conduct of Sieges: But it was confessed by all, that *Coborn* had carried that Art to a much farther perfection during this Siege. The Subaltern Officers and Soldiers gave hopes of a better race, that was growing up, and supplied the errors and defects of their Superior Officers. As the Garrison marched out, the King ordered *Boufflers* to be stopt, in reprisal for the Garrisons of *Dixmuyde* and *Deinse*. *Boufflers* complained of this as a Breach of Articles, and the action seemed liable to censure. But many authorities and precedents were brought, both from Law and History, to justify it: All obligations among Princes, both in Peace and War, must be judged to be reciprocal; So that he who breaks these first, sets the other at liberty. At length, the *French* consented to send back the Garrisons, pursuant to the Cartel; *Boufflers* was first set at liberty, and then these Garrisons were released according to promise.

The Officers were tried and proceeded against, by Councils of War, according to Martial Law; They were raised in the Army by ill methods, and maintained themselves by worse; Corruption



1695 tion had broke into the Army, and Oppression and Injustice were much complained of; The King did not approve of those practices; But he did not enquire after them, nor punish them, with a due severity; Nor did he make difference enough between those who served well, sold nothing, and used their Subalterns kindly, and those who set every thing to sale, and oppressed all that were under them; and when things of that kind go unpunished, they will soon make a great progress. There was little more done, during the Campaign in *Flanders*; Nor was there any Action upon the *Rhine*.

*Casal* was  
surrendered.

In *Italy*, there was nothing done in the Field by force of Arms: But an affair of great consequence was transacted, in a very mysterious manner; The Duke of *Savoy*, after a very long Blockade, undertook the Siege of *Casal*; but he was so ill provided for it, that no good account of it could be expected; The King had so little hopes of success, that he was not easily prevailed on to consent to the besieging it; But either the *French* intended to gain the Pope and the *Venetians*, and in conclusion, that Duke himself, with this extraordinary concession; Or, since our Fleet was then before *Toulon*, they judged it more necessary to keep their Troops, for the defence of their Coast and Fleet, than to send them to relieve *Casal*; So Orders were sent to the Governour to Capitulate, in such a number of days, after the Trenches were opened: So that the Place was surrendered, tho' it was not at all straitned: It was agreed, that it should be restored to the Duke of *Mantua*, but so dismantled, that it might give jealousy to no side; And the slighting the Fortifications went on so slowly, that the whole Season was spent in it, a Truce being granted all that while. Thus did the *French* give up *Casal*, after they had been at a vast expence in fortifying it, and had made it one of the strongest places in *Europe*.

Affairs at  
Sea.

Our Fleet was all the Summer, Master of the *Mediterranean*; The *French* were put under great disorder, and seemed to apprehend a Descent; For *Russel* came before *Marseilles* and *Toulon* oftner than once; Contrary Winds forced him out to Sea again, but with no loss; He himself told me, he believed nothing could be done there; Only the honour of commanding the Sea, and of shutting the *French* within their Ports, gave a great reputation to our affairs. In *Catalonia*, the *French* made no progress; They abandoned *Palamos*, and made *Gironne* their Frontier. The *Spaniards* once pretended to besiege *Palamos*, but they only pretended to do it; They desired some men from *Russel*, for he had Regiments of Marines on Board: They



They said, they had begun the Siege, and were provided with every thing that was necessary to carry it on, only they wanted men; So he sent them some Battalions; But when they came thither, they found not any one thing, that was necessary to carry on a Siege, not so much as Spades, not to mention Guns and Ammunition: So *Russel* sent for his men back again. But the *French* of themselves quitted the place; for as they found the charge of the War in *Catalonia* was great, and tho' they met with a feeble opposition from the *Spaniards*, yet since they saw, they could not carry *Barcelona*, so long as our Fleet lay in those Seas, they resolved to lay by, in expectation of a better occasion. We had another Fleet in our own Channel, that was ordered to bombard the *French* Coast; They did some execution upon *St. Malos*, and destroyed *Grandville*, that lay not far from it: They also attempted *Dunkirk*, but failed in the execution; Some Bombs were thrown into *Calais*, but without any great effect; So that the *French* did not suffer so much by the Bombardment, as was expected: The Country indeed was much alarmed by it; They had many Troops dispersed all along their Coast; So that it put their affairs in great disorder, and we were every where Masters at Sea. Another Squadron, commanded by the Marquis of *Carmarthen* (whose Father was created Duke of *Leeds*, to colour the dismissing him from business, with an encrease of Title) lay off from the *Isles of Scilly*, to secure our Trade, and convoy our Merchants: He was an extravagant man, both in his Pleasures and Humours; He was slow in going to Sea; and, when he was out, he fancied the *French* Fleet was coming up to him, which proved to be only a Fleet of Merchant Ships: So he left his station, and retired into *Milford Haven*: By which means, that Squadron became useless.

This proved fatal to our Trade; Many of our *Barbadoes* Ships were taken by *French* Cruizers and Privateers: Two rich Ships, coming from the *East-Indies*, were also taken, 150 Leagues to the Westward, by a very fatal accident, or by some treacherous advertisement; for Cruizers seldom go so far into the Ocean: And to compleat the misfortunes of the *East-India* Company, three other Ships, that were come near *Gallway*, on the West of *Ireland*, fell into the hands of some *French* Privateers: Those five Ships were valued at a Million, so here was great occasion of discontent in the City of *London*. They complained, that neither the Admiralty, nor the Government, took the care that was necessary for preserving the Wealth of the Nation. A *French* Man of War, at the same time, fell upon our Factory

The Losses  
of our Mer-  
chants.



1695 Factory on the Coast of *Guinea*; He took the small Fort we had there, and destroyed it; These misfortunes were very sensible to the Nation, and did much abate the Joy, which so glorious a Campaign would otherwise have raised; And much matter was laid in for ill humour to work upon.

Affairs in  
Hungary.

The War went on in *Hungary*; The new Grand *Signior* came late into the Field; But as late as it was, the Imperialists were not ready to receive him: He tried to force his way into *Transilvania*, and took some weak and ill defended Forts, which he soon after abandoned; *Veterani*, who was the most beloved of all the Emperor's Generals, lay with a small Army to defend the Entrance into *Transilvania*; The *Turks* fell upon him, and overpowered him with numbers; His Army was destroyed, and himself killed; But they sold their Lives dear; The *Turks* lost double their number, and their best Troops in the action; So that they had only the name and honour of a Victory; They were not able to prosecute it, nor to draw any advantage from it. The stragglers of the defeated Army drew together, towards the Passes. But none pursued them, and the *Turks* marched back to *Andrianople*, with the Triumph of having made a glorious Campaign. There were some slight Engagements at Sea, between the *Venetians* and the *Turks*, in which, the former pretended they had the advantage; But nothing followed upon them. Thus affairs went on abroad during this Summer.

A Parlia-  
ment in  
Scotland.

There was a Parliament held in *Scotland*, where the Marquis of *Tweeddale* was the King's Commissioner: Every thing that was asked for the King's Supply, and for the subsistence of his Troops, was granted; The Massacre in *Glencoe*, made still a great noise; and the King seemed too remiss in inquiring into it. But when it was represented to him, that a Session of Parliament could not be managed, without high motions and complaints of so crying a matter, and that his Ministers could not oppose these, without seeming to bring the guilt of that Blood, that was so perfidiously shed, both on the King, and on themselves: To prevent that, he ordered a Commission to be passed under the Great Seal, for a precognition in that matter, which is a practice in the Law of *Scotland*, of examining into Crimes, before the Persons concerned are brought upon their Trial. This was looked on as an artifice, to cover that transaction by a private enquiry; Yet, when it was complained of in Parliament, not without reflections on the slackness in examining into it, the King's Commissioner assured them, that by the King's Order, the matter was then under examination,



tion, and that it should be reported to the Parliament: The Enquiry went on; And, in the progress of it, a new practice of the Earl of *Braidalbin's* was discovered; For the Highlanders deposed that, while he was treating with them, in order to their submitting to the King, he had assured them, that he still adhered to King *James's* Interest, and that he pressed them to come into that Pacification, only to preserve them for his service, till a more favourable opportunity. This, with several other treasonable discourses of his, being reported to the Parliament, he covered himself with his pardon; But these discourses happened to be subsequent to it; So he was sent a Prisoner to the Castle of *Edinburgh*: He pretended, he had secret Orders from the King, to say any thing that would give him credit with them; which the King owned so far, that he ordered a new pardon to be past for him. A great Party came to be formed in this Session, of a very odd mixture; The High Presbyterians, and the Jacobites, joined together to oppose every thing; Yet it was not so strong as to carry the Majority; But great heats arose among them.

The Report of the Massacre of *Glencoe*, was made in full Parliament: By that it appeared, that a black design was laid, not only to cut off the men of *Glencoe*, but a great many more Clans, reckoned to be in all above Six Thousand persons: The whole was pursued in many Letters, that were writ with great earnestness; And tho' the King's Orders carried nothing in them, that was in any sort blameable, yet the Secretary of *State's* Letters went much further. So the Parliament justified the King's Instructions, but voted the execution in *Glencoe*, to have been a barbarous Massacre, and that it was pushed on by the Secretary of *State's* Letters, beyond the King's Orders: Upon that, they voted an Address to be made to the King, that he, and others concerned in that matter, might be proceeded against according to Law: This was carried by a great Majority.

In this Session, an Act past, in favour of such of the Episcopal Clergy, as should enter into those engagements to the King, that were by Law required; That they should continue in their Benefices under the King's Protection, without being subject to the power of Presbytery. This was carried with some address, before the Presbyterians were aware of the consequences of it; for it was plainly that which they call *Erastianism*. A day was limited to the Clergy for taking the Oaths: And by a very zealous and dextrous management, about seventy of the best of them were brought to take the Oaths to the King;



1695 And so they came within the Protection promised them by the Act.

An Act for  
a new Com-  
pany.

Another Act passed, that has already produced very fatal consequences to that Kingdom, and may yet draw worse after it: The Interlopers in the *East-India* Trade, finding that the Company was like to be favoured by the Parliament, as well as by the Court, were resolved to try other methods to break in upon that Trade: They entred into a Treaty with some Merchants in *Scotland*; And they had, in the former Session, procured an Act, that promised Letters Patents to all such, as should offer to set up new Manufactures, or drive any new Trade, not yet practised by that Kingdom, with an exemption for twenty one years from all Taxes and Customs, and with all such other Privileges, as should be found necessary for establishing or encouraging such projects. But here was a necessity of procuring Letters Patents, which they knew the credit, that the *East-India* Company had at Court, would certainly render ineffectual. So they were now in treaty for a new Act, which should free them from that difficulty. There was one *Paterfon*, a man of no education, but of great Notions; which, as was generally said, he had learned from the *Buccaneers*, with whom he had consorted for some time. He had considered a place in *Darien*, where he thought a good Settlement might be made, with another over against it, in the *South Sea*; And by two Settlements there, he fancied a great Trade might be opened both for the *East* and *West-Indies*; and that the *Spaniards* in the neighbourhood might be kept in great subjection to them; So he made the Merchants believe, that he had a great secret, which he did not think fit yet to discover, and reserved to a fitter opportunity; Only he desired, that the *West-Indies* might be named in any new Act, that should be offered to the Parliament: He made them in general understand, that he knew of a Country, not possessed by *Spaniards*, where there were rich Mines, and Gold in abundance. While these matters were in treaty, the time of the King's giving the Instructions to his Commissioner for the Parliament came on; And it had been a thing of course, to give a general Instruction, to pass all Bills for the encouragement of Trade. *Johnstoun* told the King, that he heard there was a secret management among the Merchants for an Act in *Scotland*, under which the *East-India* Trade might be set up; So he proposed, and drew an Instruction, empowering the Commissioner to pass any Bill, promising Letters Patents for encouraging of Trade, yet limited, so that it should not interfere with the Trade of



*England*: When they went down to *Scotland*, the King's Commissioner either did not consider this, or had no regard to it; for he gave the Royal Assent to an Act, that gave the Undertakers, either of the *East-India* or *West-India* Trade, all possible privileges, with exemption of twenty one years from all Impositions: And the Act directed Letters Patents to be passed under the Great Seal, without any further Warrant for them: When this was printed, it gave a great alarm in *England*, more particularly to the *East-India* Company; For many of the Merchants of *London* resolved to join Stock with the *Scotch* Company; And the exemption from all Duties gave a great prospect of gain. Such was the posture of affairs in *Scotland*.

In *Ireland*, the three Lords Justices did not agree long together; The Lord *Capel* studied to render himself popular, and espoused the interests of the *English* against the *Irish*, without any nice regard to justice or equity: He was too easily set on, by those who had their own end in it, to do every thing that gained him applause: The other two were men of severe tempers, and studied to protect the *Irish*, when they were oppressed; nor did they try to make themselves otherwise popular, than by a wise and just Administration: So Lord *Capel* was highly magnified, and they were as much complained of, by all the *English* in *Ireland*. Lord *Capel* did undertake to manage a Parliament so, as to carry all things, if he was made Lord Deputy, and had power given him to place and displace such as he should name. This was agreed to, and a Parliament was held there, after he had made several removes: In the beginning of the Session, things went smoothly; The Supply that was asked, for the support of that Government, was granted; All the proceedings in King *James's* Parliament were annulled, and the great Act of Settlement was confirmed and explained, as they desired: But this good temper was quickly lost, by the heat of some, who had great credit with Lord *Capel*. Complaints were made of Sir *Charles Porter*, the Lord Chancellor, who was beginning to set on foot a Tory humour in *Ireland*, whereas it was certainly the interest of that Government, to have no other division among them, but that of *English* and *Irish*, and of Protestant and Papist: Lord *Capel's* Party, moved in the House of Commons, that *Porter* should be impeached; But the grounds, upon which this motion was made, appeared to be so frivolous, after the Chancellor was heard by the House of Commons, in his own justification, that he was voted clear from all imputation, by a Majority of two to one; This set the Lord Deputy and the Lord Chancellor, with all the friends of both,

at

Affairs in  
*Ireland*!



1695 at so great a distance from each other, that it put a full stop, for some time, to all business.

Thus Factions were formed in all the King's Dominions; And he, being for so much of the year at a great distance from the scene, there was no pains taken to quiet these, and to check the animosities which arose out of them. The King studied only to ballance them, and to keep up among the Parties, a jealousy of one another, that so he might oblige them all to depend more entirely on himself.

A new Parliament called.

As soon as the Campaign was over in *Flanders*, the King intended to come over directly into *England*; But he was kept long on the other side by contrary winds; The first point, that was under debate upon his arrival, was, whether a new Parliament should be summoned, or the old one be brought together again, which by the Law that was lately passed, might sit till *Lady-day*: The happy state the Nation was in, put all men, except the Merchants, in a good temper; None could be sure, we should be in so good a state next year; So that now probably Elections would fall on men, who were well affected to the Government; A Parliament, that saw it self in its last Session, might affect to be froward; The Members, by such a behaviour, hoping to recommend themselves to the next Election; Besides, if the same Parliament had been continued, probably the Enquiries into Corruption would have been carried on, which might divert them from more pressing affairs, and kindle greater heats; all which might be more decently dropt by a new Parliament, than suffered to lie asleep by the old one. These considerations prevailed, tho' it was still believed, that the King's own inclinations led him, to have continued the Parliament yet one Session longer; For he reckoned, he was sure of the major Vote in it. Thus this Parliament was brought to a Conclusion, and a new one was summoned.

The King made a progress to the North; And staid some days at the Earl of *Sunderland's*, which was the first publick mark of the high favour he was in; The King studied to constrain himself to a little more openness and affability, than was natural to him: But his cold and dry way had too deep a root, not to return too oft upon him; The Jacobites were so decried, that few of them were elected; But many of the sourer sort of Whigs, who were much alienated from the King, were chosen: Generally, they were men of Estates, but many were young, hot, and without experience. *Foley* was again chosen Speaker; The demand of the Supply was still very high, and there was



a great arrear of Deficiencies; All was readily granted, and lodged on Funds, that seemed to be very probable. 1695

The state of the Coin was considered, and there were great and long Debates about the proper remedies: The motion of raising the money above its intrinsic value, was still much pressed; Many apprehended this matter could not be cured, without casting us into great disorders: Our money they thought would not pass, and so the Markets would not be furnished; And it is certain, that if there had been ill humours then stirring in the Nation, this might have cast us into great Convulsions. But none happened, to the disappointment of our Enemies, who had their eyes and hopes long fixed on the effects, this might produce. All came in the end to a wise and happy resolution, of Recoinng all the Specie of *England*, in mill'd money; All the old money was ordered to be brought in, in publick Payments, or Loans to the Exchequer, and that by degrees; first the half Crown pieces, and the rest of the money by a longer day; Money of a bad Alloy, as well as clipt money, was to be received; tho' this was thought an ill precedent, and that it gave too much encouragement to false Coining; Yet it was judged necessary upon this occasion; And it gave a present calm to a ferment, that was then working all *England* over. Twelve hundred thousand Pounds was given, to supply the deficiency of the bad and clipt money. So this matter was happily settled, and was put in a way to be effectually remedied, and it was executed with an order and a justice, with a quiet and an exactness, beyond all mens expectation. So that we were freed from a great and threatening mischief, without any of those effects, that were generally apprehended from it.

The state of the Coin rectified.

The Bill of Trials in Cases of Treason, was again brought into the House of Commons, and passed there; When it came up to the Lords, they added the Clause, for summoning all the Peers to the Trial of a Peer, which was not easily carried; for those, who wished well to the Bill, looked on this as a device to lose it, as no doubt it was; And therefore they opposed it; But, contrary to the hopes of the Court, the Commons were so desirous of the Bill, that when it came down to them, they agreed to the Clause, and so the Bill passed, and had the Royal Assent.

An Act of Trials in Cases of Treason.

A severe Bill was brought in, for voiding all the Elections of Parliament Men, where the Elected had been at any expence in meat, drink, or money, to procure Votes: It was very strictly penned; But time must shew, whether any evasions can be found out to avoid it: Certainly, if it has the

Acts concerning Elections to Parliament.



1695 desired effect, it would prove one of the best Laws that ever was made in *England*; For abuses in Elections were grown to most intolerable excesses, which threatned even the ruin of the Nation. Another Act passed against unlawful and double Returns; For persons had been often returned, plainly contrary to the Vote of the Majority; and in Burroughs, where there was a contest, between the select number of the Corporation, and the whole Populace, both sides had obtained favourable decisions, as that side prevailed, on which the person elected happened to be; So both Elections were returned, and the House judged the matter. But by this Act, all Returns were ordered to be made, according to the last determination of the House of Commons: These were thought good Securities for future Parliaments; It had been happy for the Nation, if the first of these had proved as effectual, as the last was.

Complaints  
of the *Scotch*  
Act.

Great Complaints were made in both Houses of the Act for the *Scotch East-India* Company, and Addresses were made to the King, setting forth the Inconveniencies that were like to arise from thence to *England*: The King answered, that he had been ill served in *Scotland*; But he hoped Remedies should be found, to prevent the ill consequences, that they apprehended from the Act: And soon after this, he turned out both the Secretaries of State, and the Marquis of *Tweeddale*: And great Changes were made in the whole Ministry of that Kingdom, both high and low. No Enquiry was made, nor proceedings ordered, concerning the business of *Glencoe*; So that furnished the Libellers with some colours, in aspersing the King, as if he must have been willing to suffer it to be executed, since he seemed so unwilling to let it be punished.

*Scotland*  
much set on  
supporting  
it.

But when it was understood in *Scotland*, that the King had disowned the Act for the *East-India* Company, from which it was expected that great Riches should flow into that Kingdom, it is not easy to conceive how great, and how general an indignation was spread over the whole Kingdom; The Jacobites saw what a Game it was like to prove in their hands; They played it with great skill, and to the advantage of their cause, in a course of many years; and continue to manage it to this day: There was a great deal of noise made of the *Scotch* Act in both Houses of Parliament in *England* by some, who seemed to have no other design in that, but to heighten our distractions, by the apprehensions that they expressed. The *Scotch* Nation fancied nothing but Mountains of Gold; And the credit of the design rose so high, that Subscriptions were made, and advances of money were offered, beyond what any believed the Wealth of that Kingdom



dom could have furnished. *Paterfon* came to have fuch credit among them, that the design of the *East-India* Trade, how promising soever, was wholly laid aside; And they resolved to employ all their wealth, in the settling a Colony, with a Port and Fortifications in *Darien*, which was long kept a secret, and was only trusted to a select number, empowered by this new Company, who assumed to themselves the name of the *African* Company, tho' they never meddled with any concern in that part of the World: The unhappy progress of this affair will appear in its proper time.

The Losses of the Merchants gave great advantages to those, who complained of the Administration; The conduct, with relation to our Trade, was represented as at best a neglect of the Nation, and of its Prosperity: Some, with a more spiteful malice, said, it was designed, that we should suffer in our Trade, that the *Dutch* might carry it from us: And how extravagant soever this might seem, it was often repeated by some men of virulent tempers. And in the end, when all the errors, with relation to the protection of our Trade, were set out, and much aggravated, a motion was made to create, by Act of Parliament, a Council of Trade.

A motion  
for a Coun-  
cil of Trade.

This was opposed by those, who looked on it, as a change of our Constitution, in a very essential point: The Executive part of the Government was wholly in the King: So that the appointing any Council, by Act of Parliament, began a Precedent of their breaking in upon the execution of the Law, in which, it could not be easy to see how far they might be carried; It was indeed offered, that this Council should be much limited as to its Powers; Yet many apprehended, that if the Parliament named the persons, how low soever their powers might be at first, they would be enlarged every Session; and from being a Council to look into matters of Trade, they would be next empowered to appoint Convoys and Cruizers; This in time, might draw in the whole Admiralty, and that part of the Revenue or Supply, that was appropriated to the Navy; So that a King would soon grow to be a Duke of *Venice*; And indeed those, who set this on most zealously, did not deny that they designed to graft many things upon it.

The King was so sensible of the ill effects this would have, that he ordered his Ministers to oppose it, as much as possibly they could: The Earl of *Sunderland*, to the wonder of many, declared for it, as all that depended on him promoted it: He was afraid of the violence of the Republican Party, and would not venture on provoking them; The Ministers were much of-  
fended



1695 fended with him, for taking this method to recommend himself at their cost; The King himself took it ill, and he told me, if he went on, driving it as he did, that he must break with him; He imputed it to his Fear; For the unhappy steps he had made in King *James's* time, gave his Enemies so many handles and colours for attacking him, that he would venture on nothing, that might provoke them. Here was a Debate, plainly in a point of Prerogative, how far the Government should continue on its antient bottom of Monarchy, as to the Executive part; or how far it should turn to a Commonwealth; and yet by an odd reverse, the Whigs, who were now most employed, argued for the Prerogative, while the Tories seemed zealous for publick Liberty: So powerfully does interest bias men of all forms.

A Conspiracy discovered.

This was going on, and probably would have past in both Houses, when the discovery of a Conspiracy turned mens thoughts quite another way: So that all angry motions were let fall, and the Session came to a very happy conclusion, with greater advantages to the King, than could have been otherwise expected. We were all this Winter alarmed, from many different quarters, with the insolent discourses of the Jacobites, who seemed so well assured of a sudden Revolution, which was to be both quick and entire; that at *Christmas* they said, it would be brought about, within six weeks. The *French* Fleet, which we had so long shut up within *Toulon*, was now fitting out, and was ordered to come round to *Brest*; Our Fleet, that lay at *Cadiz*, was not strong enough to fight them, when they should pass the Streights; *Russel* had come home, with many of the great Ships, and had left only a Squadron there; But a great Fleet was ordered to go thither; It was ready to have sailed in *December*; But was kept in our Ports by contrary Winds, till *February*; This was then thought a great unhappiness; But we found afterwards, that our preservation was chiefly owing to it; And it was so extraordinary a thing, to see the wind fixed at South West during the whole Winter, that few could resist the observing a signal Providence of God in it. We were all this while in great pain for *Rook*, who commanded the Squadron that lay at *Cadiz*; and was like to suffer for want of the Provisions and Stores, which this Fleet was to carry him, besides the addition of strength this would bring him, in case the *Toulon* Squadron should come about; We were only apprehensive of danger from that Squadron; For we thought, that we could be in none at home, till that Fleet was brought about; the advertisements came from many places, that some very important thing was ready to break



break out: It is true, the Jacobites fed their Party with such stories every year; But they both talked and wrote now with more than ordinary assurance. The King had been so accustomed to alarms and reports of this kind, that he had now so little regard to them, as scarce to be willing to hearken to those, who brought him such advertisements. He was so much set on preparing for the next Campaign, that all other things were little considered by him.

But in the beginning of *February*, one Captain *Fisher* came to the Earl of *Portland*, and in general told him, there was a design to assassinate the King; But he would not, or could not then name any of the persons, who were concerned in it; He never appeared more, for he had assurances given him, that he should not be made use of as a witness; Few days after that, one *Pendergrafs*, an *Irish* Officer, came to the Earl of *Portland*, and discovered all that he knew of the matter; He freely told him his own name; but would not name any of the Conspirators; *La Rue*, a *Frenchman*, came also to Brigadier *Levison*, and discovered to him all that he knew; These two (*Pendergrafs* and *La Rue*) were brought to the King apart, not knowing of one another's discovery: They gave an account of two Plots then on foot, the one for assassinating the King, and the other for invading the Kingdom. The King was not easily brought to give credit to this, till a variety of circumstances, in which the Discoveries did agree, convinced him of the truth of the whole design.

It has been already told, in how many Projects King *James* was engaged, for assassinating the King; But all these had failed; So now one was laid, that gave better hopes, and look'd liker a Military action, than a foul murder: Sir *George Berkeley*, a *Scotchman*, received a Commission from King *James*, to go and attack the Prince of *Orange*, in his Winter Quarters: *Charnock*, Sir *William Perkins*, Captain *Porter*, and *La Rue*, were the men to whose conduct the matter was trusted; The Duke of *Berwick* came over, and had some discourse with them about the method of executing it: Forty Persons were thought necessary for the attempt; They intended to watch the King, as he should go out to hunt, or come back from it in his Coach; Some of them were to engage the Guards, while others should attack the King, and either carry him off a Prisoner, or, in case of any resistance, kill him. This soft manner was proposed, to draw Military men to act in it, as a warlike Exploit: *Porter* and *Knightly* went and viewed the Grounds, and the way thro' which the King past, as he went between *Kensington* and *Rich-*



1695 *mond* Park, where he used to hunt commonly on *Saturdays*; And they pitched on two places, where they thought they might well execute the design. King *James* sent over some of his Guards to assist in it; He spoke himself to one *Harris* to go over, and to obey such Orders as he should receive from *Berkeley*; He ordered money to be given him, and told him, that, if he was forced to stay long at *Calais*, the President there would have orders to furnish him.

1696 When the Duke of *Berwick* had laid the matter so well here, that he thought it could not miscarry, he went back to *France*, and met King *James* at *St. Denis*, who was come so far on his way from *Paris*: He stopt there, and after a long Conference with the Duke of *Berwick*, he sent him first to his Queen at *St. Germain*s, and then to the King of *France*, and he himself called for a Notary, and passed some Act: But it was not known to what effect. When that was done, he pursued his journey to *Calais*, to set himself at the head of an Army of about 20000 men, that were drawn out of the Garrisons, which lay near that Frontier. These being full in that season, an Army was in a very few days brought together, without any previous warning or noise. There came every Winter a coasting Fleet, from all the Sea-ports of *France* to *Dunkirk*, with all the provisions for a Campaign; And it was given out, that the *French* intended an early one this year. So that this coasting Fleet was ordered to be there by the end of *January*; Thus here were Transport Ships, as well as an Army, brought together in a very silent manner; There was also a small Fleet of Cruizers, and some Men of War ready to convoy them over; Many Regiments were embarked, and King *James* was waiting at *Calais*, for some tidings of that, on which he chiefly depended; For upon the first notice of the success of the Assassination, he was resolved to have set sail: So near was the matter brought to a Crisis, when it broke out by the discovery, made by the persons above named. *La Rue* told all particulars, with the greatest frankness, and named all the persons that they had intended to engage in the execution of it; For several Lists were among them, and those who concerted the matter, had those Lists given them; And took it for granted, that every man named in those Lists was engaged; Since they were persons on whom they depended, as knowing their inclinations, and believing that they would readily enter into the Project: tho' it had not been, at that time, proposed to many of them, as it appeared afterwards. The design was laid, to strike the

And to invade the Kingdom.



the Blow on the 15<sup>th</sup> of *February*, in a Lane that turns down from *Turnham-Green* to *Brentford*; And the Conspirators were to be scattered about the *Green*, in Taverns and Ale-houses, and to be brought together, upon a signal given. They were cast into several parties, and an *Aid de Camp* was assigned to every one of them, both to bring them together, and to give the whole the air of a Military action: *Pendergrass* owned very freely to the King, that he was engaged in interest against him, as he was of a Religion contrary to his; He said, he would have no Reward for his discovery; But he hated a base action; And the point of Honour was the only motive that prevailed on him: He owned, that he was desired to assist, in the seizing on him, and he named the person that was fixed on to shoot him; He abhorred the whole thing, and immediately came to reveal it: His story did in all particulars agree with *La Rue's*; For some time he stood on it, as a point of Honour, to name no person; But upon assurance given him, that he should not be brought as a witness against them, he named all he knew: The King ordered the Coaches and Guards to be made ready next morning, being the 15<sup>th</sup> of *February*, and on *Saturday*, his usual day of Hunting: But some accident was pretended to cover his not going abroad that day; The Conspirators continued to meet together, not doubting but that they should have occasion to execute their design the next *Saturday*; They had some always about *Kenfington*, who came and went continually, and brought them an account of every thing that past there; On *Saturday*, the 22<sup>d</sup> of *February*, they put themselves in a readiness; And were going out to take the Posts assigned them; but were surpris'd, when they had notice that the King's Hunting was put off a second time; They apprehended, they might be discovered: Yet as none were seized, they soon quieted themselves.

Next night, a great many of them were taken in their beds: And the day following, the whole discovery was laid before the Privy Council: At the same time, Advices were sent to the King from *Flanders*, that the *French* Army was marching to *Dunkirk*, on design to invade *England*: And now, by a very happy Providence, tho' hitherto, a very unacceptable one, we had a great Fleet at *Spithead*, ready to sail: And we had another Fleet, designed for the Summer's service in our own Seas, quite ready, tho' not yet manned. Many brave Seamen, seeing the Nation was in such visible danger, came out of their lurking holes, in which they were hiding themselves from the Press, and offered their Service; And all people shewed so much zeal, that

Many of the  
Conspira-  
tors seized  
on.



1696 that in three days, *Russel*, who was sent to command, stood over to the Coast of *France*, with a Fleet of above fifty Men of War. The *French* were amazed at this; And upon it, their Ships drew so near their Coasts, that he durst not follow them in such shallow Water, but was contented with breaking their Design, and driving them into their Harbours. King *James* stayed for some weeks there. But, as the *French* said, his malignant Star still blasted every project, that was formed for his Service.

The design  
of the Inva-  
sion broken.

The Court of *France* was much out of countenance with this disappointment; for that King had ordered his design of Invading *England*, to be communicated to all the Courts, in which he had Ministers: And they spoke of it with such an air of assurance, as gave violent presumptions, that the King of *France* knew of the Conspiracy against the King's Person, and depended upon it; for indeed, without that, the Design was impracticable, considering how great a Fleet we had at *Spit-head*; Nor could any Men of common sense have entertained a thought of it, but with a view of the Confusion, into which the intended Assassination must have cast us. They went on in *England*, seizing the Conspirators; And a Proclamation was issued out, for apprehending those that absconded, with a promise of a thousand Pound Reward, to such as should seize on any of them, and the offer of a Pardon to every Conspirator, that should seize on any of the rest: This set all people at work, and in a few weeks, most of them were apprehended; Only *Berkeley* was not found, who had brought the Commission from King *James*, tho' great search was made for him. For, tho' the reality of such a Commission, was fully proved afterwards, in the Trials of the Conspirators, by the Evidence of those, who had seen and read it all written in King *James's* own hand (such a Paper being too important to be trusted to any to copy) yet much pains was taken, to have found the very person who was intrusted with it: The Commission itself would have been a valuable piece, and such an Original, as was not to be found any where.

The Military Men would not engage on other terms; They thought, by the Laws of War, they were bound to obey all Orders, that run in a Military Stile, and no other; And so they imagined, that their part in it was as innocent, as the going on any desperate design, during a Campaign: Many of them repined at the Service, and wished that it had not been put on them; But, being commanded, they fancied that they were liable to no Blame nor Infamy, but ought to be treated as Prisoners of War.

Among



Among those who were taken, *Porter* and *Pendergrafs* were brought in. *Porter* had been a vitious man, engaged in many ill things; and was very forward and furious in all their Consultations: The Lord *Cutts*, who, as Captain of the Guards, was present, when the King examined *Pendergrafs*, but did not know his name, when he saw him brought in, pressed him to own himself, and the service that he had already done; But he claimed the promise of not being forced to be a Witness, and would say nothing: *Porter* was a man of pleasure, who loved not the hardships of a Prison, and much less the solemnities of an Execution; So he confessed all: And then *Pendergrafs*, who had his dependance on him, freely confessed likewise: He said, *Porter* was the man who had trusted him; He could not be an Instrument to destroy him; Yet he lay under no obligations to any others among them. *Porter* had been in the management of the whole matter: So he gave a very copious account of it all, from the first beginning. And now it appeared, that *Pendergrafs* had been but a very few days among them, and had seen very few of them; and that he came and discovered the Conspiracy, the next day after it was opened to him.

*Porter* discovered all.

When by these Examinations the matter was clear and undeniable, the King communicated it, in a Speech to both Houses of Parliament: They immediately made Addresses of Congratulation, with assurances of adhering to him against all his Enemies, and in particular, against King *James*; And after that, Motions were made in both Houses, for an Association, wherein they should own him as their Rightful and Lawful King, and promise faithfully to adhere to him against King *James*, and the pretended Prince of *Wales*; engaging at the same time to maintain the Act of Succession, and to revenge his Death on all who should be concerned in it. This was much opposed in both Houses, chiefly by *Seimour* and *Finch* in the House of Commons, and the Earl of *Nottingham* in the House of Lords: They went chiefly upon this, that *Rightful* and *Lawful* were words, that had been laid aside in the beginning of this Reign; that they imported one that was King by Descent, and so could not belong to the present King. They said, the Crown and the Prerogatives of it were vested in him, and therefore they would obey him, and be faithful to him, tho' they could not acknowledge him their Rightful and Lawful King. Great exceptions were also taken to the word *Revenge*, as not of an Evangelical sound; But that word was so explained, that these were soon cleared; *Revenge* was to be meant in a legal sense, either in the prosecution

Both Houses of Parliament enter into a voluntary Association.



1696 cution of Justice at home, or of War abroad; And the same word had been used in that Association, into which the Nation entred, when it was apprehended, that Queen *Elizabeth's* Life was in danger, by the practices of the Queen of *Scots*. After a warm Debate, it was carried in both Houses, that an Association should be laid on the Table, and that it might be signed by all such, as were willing of their own accord to sign it; only with this difference, that instead of the words *Rightful* and *Lawful* King, the Lords put these words, That King *William* hath the Right by Law to the Crown of these Realms, and that neither King *James*, nor the pretended Prince of *Wales*, nor any other person, has any Right whatsoever to the same. This was done, to satisfy those, who said, they could not come up to the words *Rightful* and *Lawful*; And the Earl of *Rochester* offering these words, they were thought to answer the ends of the Association, and so were agreed to. This was signed by both Houses, excepting only Four-score in the House of Commons, and Fifteen in the House of Lords: The Association was carried from the Houses of Parliament over all *England*, and was signed by all sorts of people, a very few only excepted: The Bishops also drew a Form for the Clergy, according to that signed by the House of Lords, with some small variation, which was so universally signed, that not above an Hundred all *England* over refused it.

Soon after this, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, declaring all men incapable of publick Trust, or to serve in Parliament, who did not sign the Association; This past with no considerable opposition; for those who had signed it of their own accord, were not unwilling to have it made general; and such as had refused it when it was voluntary, were resolved to sign it, as soon as the Law should be made for it. And at the same time, an Order past in Council, for reviewing all the Commissions in *England*, and for turning out of them all those, who had not signed the Association, while it was voluntary; Since this seemed to be such a declaration of their Principles and Affections, that it was not thought reasonable, that such persons should be any longer, either Justices of Peace, or Deputy Lieutenants.

A Fund upon a Land Bank.

The Session of Parliament was soon brought to a conclusion. They created one Fund, upon which, two Millions and an half were to be raised, which the best judges did apprehend was neither just nor prudent. A new Bank was proposed, called the Land Bank, because the Securities were to be upon Land: This was the main difference between it, and the Bank of *England*:



land: And by reason of this, it was pretended, that it was not contrary to a Clause in the Act for that Bank, that no other Bank should be set up in opposition to it. There was a set of Undertakers, who engaged that it should prove effectual, for the Money for which it was given: This was chiefly managed by *Foley, Harley*, and the Tories; It was much laboured by the Earl of *Sunderland*; And the King was prevailed on to consent to it, or rather to desire it, tho' he was then told by many, of what ill consequence it would prove to his affairs: The Earl of *Sunderland's* excuse for himself, when the Error appeared afterwards but too evidently, was, that he thought it would engage the Tories in interest to support the Government.

After most of the Conspirators were taken, and all Examinations were over, some of them were brought to their Trials. *Charnock, King*, and *Keys*, were begun with: The Design was fully proved against them. *Charnock* shewed great presence of mind, with temper and good judgment, and made as good a defence as the matter could bear: But the proof was so full, that they were all found guilty. Endeavours were used to persuade *Charnock* to confess all he knew; for he had been in all their Plots from the beginning: His Brother was employed to deal with him, and he seemed to be once in suspense: But the next time that his Brother came to him, he told him, He could not save his own Life without doing that, which would take away the Lives of so many, that he did not think his own Life worth it. This shewed a greatness of mind, that had been very valuable, if it had been better directed. Thus this matter was understood at the time. But many years after this, the Lord *Somers* gave me a different account of it. *Charnock*, as he told me, sent an Offer to the King, of a full discovery of all their consultations and designs; and desired no pardon, but only that he might live in some easy prison; and if he was found to prevaricate, in any part of his discovery, he would look for the execution of the Sentence: But the King apprehended, that so many persons would be found concerned, and thereby be rendred desperate, that he was afraid to have such a Scene opened, and would not accept of this offer. At his death, *Charnock* delivered a paper, in which he confessed, he was engaged in a design to attack the Prince of *Orange's* Guards; But he thought himself bound to clear King *James*, from having given any Commission to assassinate him. *King's* Paper, who suffered with him, was to the same purpose; and they both took pains to clear all those of their Religion, from any accession to it. *King* expressed

*Charnock*,  
and others  
tried and  
executed.



1696 expressed a sense of the Unlawfulness of the undertaking; But *Charnock* seemed fully satisfied with the lawfulness of it. *Keys* was a poor ignorant Trumpeter, who had his dependance on *Porter*, and now suffered chiefly upon his Evidence, for which he was much reflected on: It was said, that Servants had often been Witnesses against their Masters, but that a Master's witnessing against his Servant, was somewhat new and extraordinary.

King *James*  
was not ac-  
quitted by  
them.

The way that *Charnock* and *King* took to vindicate *King James*, did rather fasten the imputation more upon him; They did not deny, that he had sent over a Commission to attack the Prince of *Orange*, which, as *Porter* deposed, *Charnock* told him he had seen; If this had been denied by a dying man, his last words would have been of some weight: But instead of denying that which was sworn, he only denied, that *King James* had given a Commission for Assassination: And it seems great weight was laid on this Word; for all the Conspirators agreed in it, and denied that *King James* had given a Commission to assassinate the Prince of *Orange*. This was an odious word, and perhaps no person was ever so wicked, as to order such a thing, in so crude a manner: But the sending a Commission, to attack the King's Person, was the same thing upon the matter; and was all that the witnesses had deposed. Therefore their not denying this, in the terms in which the Witnesses swore it, did plainly imply a Confession that it was true. But some, who had a mind to deceive themselves or others, laid hold on this, and made great use of it, that dying men had acquitted *King James* of the Assassination. Such slight colours will serve, when people are engaged before-hand to believe, as their affections lead them.

Friend and  
*Perkins* tri-  
ed and suf-  
fered.

Sir *John Friend*, and Sir *William Perkins*, were tried next. The first of these had risen from mean beginnings to great credit, and much wealth; He was employed by *King James*, and had all this while stuck firm to his interests: His Purse was more considered than his head, and was open on all occasions, as the Party applied to him: While *Parker* was formerly in the Tower, upon Information of an Assassination of the King designed by him, he furnished the money that corrupted his Keepers, and helped him to make his escape out of the Tower: He knew of the Assassination, tho' he was not to be an Actor in it: But he had a Commission for raising a Regiment for *King James*, and he had entertained and payed the Officers, who were to serve under him: He had also joined with those who had sent over *Charnock*, in May 1695, with the Mes-  
sage



sage to King *James*, mentioned in the account of the former 1696 year: It appearing now, that they had then desired an Invasion with 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, and had promised to join these with 2000 Horse, upon their landing. In this, the Earl of *Ailesbury*, the Lord *Montgomery*, Son to the Marquis of *Powis*, and Sir *John Fenwick*, were also concerned: Upon all this evidence, *Friend* was condemned, and the Earl of *Ailesbury* was committed Prisoner to the Tower. *Perkins* was a Gentleman of Estate, who had gone violently into the Passions and Interests of the Court, in King *Charles's* time: He was one of the six Clerks in Chancery, and took all Oaths to the Government, rather than lose his Place: He did not only consent to the design of Assassination, but undertook to bring five men, who should assist in it; And he had brought up Horses for that Service, from the Country; But had not named the Persons; so this lay yet in his own breast: He himself was not to have acted in it, for he likewise had a Commission for a Regiment; And therefore, was to reserve himself for that Service: He had also provided a stock of Arms, which were hid under Ground, and were now discovered: Upon this Evidence, he was condemned. Great endeavours were used, both with *Friend* and him, to confess all they knew: *Friend* was more fullen, as he knew less; for he was only applied to and trusted, when they needed his money: *Perkins* fluctuated more; He confessed the whole thing for which he was condemned; But would not name the five persons, whom he was to have sent in, to assist in the Assassination; He said, he had engaged them in it, so he could not think of saving his own Life by destroying theirs: He confessed, he had seen King *James's* Commission; The words differed a little from those which *Porter* had told; But *Porter* did not swear that he saw it himself; He only related what *Charnock* had told him concerning it; Yet *Perkins* said, they were to the same effect: He believed, it was all writ with King *James's* own hand, he had seen his writing often, and was confident it was writ by him: He owned, that he had raised and maintained a Regiment; But he thought he could not swear against his Officers, since he himself had drawn them into the Service; and he affirmed that he knew nothing of the other Regiments: He sent for the Bishop of *Ely*, to whom he repeated all these particulars, as the Bishop himself told me; He seemed much troubled with a sense of his former Life, which had been very irregular: The House of Commons sent some to examine him: But he gave them so little satisfaction, that they left him to the course of the Law:



1696 His tenderness, in not accusing those whom he had drawn in, was so generous, that this alone served to create some regard for a man, who had been long under a very bad Character. In the beginning of *April*, *Friend* and he were executed together.

They had a publick Absolution given them.

A very unusual instance of the boldness of the Jacobites appeared upon that occasion; These two had not changed their Religion, but still called themselves Protestants; So three of the Nonjuring Clergymen waited on them to Tyburn, two of them had been oft with *Friend*, and one of them with *Perkins*; And all the three, at the place of Execution, joined to give them Publick Absolution, with an Imposition of Hands, in the view of all the People; A strain of Impudence, that was as new as it was wicked; since these persons died, owning the ill Designs they had been engaged in, and expressing no sort of Repentance for them. So these Clergymen, in this solemn Absolution, made an open Declaration of their allowing and justifying these persons, in all they had been concerned in: Two of these were taken, and censured for this in the King's Bench, the third made his escape.

Other Conspirators tried and executed.

Three other Conspirators, *Rookwood*, *Lowick*, and *Cranborn*, were tried next. By this time, the new Act for Trials in such cases began to take place, so these held long; for their Council stuck upon every thing. But the Evidence was now more copious: For three other Witnesses came in; The Government being so gentle as to pardon even the Conspirators, who confessed their guilt, and were willing to be Witnesses against others. The two first were Papists, they expressed their dislike of the Design; But insisted on this, that as Military Men they were bound to obey all Military Orders; And they thought, that the King, who knew the Laws of War, ought to have a regard to this, and to forgive them. *Cranborn* called himself a Protestant, but was more sullen than the other two; to such a degree of fury and perverseness, had the Jacobites wrought up their Party. *Knightly* was tried next; He confessed all, and upon that, tho' he was condemned, he had a Reprieve, and was afterwards pardoned. These were all the Trials and Executions that even this black Conspiracy drew from the Government; for the King's Inclinations were so merciful, that he seemed uneasy even under these Acts of necessary Justice.

*Cook* tried for the Invasion.

*Cook* was brought next upon his Trial, on account of the intended Invasion; for he was not charged with the Assassination; His Trial was considered as introductory to the Earl of *Ailesbury's*; for the Evidence was the same as to both. *Porter* and



and *Goodman* were two Witnesses against him; They had been with him at a meeting, in a Tavern in *Leadenhall* Street, where *Charnock* received Instructions to go to *France*, with the Message formerly mentioned; All that was brought against this, was, that the Master of the Tavern, and two of his Servants swore, that they remembred well when that Company was at the Tavern, for they were often coming into the Room where they sat, both at dinner time, and after it; and that they saw not *Goodman* there, nay, they were positive, that he was not there. On the other hand, *Porter* deposed, that *Goodman* was not with them at dinner; but that he came to that House after dinner, and sent him in a note; upon which he, with the consent of the Company, went out and brought him in: And then it was certain, that the Servants of the House were not in that constant attendance; nor could they be believed in a negative, against positive evidence to the contrary. Their credit was not such, but that it might be well supposed, that, for the interest of their house, they might be induced to make stretches: The Evidence was believed, and *Cook* was found guilty, and condemned; He obtained many short Reprieves, upon assurances that he would tell all he knew: But it was visible he did not deal sincerely, his punishment ended in a Banishment. Sir *John Fenwick* was taken not long after, going over to *France*, and was ordered to prepare for his Trial: Upon which, he seemed willing to discover all he knew: And in this, he went off and on, for he had no mind to die, and hoped to save himself by some practice or other: Several days were set for his Trial, and he procured new delays, by making some new discoveries: At last, when he saw that flight and general ones would not serve his turn, he sent for the Duke of *Devonshire*, and wrote a Paper as a discovery, which he gave him to be sent to the King; And that Duke, affirming to the Lords Justices, that it was not fit that Paper should be seen by any, before the King saw it, the matter was suffered to rest for this time.

The Summer went over, both in *Flanders* and on the *Rhine*, without any action: All the Funds given for this year's Service proved defective, but that of the Land Bank failed totally: And the credit of the Bank of *England* was much shaken. About five Millions of clipt money was brought into the Exchequer; And the loss that the Nation suffered, by the recoinage of the money, amounted to two Millions, and two Hundred Thousand pounds. The Coinage was carried on with all possible haste; About eighty Thousand pounds was coined every Week: Yet still this was slow, and the new money was generally

The Campaign beyond Sea feebly carried on.



1696

 rally kept up ; so that, for several months, little of it appeared. This stop in the free Circulation of money, put the Nation into great disorder : Those who, according to the Act of Parliament, were to have the first Payments in Milled money, for the Loans they had made, kept their Specie up, and would not let it go, but at an unreasonable advantage. The King had no money to pay his Army, so they were in great distress, which they bore with wonderful patience : By this means, the King could undertake nothing, and was forced to lie on the defensive : Nor were the *French* strong enough to make an Impression in any place ; The King had a mighty Army, and was much superior to the Enemy ; Yet he could do nothing ; And it passed for a happy Campaign, because the *French* were not able to take any advantage from those ill accidents, that our want of Specie brought us under ; which indeed were such, that nothing but the sense all had of the late Conspiracy, kept us quiet and free from tumults. It now appeared, what a strange error the King was led into, when he accepted of so great a Sum, to be raised by a Land Bank : It was scarce honourable, and not very safe at any time ; But it might have proved fatal at a time, in which, money was like to be much wanted, which want would have been less felt, if Paper Credit had been kept up : But one Bank working against another, and the Goldsmiths against both, put us to great streights : Yet the Bank supplied the King in this extremity, and thereby convinced him, that they were his friends in affection, as well as interest.

A Peace in  
*Piedmont.*

The secret practices in *Italy* were now ready to break out ; The *Pope* and the *Venetians* had a mind to send the *Germans* out of *Italy*, and to take the Duke of *Savoy* out of the necessity of depending on those, they called Hereticks. The management in the business of *Casal* looked so dark, that the Lord *Gallway*, who was the King's General and Envoy there, did apprehend there was somewhat mysterious under it. One step more remained, to settle the Peace there ; for the Duke of *Savoy* would not own that he was in any Negotiation, till he should have received the advances of money, that were promised him from *England* and *Holland* ; for he was much set on the heaping of Treasure, even during the War ; to which end, he had debased his Coin, so, that it was not above a sixth part in intrinsic value, of what it passed for. He was always beset with his Priests, who were perpetually complaining of the progress, that Heresy was like to make in his Dominions ; He had indeed granted a very full Edict, in favour of the *Vaudois*, restoring



restoring their former Liberties and Privileges to them, which the Lord *Gallway* took care to have put, in the most emphatical words, and past with all the formalities of Law, to make it as effectual, as Laws and Promises can be: Yet every step, that was made in that affair, went against the grain, and was extorted from him, by the intercession of the King and the States, and by the Lord *Gallway's* zeal.

In conclusion, the *French* were grown so weary of that War, and found the Charge of it so heavy, that they offered, not only to restore all that had been taken, but to demolish *Pignerol*, and to pay the Duke some Millions of Crowns; and to compleat the whole, that the Duke of *Burgundy* should marry his Daughter: To this he consented; But to cover this Defection from his Allies, it was further agreed, that *Catinat* should draw his Army together, before the Duke could bring his, to make head against him; And that he should be ordered to attempt the Bombardment of *Turin*, that so the Duke might seem to be forced, by the extremity of his affairs, to take such conditions, as were offered him. He had a mind to have cast the blame on his Allies; But they had assisted him more effectually at this time, than on other occasions: A Truce was first made, and that, after a few months, was turned into an entire Peace; One Article whereof was, that the *Milanese* should have a neutrality granted them, in case the *German* Forces were sent out of *Italy*; All the *Italian* Princes and States concurred in this, to get rid of the *Germans* as soon as was possible; So the Duke of *Savoy* promised to join with the *French* to drive them out. *Valence* was the first place, that the Duke of *Savoy* attackt; There was a good Garrison in it, and it was better provided, than the places of the *Spaniards* generally were: It was not much pressed, and the Siege held some weeks, many dying in it. At last, the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* accepted of the Neutrality, and engaged to draw the *Germans* out of these parts, upon an advance of money, which the Princes of *Italy* were glad to pay, to be delivered from such troublesome guests.

Thus ended the War in *Piedmont*, after it had lasted six years: *Pignerol* was demolished; But the *French*, by the Treaty, might build another Fort at *Fenestrella*, which is in the middle of the Hills: And so it will not be so important as *Pignerol* was, tho' it may prove an uneasy neighbour to the Duke of *Savoy*. His Daughter was received in *France* as Dutches of *Burgundy*, tho' not yet of the Age of Consent: for she was but ten years old.



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Nothing of consequence passed in *Catalonia*; The *French* went no further than *Gironne*, and the *Spaniards* gave them no disturbance; Both the King and Queen of *Spain* were at this time so ill, that, as is usual upon such occasions, it was suspected they were both poisoned: The King of *Spain* relapsed often, and at last, remain'd in that low state of health, in which he seemed to be always rather dying than living. The Court of *France* were glad of his recovery; for they were not then in a condition, to undertake such a War, as the *Dauphin's* Pretensions must have engaged them in.

Affairs in  
Hungary.

In *Hungary*, the *Turks* advanced again towards *Transylvania*, where the Duke of *Saxony* commanded the Imperial Army: The *Turks* did attack them, and they defended themselves so well, that, tho' they were beat, yet it cost the *Turks* so dear, that the Grand *Signior* could undertake nothing afterwards. The Imperialists lost about 5000 men; But the *Turks* lost above twice that number; And the Grand *Signior* went back with an empty Triumph, as he did the former year: But another action happened, in a very remote place, which may come to be of a very great consequence to him. The *Muscovites*, after they had been for some years under the divided Monarchy of Two Brothers, or rather, of a Sister, who governed all in their Name, by the death of one of these came now under one *Czar*: He entered into an Alliance with the Emperor, against the *Turks*; and *Azuph*, which was reckon'd a strong place, that commanded the mouth of the *Tanais* or *Donn*, where it falls into the *Meotis-palus*, after a long Siege, was taken by his Army. This opened the *Euxine* Sea to him; So that, if he be furnished with men, skilled in the building, and in the sailing of Ships, this may have consequences, that may very much distress *Constantinople*, and be in the end, fatal to that Empire. The King of *Denmark's* Health was now on a decline; Upon which, the Duke of *Holstein* was taking advantage, and new disputes were like to arise there.

Affairs at  
Sea.

Our affairs at Sea went well, with relation to Trade: All our Merchant Fleets came happily home; we made no considerable Losses; on the contrary, we took many of the *French* Privateers; they now gained little in that way of War, which in some of the former years, had been very advantageous to them. Upon the breaking out of the Conspiracy, Orders were sent to *Cadiz*, for bringing home our Fleet; The *Spaniards* murmured at this, tho' it was reasonable for us to take care of our selves in the first place. Upon that, the *French* Fleet was also ordered to come about; They met with rough Weather,



ther, and were long in the passage: So that if we had sent a Squadron before *Brest*, we had probably made some considerable advantage; but the Fleet was so divided, that Faction appeared in every order, and in every motion; Nor did the King study enough to remedy this, but rather kept it up, and seemed to think, that was the way to please both Parties; but he found afterwards, that by all his management with the Tories, he disgusted those, who were affectionate and zealous for him; and that the Tories had too deep an alienation from him, to be overcome with good usage: Their submissions however to him gained their end, which was to provoke the Whigs to be peevish and uneasy. Our Fleet failed towards the Isle of *Rhæ*, with some Bomb Vessels: Some small Islands were burnt and plundered, as *St. Martin's* was bombarded: The loss the *French* made, was not considerable in itself, but it put their affairs in great distraction: and the charge they were at in defending their Coast, was much greater than ours in attacking it. This was the state of affairs in *England*, and abroad, during this Summer.

*Scotland* was falling under great misery, by reason of two successive bad Harvests, which exhausted that Nation, and drove away many of their People; the greatest number went over to *Ireland*: A Parliament was held at *Edinburgh*, and in a very thin House, every thing that was asked was granted: They were in a miserable condition, for two such bad years lay extremely heavy on them.

Affairs in  
*Scotland.*

This Summer, the *French* were making steps towards a Peace; The Court was very uneasy under so long and so destructive a War; The Country was exhausted, they had neither men nor money: Their Trade was sunk to nothing, and publick Credit was lost: The Creation of new Offices, which always was considered as a resource, never to be exhausted, did not work as formerly; Few buyers or undertakers appeared: That King's health was thought declining; He affected secrecy and retirement, so that both the temper of his mind, and the state of his affairs, disposed him to desire a Peace. One *Callieres* was sent, to make propositions to the States, as *D' Avaux* was pressing the King of *Sweden* to offer his Mediation: The States would hearken to no proposition, till two Preliminaries were agreed to; The first was, that all things should be brought back to the state, in which they were put, by the Treaties of *Munster* and *Nimeguen*. This imported, not only the restoring *Mons* and *Charleroy*, but likewise *Strasburg* and *Luxembourg*, and that, in the state which they were in at present; The other

A Treaty of  
Peace set on  
foot by the  
*French.*

Pre-



1696 Preliminary was, that *France* should own the King, whensoever the Peace should be concluded. The Emperor, who designed to keep off any Negotiation as much as possible, moved that this should be done before the Treaty was opened: But the King thought the other was sufficient, and would not suffer the Peace to be obstructed, by a thing, that might seem personal to himself. To all this, the Court of *France*, after some delays, consented; But that spirit of Chicane and Injustice, that had reigned so long in that Court, did still appear in every step that was made: For they made use of equivocal terms, in every Paper that was offered in their name: The *States* had felt the effects of these in former Treaties too sensibly, not to be now on their guard against them: The *French* still returned to them, and when some points seemed to be quite settled, new difficulties were still thrown in. It was proposed by the *French*, that the Popish Religion must continue still at *Strasburg*, that the King of *France* could not in conscience yield that point: It was also pretended, that *Luxembourg* was to be restored in the same state, in which it was when the *French* took it: These variations did almost break off the Negotiation; but the *French* would not let it fall, and yielded them up again: So it was visible all this was only an amusement, and an artifice, by this shew of Peace, to get the Parliament of *England* to declare for it: Since as a Trading Nation must grow weary of War, so the Party they had among us, would join in with the inclination, that was now become general to promote the Peace: For tho' our affairs were in all respects, except that of the Coin, in so good a condition, that we felt our selves grow richer by the War, yet during each Campaign, we ran a greater risque, than our Enemies did: For all our preservation hung on the single thread of the King's Life, and on that prospect, the Party, that wrought against the Government, had great hopes, and acted with much spirit during the War, which we had reason to think must sink with a Peace.

A Session of  
Parliament  
in *England*.

The Parliament met in *November*; And at the opening of the Session, the King, in his Speech to the two Houses, acquainted them with the Overtures, that were made towards a Peace: But added, that the best way to obtain a good one was, to be in a posture for carrying on the War. The great difficulty was, to find a way to restore Credit: There was a great Arrear due; All Funds had proved deficient; And the total failing of the Land Bank had brought a great confusion on all payments; The Arrears were put upon the Funds of the Revenue, which had been granted for a term of but five years, and that



that was now ending; So a new continuance of those Revenues 1696 was granted; and they were put under the management of the Bank of *England*, which upon that security, undertook the payment of them all. It was long before all this was fully settled: The Bank was not willing to engage in it; yet at last it was agreed: And the Bank quickly recovered its Credit so entirely, that there was no discount upon the Notes. The Arrear amounted to ten Millions: And five Millions more were to be raised for the Charge of the following year. So that one Session was to secure fifteen Millions, a Sum never before thought possible to be provided for, in any one Session. There was not Specie enough, for giving that quick circulation, which is necessary for Trade; So to remedy that, the Treasury was empowered to give out Notes, to the value of almost three Millions, which were to circulate as a Species of Money, and to be received in Taxes, and were to sink gradually, as the money should arise out of the Fund, that was created to answer them; By these methods, all the demands, both for Arrears, and for the following year, were answered. The Commons sent a Bill to the Lords, limiting Elections to future Parliaments, that none should be chosen, but those who had such a proportion of Estate or Money; The Lords rejected it: They thought it reasonable to leave the Nation to their freedom, in choosing their Representatives in Parliament: It seemed both unjust and cruel, that if a poor man had so fair a Reputation, as to be chosen, notwithstanding his Poverty, by those, who were willing to pay him Wages, that he should be branded with an Incapacity, because of his small estate. Corruption in Elections was to be apprehended from the rich, rather than from the poor. Another Bill was sent up by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords, prohibiting the Importation of all *East-India* Silks, and *Bengales*: This was proposed, to encourage the Silk Manufacture at home; And Petitions were brought for it by great multitudes, in a very tumultuary way; But the Lords had no regard to that.

The great business of this Session, that held longest in both Houses, was a Bill relating to Sir *John Fenwick*: The thing was of so particular a nature, that it deserves to be related in a special manner; And the great share that I bore in the Debate, when it was in the House of *Lords*, makes it more necessary for me copiously to enlarge upon it: For it may at first view, seem very liable to exception, that a man of my Profession should enter so far into a Debate of that nature. *Fenwick*, when he was first taken, writ a Letter to his Lady, setting forth his

*Fenwick's*  
Business.



1696 Misfortune, and giving himself for dead, unless powerful applications could be made for him, or that some of the Jury could be hired to starve out the rest; and to that he added, *This or nothing can save my Life*: This Letter was taken from the person, to whom he had given it: At his first Examination, before the Lords Justices, he denied every thing, till he was shewed this Letter; and then he was confounded. In his private Treaty with the Duke of *Devonshire*, he desired an assurance of Life, upon his promise to tell all he knew; But the King refused that, and would have it left to himself, to judge of the truth, and the importance of the discoveries, he should make. So he resolving to cast himself on the King's Mercy, sent him a Paper, in which, after a bare account of the Consultations among the Jacobites (in which he took care to charge none of his own Party) he said, that King *James*, and those who were employed by him, had assured them, that both the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Marlborough*, the Lord *Godolphin*, and Admiral *Russel*, were reconciled to him, and were now in his Interests, and acting for him. This was a Discovery that could signify nothing, but to give the King a jealousy of those persons; For he did not offer the least shadow or circumstance, either of proof or of presumption, to support this accusation. The King, not being satisfied herewith, sent an Order for bringing him to a Trial, unless he made fuller Discoveries: He desired to be further examined by the Lords Justices, to whom he, being upon Oath, told some more Particulars; But he took care to name none of his own side, but those against whom Evidence was already brought, or who were safe and beyond Sea; Some few others he named, who were in matters of less Consequence, that did not amount to High Treason; He owned a thread of Negotiations, that had passed between them and King *James*, or the Court of *France*; He said, the Earl of *Ailesbury* had gone over to *France*, and had been admitted to a private Audience of the *French* King, where he had proposed the sending over an Army of 30000 Men, and had undertaken that a great Body of Gentlemen and Horses should be brought to join them: It appeared by his Discoveries, that the Jacobites in *England* were much divided: Some were called Compounders, and others Noncompounders. The first sort desired Securities from King *James*, for the preservation of the Religion and Liberties of *England*; whereas, the second sort were for trusting him upon discretion, without asking any terms, putting all in his power, and relying entirely on his honour and generosity. These seemed indeed to act more suitably to the great Principle, upon which



which they all insisted, that Kings have their Power from God, 1696  
and are accountable only to him for the exercise of it. Dr. *Lloyd*, the deprived Bishop of *Norwich*, was the only eminent Clergyman that went into this: And therefore, all that Party had, upon *Sancroft's* Death, recommended him to King *James*, to have his nomination for *Canterbury*.

*Fenwick* put all this in writing, upon assurance, that he should not be forced to witness any part of it. When that was sent to the King, all appearing to be so trifling, and no other proof being offered, for any part of it, except his own word, which he had stipulated, should not be made use of, his Majesty sent an Order to bring him to his Trial. But as the King was slow in sending this Order, so the Duke of *Devonshire*, who had been in the secret Management of the matter, was for some time in the Country: The Lords Justices delayed the matter, till he came to Town: And then the King's coming was so near, that it was respited till he came over. By these delays, *Fenwick* gained his main design in them, which was to practise upon the Witnesses. Many delays.

His Lady began with *Porter*; He was offered, that if he would go beyond Sea, he should have a good Sum in hand, and an Annuity secured to him for his Life; He hearkned so far to the proposition, that he drew those, who were in Treaty with him, together with the Lady herself, who carried the Sum, that he was to receive, to a meeting, where he had provided Witnesses, who should over-hear all that passed, and should, upon a Signal, come in, and seize them with the money; which was done, and a prosecution upon it was ordered. The practice was fully proved, and the persons concerned in it were censured, and punished: So *Porter* was no more to be dealt with. *Goodman* was the other Witness; First they gathered matter to defame him, in which his wicked course of Life furnished them very copiously; But they trusted not to this method, and betook themselves to another, in which they prevailed more effectually; They persuaded him to go out of *England*: And by this means, when the last Orders were given for *Fenwick's* Trial, there were not two Witnesses against him; So by the course of Law, he must have been acquitted: The whole was upon this kept entire for the Session of Parliament. The King sent to the House of Commons the two Papers that *Fenwick* had sent him; *Fenwick* was brought before the House: But he refused to give any farther account of the matter contained in them; So they rejected them as false and scandalous, made only to create jealousies: And they ordered a Bill of Attainder Practices upon Witnesses.



1696 tainder to be brought against *Fenwick*; which met with great opposition in both Houses, in every step that was made. The Debates were the hottest, and held the longest, of any that ever I knew. The Lords took a very extraordinary method to force all their absent Members to come up; They sent Messengers for them to bring them up, which seemed to be a great Breach on their Dignity; For the Privilege of making a Proxy was an undoubted Right belonging to their Peerage; But those, who intended to throw out the Bill, resolved to have a full House.

A Bill of  
Attainder  
against *Fen-*  
*wick*.

Reasons  
against it.

The Bill set forth the Artifices, *Fenwick* had used to gain delays; and the practice upon *Porter*, and *Goodman's* escape; the last having sworn Treason against him at *Cook's* Trial, and likewise to the Grand Jury, who had found the Bill against him upon that Evidence. So now *Porter* appearing, and giving his Evidence against him, and the Evidence that *Goodman* had given, being proved, it was inferred, that he was guilty of High Treason, and that therefore he ought to be Attainted.

The substance of the Arguments brought against this way of proceeding, was, that the Law was all Mens Security, as well as it ought to be their Rule: If this was once broke thro', no Man was safe: Men would be presumed guilty without legal proofs, and be run down, and destroyed by a torrent: Two Witnesses seemed necessary, by an indisputable Law of Justice, to prove a Man guilty: The Law of God given to *Moses*, as well as the Law of *England*, made this necessary: And, besides all former ones, the Law lately made for Trials in Cases of Treason, was such a sacred one, that it was to be hoped, that even a Parliament would not make a Breach upon it. A written Deposition was no Evidence, because the Person accused could not have the benefit of cross interrogating the Witness, by which much false swearing was often detected: Nor could the Evidence given in one Trial be brought against a Man, who was not a party in that Trial: The Evidence that was offered to a Grand Jury, was to be examined all over again at the Trial; Till that was done, it was not Evidence. It did not appear, that *Fenwick* himself was concerned in the practice upon *Porter*; What his Lady did, could not be charged on him: No Evidence was brought, that *Goodman* was practis'd on; So his withdrawing himself could not be charged on *Fenwick*. Some very black things were proved against *Goodman*, which would be strong to set aside his Testimony, tho' he were present; And that proof, which had been brought in *Cook's* Trial, against *Porter's* Evidence, was again made use of, to prove that as he was the single Witness, so he was a doubtful and suspected one:



one: Nor was it proper, that a Bill of this nature should begin in the House of Commons, which could not take Examinations upon Oath. This was the substance of the Arguments; that were urged against the Bill.

On the other hand, it was said, in behalf of the Bill, that the nature of Government required, that the Legislature should be recurred to, in extraordinary Cases, for which effectual Provision could not be made by fixed and standing Laws: Our Common Law grew up out of the Proceedings of the Courts of Law: Afterwards, This in cases of Treason was thought too loose, so the Law in this point was limited, first by the famous Statute in King *Edward* the Third's time, and then by the Statute in King *Edward* the Sixth's time; the two Witnesses were to be brought face to face with the person accused: And that the Law, lately made, had brought the method of Trials to a yet further certainty; Yet in that, as well as in the Statute of *Edward* III. Parliamentary Proceedings were still excepted; And indeed, tho' no such provision had been expressly made in the Acts themselves, the nature of Government puts always an exception, in favour of the Legislative Authority. The Legislature was indeed bound to observe Justice and Equity, as much, if not more, than the inferior Courts; Because the Supreme Court ought to set an Example to all others: But they might see cause to pass over Forms, as occasion should require; This was the more reasonable among us, because there was no Nation in the World besides *England*, that had not recourse to Torture, when the Evidence was probable but defective: That was a mighty restraint, and struck a terror into all People; And the freest Governments, both antient and modern, thought they could not subsist without it. At present, the *Venetians* have their Civil Inquisitors, and the *Grifons* have their High Courts of Justice, which act without the Forms of Law, by the absolute Trust that is reposed in them, such as the *Romans* reposed in Dictators, in the time of their Liberty. *England* had neither Torture, nor any unlimited Magistrate in its Constitution; And therefore, upon great Emergencies, recourse must be had to the Supreme Legislature. Forms are necessary in subordinate Courts; But there is no reason to tie up the Supreme One by them: This method of Attainder, had been practised among us at all times; It is true, what was done in this way at one time, was often reversed at another; But that was the effect of the violence of the Times; and was occasioned often, by the injustice of those Attainers: The Judgments of the inferior Courts were upon

1697

Reasons for the Bill.



1697 the like account often reversed; But when Parliamentary Attainders went upon good grounds, tho' without observing the Forms of Law, they were never blamed, not to say condemned. When poisoning was first practised in *England*, and put in a pot of Porridge in the Bishop of *Rochester's* House, this, which was only Felony, was by a special Law made to be High Treason; And a new Punishment was appointed by Act of Parliament: The Poisoner was boiled alive. When the Nun of *Kent* pretended to Visions, to oppose King *Henry* the Eighth's Divorce, and his second Marriage; and said, if he married again, he should not live long after it, but should die a Villain's death; This was judged in Parliament to be High Treason; And she and her Accomplices suffered accordingly. After that, there passed many Attainders in that Reign, only upon Depositions, that were read in both Houses of Parliament: It is true, these were much blamed, and there was great cause for it; There were too many of them; For this extream way of proceeding is to be put in practice but seldom, and upon great occasions; Whereas, many of these went upon slight grounds, such as the uttering some passionate and indecent Words, or the using some Embroidery in Garments and Coats of Arms, with an ill intent. But that, which was indeed execrable, was, that persons in Prison were attainted, without being heard in their own defence; This was so contrary to natural Justice, that it could not be enough condemned. In King *Edward* the Sixth's time, the Lord *Seimour* was attainted in the same manner, only with this difference, that the Witnesses were brought to the Bar, and there examined; Whereas, formerly, they proceeded upon some Depositions, that were read to them: At the Duke of *Somerset's* Trial, which was both for High Treason and for Felony, in which he was acquitted of the former, but found guilty of the latter, Depositions were only read against him; But the Witnesses were not brought face to face, as he pressed, they might be: Upon which it was, that the following Parliament enacted, that the Accusers (that is the Witnesses) should be examined face to face, if they were alive: In Queen *Elizabeth's* time, the Parliament went out of the method of Law, in all the steps of their Proceedings against the Queen of *Scots*; It is true, there were no Parliamentary Attainders in *England*, during that long and glorious Reign, upon which, those who opposed the Bill, insisted much; Yet that was only, because there then was no occasion here in *England* for any such Bill: But in *Ireland*, where some things were notoriously true, which yet could not be legally proved, that Government was forced to have, on many



many different occasions, recourse to this method. In King *James* 1697 the First's time, those who were concerned in the Gunpowder Plot, and chose to be killed, rather than taken, were by Act of Parliament, attainted after their death; which the Courts of Law could not do, since by our Law, a Man's Crimes die with himself; for this reason, because he cannot make his own Defence, nor can his Children do it for him. The famous Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*, in King *Charles* the First's time, has been much and justly censured; not so much, because it past by Bill, as because of the Injustice of it: He was accused, for having said, upon the House of Commons refusing to grant the Subsidies, the King had asked, *That the King was absolved from all the Rules of Government, and might make use of force to subdue this Kingdom.* These words were proved only by one Witness, all the rest of the Council, who were present, deposing, that they remembered no such Words, and were positive, that the Debate ran only upon the War with *Scotland*; So that tho' *this Kingdom*, singly taken, must be meant of *England*, yet it might well be meant of *that Kingdom*, which was the Subject then of the Debate; Since then the words were capable of that favourable sense, and that both he who spoke them, and they who heard them, affirmed that they were meant and understood in that sense, it was a most pernicious Precedent, first to take them in the most odious sense possible, and then to destroy him who said them, upon the testimony of one single exceptionable Witness; Whereas, if, upon the Commons refusing to grant the King's demand, he had plainly advised the King to subdue his people by force, it is hard to tell, what the Parliament might not justly have done, or would not do again in the like case. In King *Charles* the Second's time, some of the most eminent of the Regicides were attainted, after they were dead; and in King *James's* time, the Duke of *Monmouth* was attainted by Bill: These last Attainders had their first beginning in the House of Commons. Thus it appeared, that these last two hundred years, not to mention much ancients Precedents, the Nation had upon extraordinary occasions proceeded in this Parliamentary way by Bill. There were already many Precedents of this method; And whereas it was said, that an ill Parliament might carry these too far; It is certain, the Nation, and every Person in it, must be safe, when they are in their own hands, or in those of a Representative chosen by themselves: As on the other hand, if that be ill chosen, there is no help for it; the Nation must perish, for it is by their own fault; They have already too many Precedents for this way of proceeding,  
if



1697 if they intend to make an ill use of them: But a Precedent is only a ground or warrant for the like proceeding, upon the like occasion.

The grounds upon which such a Bill was necessary and just.

Two Rules were laid down for all Bills of this nature: First, that the Matter be of a very extraordinary nature: Lesser Crimes had better be passed over, than punished by the Legislature. Of all the Crimes, that can be contrived against the Nation, certainly the most heinous one is, that of bringing in a Foreign Force to conquer us: This ruins both Us, and our Posterity for ever: Distractions at home, how fatal soever, even tho' they should end ever so tragically, as ours once did in the Murder of the King, and in a Military Usurpation, yet were capable of a Crisis and a Cure. In the Year 1660, we came again to our wits, and all was set right again; Whereas, there is no prospect after a Foreign Conquest, but of Slavery and Misery: And how black soever the assassinating the King must needs appear, yet a Foreign Conquest was worse, it was assassinating the Kingdom: And therefore the inviting and contriving that, must be the blackest of Crimes. But, as the importance of the matter ought to be equal to such an unusual way of proceeding, so the certainty of the Facts ought to be such, that if the defects in Legal Proof, are to be supplied, yet this ought to be done upon such grounds, as make the Fact charged appear so evidently true, that tho' a Court of Law could not proceed upon it, yet no Man could raise in himself a doubt concerning it. Antiently, Treason was judged, as Felony still is, upon such presumptions, as satisfied the Jury: The Law has now limited this to two Witnesses brought face to face; But the Parliament may still take that liberty, which is denied to Inferior Courts, of judging this matter, as an ordinary Jury does in a case of Felony. In the present case, there was one Witness, *viva voce*, upon whose Testimony, several Persons had been condemned, and had suffered; And these neither at their Trial, nor at their Death, disproved or denied any circumstance of his Depositions. If he had been too much a Libertine in the course of his Life, that did not destroy his credit as a Witness: In the first Trial, this might have made him a doubtful Witness; But what had happened since, had destroyed the possibility even of suspecting his Evidence; A Party had been in interest concerned to enquire into his whole Life, and in the present case had full time for it; And every circumstance of his Deposition had been examined; and yet nothing was discovered that could so much as create a doubt; All was still untouched, sound and true. The only circumstance in which the dying Speeches of those



those who suffer'd on his Evidence, seemed to contradict him, 1697  
was concerning King *James's* Commission: Yet none of them  
denied really what *Porter* had deposed, which was, that *Char-*  
*nock* told him, that there was a Commission, come from King  
*James*, for attacking the Prince of *Orange's* Guards: They on-  
ly denied, that there was a Commission for assassinating him.  
Sir *John Friend*, and Sir *William Perkins*, were condemned,  
for the Consultation now given in Evidence against *Fenwick*:  
They died, not denying it; on the contrary, they justified all  
they had done: It could not be supposed, that, if there had  
been a tittle in the Evidence that was false, they should both  
have been so far wanting to themselves, and to their friends,  
who were to be tried upon the same Evidence, as not to have  
declared it in the solemnest manner: These things were  
more undeniably certain, than the Evidence of ten Witnesses  
could possibly be. Witnesses might conspire to swear a fal-  
shood; But in this case, the Circumstances took away the possi-  
bility of a doubt. And therefore, the Parliament, without tak-  
ing any notice of *Goodman's* Evidence, might well judge *Fen-*  
*wick* guilty, for no Man could doubt of it, in his own mind.

The ancient *Romans* were very jealous of their Liberty; But  
how exact soever they might be in ordinary Cases, yet when  
any of their Citizens seemed to have a Design of making him-  
self King, they either created a Dictator to suppress, or destroy  
him, or else the People proceeded against him, in a summary  
way. By the *Portian* Law, no Citizen could be put to Death  
for any Crime whatsoever; yet such regard did the *Romans* pay  
to Justice, even above Law, that, when the *Campanian* Legion  
had perfidiously broke in upon *Rbegium*, and pillaged it, they  
put them all to Death for it. In the famous case of *Catiline's*  
Conspiracy, as the Evidence was clear, and the Danger extream;  
The Accomplices in it, were executed, notwithstanding the *Por-*  
*tian* Law: And this was done by the Order of the Senate, with-  
out either hearing them make their own Defence, or admit-  
ting them to claim the Right, which the *Valerian* Law gave  
them, of an Appeal to the People. Yet that whole Proceed-  
ing was chiefly directed by the two greatest Asserters of Publick  
Liberty, that ever lived, *Cato* and *Cicero*; And *Cæsar*, who  
opposed it, on pretence of its being against the *Portian* Law,  
was for that reason, suspected of being in the Conspiracy: It  
appeared afterwards, how little regard he had, either to Law  
or Liberty, though, upon this occasion, he made use of the one,  
to protect those, who were in a Plot against the other. This



1697 Expression was much resented by those, who were against this Bill, as carrying a bitter reflection upon them, for opposing it.

The Bill  
passed.

In conclusion, the Bill passed, by a small Majority, of only seven in the House of Lords; The Royal Assent was soon given to it; *Fenwick* then made all possible applications to the King for a Reprieve; And as a main ground for that, and as an article of merit, related how he had saved the King's Life, two years before, as was already told in the beginning of the Year 1695. But as this Fact could not be proved, so it could confer no obligation on the King, since he had given him no warning of his danger; And according to his own story, had trusted the Conspirators words very easily, when they promised to pursue their design no farther, which he had no reason to do. So that this pretension was not much considered; But he was prest to make a full Discovery; And for some days, he seemed to be in some suspense, what course to take. He desired to be secured, that nothing which he confessed, should turn to his own prejudice; The House of Lords sent an Address to the King, intreating, that they might be at liberty to make him this Promise; And that was readily granted. He then farther desired, that, upon his making a full Confession, he might be assured of a Pardon, without being obliged to become a Witness against any other Person: To this, the Lords answered, that he had to do with Men of Honour, and that he must trust to their Discretion; that they would mediate for him with the King, in proportion as they should find his Discoveries sincere and important: His behaviour to the King hitherto, had not been such, as to induce the Lords to trust to his Candour, it was much more reasonable, that he should trust to them. Upon this, all hopes of any Discoveries from him were laid aside. But a matter of another nature broke out, which, but for its singular Circumstances, scarce deserves to be mentioned.

Practices  
against the  
Duke of  
*Shrews-*  
*bury*.

There was one *Smith*, a Nephew of Sir *William Perkins*, who had for some time been in Treaty at the Duke of *Shrewsbury's* Office, pretending that he could make great Discoveries, and that he knew all the motions and designs of the Jacobites: He sent many dark and ambiguous Letters to that Duke's Under-Secretary, which were more properly to be called Amusements than Discoveries; For he only gave hints and scraps of Stories; but he had got a promise not to be made a Witness, and yet he never offered any other Witness, nor told where any of those, he informed against, were lodged, or how they might be taken. He was always asking more Money, and bragging what



what he could do, if he were well supplied, and he seemed to think he never had enough. Indeed, before the Conspiracy broke out, he had given such hints, that when it was discovered, it appeared, he must have known much more of it, than he thought fit to tell. One Letter he wrote, two days before it was intended to have been put in Execution, shewed, he must have been let into the Secret very far (if this was not an artifice to lay the Court more asleep) for he said, That as things ripened and came near execution, he should certainly know them better: It was not improbable, that he himself was one of the five, whom *Perkins* undertook to furnish, for assisting in the Assassination; And that he hoped to have saved himself by this pretended Discovery, in case the Plot miscarried. The Duke of *Shrewsbury* acquainted the King with his Discoveries, but nothing could then be made either of them or of him. When the whole Plot was unravelled, it then was manifest from his Letters, that he must have known more of it, than he would own: But he still claimed the Promise before made him, that he should not be a Witness. Upon the whole therefore, he rather deserved a severe Punishment, than any of those Rewards, which he pretended to. He was accordingly dismissed by the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, who thought that even this suspicious Behaviour of his did not release him, from keeping the Promises he had made him. *Smith*, thereupon, went to the Earl of \*\*\* and possessed him with bad impressions of the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, and found him much inclined to entertain them; He told him, that he had made great Discoveries, of which that Duke would take no notice; And because the Duke's ill Health had obliged him to go into the Country, two days before the Assassination was intended; He put this construction upon it, that he was willing to be out of the way, when the King was to be murdered. To fix this imputation, he shewed him the Copies of all his Letters, all of which, but the last more especially, had the face of a great Discovery. The Lord \*\*\* carried this to Court, and it made such an impression there, that the Earl of *Portland* sent *Smith* Money, and entertained him as a Spy, but never could by his means learn any one real piece of Intelligence. When this happened, the King was just going beyond Sea; So *Smith's* Letters were taken, and sealed up by the King's Order, and left in the hands of Sir *William Trumball*, who was the other Secretary of State. This matter lay quiet, till *Fenwick* began to make Discoveries: And when Lord \*\*\* understood, that he had not named himself (about which he expressed too vehement a concern) but that he had named Lord *Shrewsbury*,  
it



1697 it was said, that he entred into a Negotiation with the Dutch<sup>es</sup> of *Norfolk*, that she should, by *Fenwick's* Lady, encourage him to persist in his Discoveries; And that he dictated some Papers to the Dutchess, that should be offered to him, as an additional one; In which, many little stories were related, which had been told the King, and might be believed by him; And by these, the King might have been disposed to believe the rest of *Fenwick's* Paper; And the whole ended in some Discoveries concerning *Smith*, which would naturally occasion his Letters to be called for, and then they would probably have had great effect. The Dutchess of *Norfolk* declared, that he had dictated all these Schemes of his to her, who copied them, and handed them to *Fenwick*; And that he had left one Paper with her; It was short, but contained an Abstract of the whole design, and referred to a larger one, which he had only dictated to her. The Dutchess said, she had placed a Gentlewoman, who carried her Messages to *Fenwick's* Lady, to overhear all that past; So that she both had another Witness, to support the Truth of what she related, and a Paper left by him with her. She said, that *Fenwick* would not be guided by him; And said, he would not meddle with contrived Discoveries: That thereupon this Lord was highly provoked; He said, if *Fenwick* would follow his Advice, he would certainly save him; But if he would not, he would get the Bill to pass. And indeed, when that matter was depending, he spoke two full hours in the House of Lords, in favour of the Bill, with a peculiar vehemence. *Fenwick's* Lady, being much provoked at this, got her Nephew the Earl of *Carlile*, to move the Lords, that *Fenwick* might be examined, concerning any Advices that had been sent him, with relation to his Discoveries: And upon this, *Fenwick* told what his Lady had brought him, and thereupon, the Dutchess of *Norfolk* and her Confident were likewise interrogated, and gave the account which I have here related: In conclusion, *Smith's* Letters were read, and he himself was examined: This held the Lords several days; For the Earl of *Portland*, by the King's Orders, produced all *Smith's* Papers: By them it appeared, that he was a very insignificant Spy, who was always insisting in his old strain of asking Money, and taking no care to deserve it. The Earl of \*\*\* was, upon the Accusation and Evidence above-mentioned, sent to the Tower, and turned out of all his Employments. But the Court had no mind to have the matter farther examined into; For the King spoke to my self to do all I could, to soften his Censure, which he afterwards acknowledged



ed I had done. I did not know what new scheme of Confu- 1697  
sion might have been opened by him, in his own excuse. The  
House of Lords was much set against him, and seemed resolv-  
ed to go great Lengths: To allay that heat, I put them in  
mind, that he set the Revolution first on foot, and was a great  
promoter of it, coming twice over to *Holland*, to that end; I  
then moved, that he should be sent to the Tower; This was  
agreed to, and he lay there till the end of the Session, and  
was removed from all his Places: But that loss, as was believ-  
ed, was secretly made up to him, for the Court was resolved  
not to lose him quite.

*Fenwick* seeing no hope was left, prepared himself to die; *Fenwick's*  
He desired the assistance of one of the deprived Bishops, which *Execution.*  
was not easily granted; But in that, and in several other mat-  
ters, I did him such service, that he wrote me a Letter of  
thanks upon it. He was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, and died  
very composed, in a much better temper, than was to be  
expected; For his Life had been very irregular. At the place  
of his Execution, he delivered a Paper in writing, wherein he  
did not deny the Facts, that had been sworn against him, but  
complained of the Injustice of the Procedure, and left his  
Thanks to those, who had voted against the Bill. He owned  
his Loyalty to King *James*, and to the Prince of *Wales* after  
him; But mentioned the Design of assassinating King *Willi-*  
*am*, in terms full of horror. The Paper was supposed to have  
been drawn by Bishop *White*, and the Jacobites were much  
provoked with the Paragraph, last mentioned. This was the  
conclusion of that unacceptable affair, in which I had a much  
larger share, than might seem to become a Man of my Profes-  
sion: But the House of Lords, by severe Votes, obliged all  
the Peers to be present, and to give their Votes in the matter:  
Since I was therefore convinced, that he was guilty of the  
Crime laid to his charge, and that, such a method of proceed-  
ing was not only lawful, but in some cases necessary; And  
since, by the search I made into Attainders and Parliamen-  
tary Proceedings, when I wrote the *History of the Reformation*,  
I had seen further into those matters, than otherwise I should ever  
have done; I thought, it was incumbent on me, when my opi-  
nion determined me to the severer side, to offer what Reasons  
occurred to me, in Justification of my Vote. But this did not  
exempt me, from falling under a great load of Censure, upon  
this occasion.

As soon as the Business of the Session of Parliament was at *Affairs in*  
an end, the King went beyond Sea; The Summer passed over *Flanders.*



1697 very quietly in *England*, for the Jacobites were now humble and silent. The *French* were resolved to have Peace at any rate, by the end of the Year; They therefore studied to push matters as far as possible, during this Campaign, that they might obtain the better terms, and that their King might still, to outward appearance, maintain a Superiority in the Field, as if nothing could stand before him, and from thence might indulge his Vanity in boasting, that, notwithstanding all his Successes, he was willing to sacrifice his own advantages, to the quiet of *Europe*. The Campaign was opened with the Siege of *Aeth*; The Place was ill furnished, and the bad state, both of our Coin and Credit, set the King's Preparations so far back, that he could not come in time to relieve it. From thence, the *French* were advancing towards *Brussels*, on design, either to take or bombard it. But the King, by a very happy diligence preventing them, possessed himself of an advantageous Camp, about three hours before the *French* could reach it; by which they were wholly incapacitated to execute their Design. After this, there was no more Action in *Flanders* all the Summer; The rest of the time was spent in Negotiation.

*Barcelona*  
taken by the  
*French*.

The *French* were more successful in *Catalonia*; They sent an Army against *Barcelona*, commanded by the Duke of *Vendome*, and their Fleet came to his assistance: The Garrison was under the Command of a Prince of *Hesse*, who had served in the King's Army, and, upon changing his Religion, was now at the head of the *German* Troops, that were sent into *Spain*. The Viceroy (whether by a Fate common to all the *Spaniards*, or from a jealousy, that the whole Honour would accrue to a Stranger, if the Place should hold out) so entirely neglected to do his part, that he was surprized, and his small Army was routed. The Town was large and ill fortified, yet it held out two Months, after the Trenches were opened: So that time was given to the *Spaniards*, sufficient to have brought Relief from the furthest corner of *Spain*: Nothing had happened, during the whole course of the War, that did more evidently demonstrate the feebleness, into which that Monarchy was fallen; For no Relief was sent to *Barcelona*, so that they were forced to Capitulate. By this, the *French* gained a great point; Hitherto, the *Spaniards*, who contributed the least towards carrying on the War, were the most backward to all Overtures of Peace: They had felt little of the Miseries of War, and thought themselves out of its reach: But now, *France* being Master of so important a Place, which cut off all their Communication



munication with *Italy* ; They became as earnest for Peace, as they had hitherto been averse from it. 1697

Nor was this all their Danger : A Squadron had been sent, at the same time, to seize on the Plate Fleet in the *West-Indies* ; The King ordered a Squadron, which he had lying at *Cadix*, to sail after them, and assist the *Spaniards*. The *French* finding, that the Galleons were already got to the *Havana*, where they could not attack them, sailed to *Carthagena*, which was in no condition to resist them. The Plate had all been sent away, before they came thither ; But they landed and pillaged the Place, and then gave it out, that they had found many Millions there, which at first seemed incredible, and was afterwards known to be false : Yet it was confidently asserted at that time, to cover the reproach of having miscarried in the attempt, on which they had raised great expectations, and to which many Undertakers had been drawn in. Our Squadron was much superior to theirs, yet never engaged them : Once indeed, they came up to the *French*, and had some Advantage over them ; But did not pursue it. The *French* sailed to the North, towards *Newfoundland*, where we had another Squadron lying, which was sent with some Land Forces, to recover *Hudson's Bay* : These Ships might have fallen upon the *French*, and would probably have master'd them : But as they had no certain account of their strength, so being sent out upon another Service, they did not think it proper to hazard the attacking them : So the *French* got safe home, and the Conduct of our affairs at Sea was much censured : Yet our Admiralty declared themselves satisfied, with the account the Commanders gave of their Proceedings. But that Board was accused of much partiality : On all such occasions, the unfortunate must expect to be blamed, and to outward appearance, there was much room given, either to censure the Orders, or the execution of them. The King owned, he did not understand those matters : And *Russel*, now made Earl of *Orford*, had both the Admiralty and the Navy Board, in a great dependance on himself ; So that he was considered almost as much, as if he had been Lord High Admiral : He was too much in the power of those, in whom he confided, and trusted them too far : And it was generally believed, that there was much Corruption, as it was certain there was much Faction, if not Treachery, in the conduct of our Marine. Our Miscarriages made all people cry, that we must have a Peace, for we could not manage the War to any good purpose ; Since, notwithstanding our great superiority at Sea, the *French* conducted their matters so much better than us,



1697 us, that we were Losers, even in that Element, where we used to triumph most. Our Squadron, in the Bay of *Mexico*, did very little service; They only robbed and destroyed some of the *French* Colonies; And that sent to *Hudson's* Bay, found it quite abandoned by the *French*; so that both returned home inglorious.

The King  
of *Poland's*  
Death.

A great change of affairs happened this year in *Poland*: Their King, *John Sobieski*, after he had long outlived the Fame he had got, by raising the Siege of *Vienna*, died at last under a general contempt. He was going backwards and forwards, as his Queen's Negotiations in the Court of *France* were entertained or rejected: His Government was so feeble and disjointed at home, that all their Diets broke up upon Preliminaries, before they could, according to their forms, enter upon business: He was set on heaping up Wealth, which seemed necessary to give his Son an interest in the succeeding Election. And upon his Death, a great party appeared for him, notwithstanding the general aversion to the Mother: But the *Polish* Nobility resolved to make no haste with their Election, they plainly set the Crown to Sale; And encouraged all Candidates that would bid for it; One Party declared for the Prince of *Conti*, of which their Primate, then a Cardinal, was the Head; The Emperor did all he could to support the late King's Son; but when he saw the *French* Party were too strong for him, he was willing to join with any other Pretender.

The Elector  
of *Saxony*  
chosen King  
of *Poland*.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, the Prince of *Baden*, and Don *Livio Odeschalchi*, Pope *Innocent's* Nephew, were all named; But these not being likely to succeed, a Negotiation was secretly managed with the Elector of *Saxony*, which succeeded so well, that he was prevailed on to change his Religion, to advance his Troops towards the Frontier of *Poland*, to distribute Eight Millions of Florins among the *Poles*, and to promise to confirm all their Privileges, and in particular, to undertake the Siege of *Camienieck*. He consented to all this, and declared himself a Candidate, a very few Days before the Election; And so he was set up by the Imperialists, in opposition to the *French* Party: His Party became quickly so strong, that tho', upon the first appearance at the Election, while every one of the Competitors was trying his strength, the *French* Party was the strongest, and was so declared by the Cardinal; yet when the other Pretenders saw, that they could not carry the Election for themselves, they united in opposition to the *French* Interest, and gave over all their Voices to the Elector of *Saxony*, by which his Party became much the strongest, so he was pro-



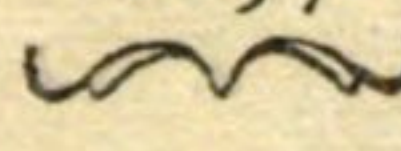
proclaimed the Elected King. The Cardinal gave notice to the Court of *France*, of what had been done in favour of the Prince of *Conti*; and desired that he might be sent quickly thither, well furnished with Arms and Ammunition, but chiefly with Money. But the Party for *Saxony* made more dispatch; that Elector lay nearer, and had both his Money and Troops ready, so he took the Oaths that were required, and got the Change of his Religion to be attested by the Imperial Court: He made all the haste he could with his Army to *Cracow*, and he was soon after Crowned, to the great joy of the Imperial Party, but the unexpressible trouble of all his Subjects in *Saxony*.

The Secular Men, there saw, that the supporting this Elective Crown, would ruin his Hereditary Dominions: And those, who laid the concerns of the Protestant Religion to heart, were much more troubled, when they saw that House, under whose Protection their Religion grew up at first, now fall off to Popery. It is true, the present Family, ever since *Maurice's* time, had shewed very little zeal in that Cause: The Elected King had so small a share of Religion in himself, that little was to be expected from him: Nor was it much apprehended that he would become a Bigot, or turn a Persecutor: But such was the eagerness of the Popish Clergy, toward the suppressing what they call Heresy, and the perpetual jealousies, with which therefore they would possess the *Poles*, were like to be such, in case he used no violence towards his *Saxon* Subjects, as possibly might have great effects on him; so that it is no wonder, if they were struck with a general Consternation, upon his revolt. His Electress, tho' a very young person, descended of the House of *Brandenbourg*, expressed so extraordinary a measure of zeal and piety upon this occasion, that it contributed much to the present quieting of their fears: The new King sent a Popish Statholder to *Dresden*, but so weak a Man, that there was no reason to apprehend much from any conduct of his. He also sent them all the assurances, that could be given in words, that he would make no Change among them, nor has he hitherto made any steps towards it.

A very unusual accident happened at this time, that served not a little to his quiet Establishment on the Throne of *Poland*: The *Czar* was so sensible of the defects of his Education, that, in order to the correcting these, he resolved to go a little into the World, for better Information: He was forming great Designs; He intended to make a navigable Canal between the *Volga* and the *Tanais*, by which, he might carry both materials and provisions for a Fleet to *Azuph*; and when that Com-

The *Czar* travelled to *Holland* and *England*.



1697  munication was opened, he apprehended great things might be done afterwards; He therefore intended to see the Fleets of *Holland* and *England*, and to make himself as much Master of that matter, as his Genius could rise up to. He sent an Embassy to *Holland*, to regulate some matters of Commerce, and to see if they would assist him in the War, he was designing against the *Turk*; When the Ambassadors were set out, he settled his Affairs in such hands, as he trusted most to, and with a small retinue of two or three Servants, he secretly followed his Ambassadors, and quickly overtook them; He discovered himself first to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, who was then in *Prussia*, looking on the Dispute, that was like to arise in *Poland*, in which, if a War should follow, he might be forced to have a share: The *Czar* concerned himself much in the matter, not only by reason of the Neighbourhood, but because he feared, that if the *French* Party should prevail, *France* being in an Alliance with the *Turk*, a King sent from thence would probably, not only make a Peace with the *Turk*, but turn his Arms against himself, which would hinder all his Designs for a great Fleet. The *French* Party was strongest in *Lithuania*: Therefore the *Czar* sent Orders to his Generals, to bring a great Army to the Frontier of that Dutchy, to be ready to break into it, if a War should begin in *Poland*: And we were told, that the terror of this had a great effect: From *Prussia*, the *Czar* went into *Holland*, and thence came over to *England*; therefore I will refer all that I shall say concerning him, to the time of his leaving *England*.

The Prince  
of *Conti*  
failed to  
*Dantzick*.

A Fleet was ordered at *Dunkirk*, to carry the Prince of *Conti* to *Poland*: A Squadron of ours, that lay before that Port, kept him in for some time; At last he got out, and sailed to *Dantzick*; But that City had declared for the new King, so they would not suffer him to land, with all those that had come with him; They only consented to suffer himself to Land, with a small Retinue; This he thought would not become him; So he landed at *Mariembourg*, where he was met by some of the Chief of his Party; They pressed him to distribute the Money, that he had brought from *France*, among them; And promised to return quickly to him with a great Force; But he was limited by his Instructions, and would see a good Force, before he would part with his Treasure. The new King sent some Troops to disperse those, who were coming together to serve him, and these had once almost seized on the Prince himself; But he acted after that, with great caution, and would not trust the *Poles*; He saw no appearance of any force, like to be brought



brought to him, equal to the Undertaking, and fearing least, if <sup>1697</sup> he stayed too long, he should be frozen up in the *Baltick*, he came back to *Dunkirk*: The Cardinal stood out still: The Court of *Rome* rejoiced at the pretended Conversion of the new King, and owned him; But he quickly saw such a scene of difficulties, that he had reason to repent his embarking himself, in such a dangerous Undertaking. This may prove of such Importance, both to the Political and Religious concerns of *Europe*, that I thought it deserved, that a particular mention should be made of it, tho' it lies at a great distance from us; It had some influence, in disposing the *French*, now to be more earnest for a Peace; For if they had got a King of *Poland* in their dependance, that would have given them a great interest in the Northern Parts, with an easier access, both to assist the *Turk* and the Malecontents in *Hungary*.

The Negotiation for a Peace was held at *Ryswick*, a House of the King's, between the *Hague* and *Delft*. The chief of <sup>The Treaty at Ryswick.</sup> our Plenipotentiaries was the Earl of *Pembroke*, a Man of eminent Virtue, and of great and profound Learning, particularly in the Mathematicks: This made him a little too speculative and abstracted in his Notions; He had great application, but he lived a little too much out of the World, tho' in a publick Station; a little more practice among Men, would give him the last finishing: There was somewhat, in his person and manner, that created him an universal respect; for we had no Man among us, whom all sides loved and honoured so much, as they did him: There were two others joined with him in that Embassy.

The King of *Sweden* was received as Mediator, but he died before any progress was made in the Treaty: His Son, who <sup>The King of Sweden's Death. His Son is Mediator at the Treaty of Ryswick.</sup> succeeded him in his Throne, was also received to succeed him in the Mediation. The Father was a rough and boisterous Man; He loved fatigue, and was free from Vice; He reduced his Kingdom to a Military State, and was ever going round it, to see how his Troops were ordered, and his Discipline observed: He looked narrowly into the whole Administration; He had quite altered the Constitution of his Kingdom; It was formerly changed from being an Elective, to be a Hereditary Kingdom, yet till his time, it had continued to be rather an Aristocracy, than a Monarchy; But he got the Power of the Senators to be quite taken away, so that it was left free to him, to make use of such Counsellors as he should choose; The Senators had enriched themselves, and oppressed the People; They had devoured the Revenues of the Crown, and in two Reigns, in



1697 in which the Sovereign was long in a state of Infancy, both in Queen *Christina's* and in this King's time, the Senators had taken care of themselves, and had stripped the Crown. So the King moved for a general Resumption, and this he obtained easily of the States: Who, as they envied the Wealth of the Senators, so they hoped that, by making the King rich, the People would be less charged with Taxes; This was not all; He got likewise an Act of Revision, by which those who had Grants were to account for the mean profits, and this was applied even to those who had Grants upon valuable Considerations; for when it appeared, that the valuable Consideration was satisfied, they were to account for all they had received over and above that, and to repay this, with the interest of the Money, at 12 *per Cent.* for all the Years they had enjoyed it. This brought a great Debt on all the Senators and other Families of the Kingdom, it did utterly ruin them and left them at Mercy; And when the King took from them all they had, he kept them still in a dependance upon him, giving them Employments in the Army or Militia that he set up.

After that, he procured of the States of his Kingdom, an absolute Authority to govern them as he thought fit, and according to Law; But even this limitation seemed uneasy, and their Slavery was finished by another Act, which he obtained, that he should not be obliged to govern by Law, but by his meer Will and Pleasure: So successful was he, in the space of five Years, to ruin all the Families in his Kingdom, and to destroy their Laws and Liberties, and that by their own consent: He died when his Son was but fifteen years old, and gave great hopes of being an active, warlike, and indefatigable Prince, which his Reign ever since has demonstrated to the World.

The first act of his Reign, was the Mediation at *Ryswick*, where the Treaty went on but slowly, till *Harlay*, the first of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, came to the *Hague*, who, as was believed, had the secret. He shewed a fairer inclination, than had appeared in the others, to treat frankly and honourably; and to clear all the Difficulties, that had been started before: But while they were negotiating, by exchanging Papers, which was a slow method, subject to much delay, and too many exceptions and evasions; The Marshal *Boufflers* desired a Conference with the Earl of *Portland*, and by the order of their Masters, they met four times, and were long alone: That Lord told me himself, that the subject of those Conferences, was concerning King *James*: The King desired to know, how the  
King



King of *France* intended to dispose of him, and how he could own him, and yet support the other: The King of *France* would not renounce the protecting him, by any Article of the Treaty: But it was agreed between them, that the King of *France* should give him no assistance, nor give the King any disturbance on his account: And that he should retire from the Court of *France*, either to *Avignon* or to *Italy*: On the other hand, his Queen should have Fifty thousand pounds a Year, which was her Jointure, settled after his Death, and that it should now be paid her, he being reckoned as dead to the Nation; and in this, the King very readily acquiesced: These Meetings made the Treaty go on with more dispatch, this tender point being once settled.

A new Difficulty arose with relation to the Empire: The *French* offered *Brizack* and *Fribourg*, as an equivalent for *Strasbourg*; The Court of *Vienna* consented to this, but the Empire refused it; These Places belonged to the Emperor's Hereditary Dominions, whereas *Strasbourg* was a free City, as well as a Protestant Town; So the Emperor was soon brought to accept of the exchange. All other matters were concerted; *Spain* was now as impatient of Delays, as *France*: *England* and the *States* had no other concern in the Treaty, but to secure their Allies, and to settle a Barrier in the *Netherlands*; So in *September* the Treaty was signed by all, except the *German* Princes: But a set time was prefixed for them to come into it. The Duke of *Savoy* was comprehended within it; and the Princes of the Empire, finding they could struggle no longer, did at last consent to it. A new piece of Treachery, against the Protestant Religion, broke out in the conclusion of all: The *French* declared that, that part of the Palatinate, which was stipulated to be restored in the state in which it was, by virtue of that Article, was to continue in the same state, with relation to Religion, in which it was at that time: By this, several Churches were to be condemned, that otherwise, according to the Laws of the Empire, and in particular of those Dominions, were to be restored to the Protestants: The Elector *Palatine* accepted of the condition very willingly, being bigotted to a high degree: But some of the Princes, the King of *Sweden* in particular, as Duke of *Deuxponts*, refused to submit to it: But this had been secretly concerted, among the whole *Popish* Party, who are always firm to the Interests of their Religion, and zealous for them; Whereas, the Protestant Courts are too ready to Sacrifice the common Interest of their Religion, to their own private advantage. The King was troubled at this treacherous

The Peace was made and the Treaty signed.



1697 Motion, but he saw no Inclination in any of the Allies to oppose it, with the zeal with which it was pressed on the other hand: The Importance of the thing, Sixteen Churches being only condemned by it, as the Earl of *Pembroke* told me, was not such as to deserve, he should venture a rupture upon it: And it was thought, the Elector *Palatine* might, on other accounts, be so obnoxious to the Protestants, and might need their Assistance and Protection so much, that he would be obliged afterwards to restore these Churches, thus wrested from them: So the King contented himself, with ordering his Plenipotentiaries to protest against this, which they did in a formal Act, that they passed.

Reflections  
on the Peace.

The King by this Peace concluded the great Design, of putting a stop to the progress of the *French* Arms, which he had constantly pursued from his first appearance on the Stage, in the Year 1672. There was not one of the Allies who complained, that he had been forgot by him, or wronged in the Treaty: Nor had the desire, of having his Title universally acknowledged, raised any impatience in him, or made him run into this Peace with any indecent haste. The terms of it were still too much to the advantage of *France*; But the length and charge of the War had so exhausted the Allies, that the King saw the necessity of accepting the best Conditions that could be got: It is true, *France* was more harassed by the War, yet the arbitrary frame of that Government made their King, the Master of the whole Wealth of his people; And the War was managed on both sides, between them and us, with this visible difference, that every Man who dealt with the *French* King was ruined by it; whereas, among us, every Man grew rich by his dealings with the King: And it was not easy to see, how this could be either prevented or punished. The regard that is shewn to the Members of Parliament among us, makes that few abuses can be enquired into or discovered; And the King found his Reign grow so unacceptable to his people, by the continuance of the War, that he saw the necessity of coming to a Peace. The *States* were under the same pressure; they were heavier charged, and suffered more by the War than the *English*: The *French* got indeed nothing by a War which they had most perfidiously begun; They were forced to return to the Peace of *Nimeguen*; *Pignerol* and *Brizack*, which Cardinal *Richlieu* had considered as the Keys of *Italy* and *Germany*, were now parted with; And all that base practice, of claiming so much, under the head of Re-unions and Dependencies, was abandoned: The Dutchy of *Lorraine* was also entirely restored;

It



It was generally thought, that the King of *France* intended, to live out the rest of his days in quiet; For his parting with *Barcelona*, made all people conclude, that he did not intend to prosecute the *Dauphin's* Pretensions upon the Crown of *Spain*, after that King's Death, by a new War; and that he would only try how to manage it by Negotiation.

The most melancholy part of this Treaty was, that no advantages were got by it, in favour of the Protestants in *France*; The *French* Refugees made all possible Applications to the King, and to the other Protestant Allies; But as they were no part of the Cause of the War, so it did not appear that the Allies could do more for them, than to recommend them, in the warmest manner, to the King of *France*; But he was so far engaged in a course of Superstition and Cruelty, that their condition became worse by the Peace; The Court was more at leisure to look after them, and to persecute them, than they thought fit to do, during the War. The Military Men in *France* did generally complain of the Peace, as dishonourable and base; The Jacobites among us, were the more confounded at the News of it, because the Court of *France* did, to the last minute, assure King *James*, that they would never abandon his Interests: And his Queen sent over assurances, to their Party here, that *England* would be left out of the Treaty, and put to maintain the War alone: Of which they were so confident, that they entred into deep Wagers upon it; a practice little known among us before the War, but it was carried on, in the progress of it, to a very extravagant degree; So that they were ruined in their Fortunes, as well as sunk in their Expectations, by the Peace; Upon which, it was said, King *James's* Queen made a bold Repartee to the *French* King, when he told her the Peace was signed: She said, she wished it might be such, as should raise his Glory, as much as it might settle his Repose.

But while the Peace was concluded in these parts, the War between the Emperor and the *Turk*, went on in *Hungary*: The Imperial Army was commanded by Prince *Eugene*, a Brother of the Count of *Soissons*, who apprehending, that he was not like to be so much considered, as he thought he might deserve in *France*, went and served the Emperor, and grew up, in a few years, to be one of the greatest Generals of the Age.

The *Grand Signior* came to command his Armies in person, and lay encamped on both sides of the *Theisse*, having laid a Bridge over the River; Prince *Eugene* marched up to him, and attackt his Camp, on the West side of the River, and after a short

The *Turks*  
Army in  
*Hungary*  
routed.



1697 short dispute, he broke in and was Master of the Camp, and forced all, who lay on that side, over the River; In this action many were killed and drowned; He followed them cross the *Theisse* and gave them a total defeat: Most of their Janizaries were cut off, and the Prince became Master of all their Artillery and Magazines: The *Grand Signior* himself narrowly escaped, with a Body of Horse, to *Belgrade*; This was a compleat Victory, and was the greatest blow the *Turks* had received, in the whole War. At the same time, the *Czar* was very successful on his side against the *Tartarians*. The *Venetians* did little on their part, and the Confusions in *Poland* made that Republick but a feeble Ally: So that the weight of the War lay wholly on the Emperor. But tho' he, being now delivered from the War with *France*, was more at leisure to prosecute this, yet his Revenue was so exhausted, that he was willing to suffer a Treaty to be carried on, by the Mediation of *England* and *Holland*; And the *French*, being now no longer concerned to engage the Port to carry on the War, the *Grand Signior*, fearing a Revolution upon his ill success, was very glad to hearken to a Treaty, which was carried on all this Winter, and was finished the next year at *Carlowitz*, from which place it takes its name.

The Peace  
of Carlo-  
witz.

By it, both Parties were to keep that, of which they were then possessed, and so this long War of *Hungary*, which had brought both sides by turns very near the last extremities, was concluded by the Direction and Mediation of the King of *England*: Upon which I will add a curious Observation, that tho' it may seem to be out of the Laws of History, yet considering my Profession, will I hope be forgiven.

The dura-  
tion of the  
*Turkish*  
Wars.

Dr. *Lloyd*, the present most learned Bishop of *Worcester*, who has now, for above twenty Years, been studying the *Revelations* with an amazing diligence and exactness, had long before this year said, The Peace, between the *Turks* and the *Papal* Christians, was certainly to be made in the year 1698, which he made out thus: The four Angels, mentioned in the fourteenth Chapter of the *Revelations*, that were bound in the River *Euphrates*, which he expounds to be the Captains of the *Turkish* Forces, that till then were subject to the *Sultan* at *Babylon*, were to be loosed, or freed from that Yoke, and to set up for themselves: And these were prepared, to slay the third part of men, for an hour, a day, a month, and a year: He reckons the year, in *St. John*, is the *Julian* year of 365 days, that is, in the Prophetick stile, each day a year; a month is 30 of these days; and a day makes one; which added to the former number



number makes 396. Now he proves from Historians, that *Ottoman* came, and began his Conquests at *Prousse*, in the year 1302, to which the former number, in which they were to slay the third part of men, being added, it must end in the year 1698: And tho' the Historians do not mark the hour, or the twelfth part of the day or year, which is a month, that is, the beginning of the Destruction the *Turks* were to make; yet he is confident, if that is ever known, that the Prophecy will be found, even in that, to be punctually accomplished. After this, he thinks their time of hurting the *Papal* Christians, is at an end; They may indeed still do mischief to the *Muscovites*, or persecute their own Christian Subjects, but they can do no hurt to the *Papalins*; and he is so positive in this, that he consents that all his Scheme should be laid aside, if the *Turk* engages in a new War with them; and I must confess, that their refusing now, in a course of three years, to take any advantage from the Troubles in *Hungary*, to begin the War again, tho' we know they have been much solicited to it, gives for the present a confirmation, to this learned Prelate's Exposition of that part of the Prophecy.

The King came over to *England*, about the middle of *November*; And was received by the City of *London*, in a sort of Triumph, with all the Magnificence that he would admit; Some progress was made in preparing Triumphal Arches, but he put a stop to it; He seemed, by a natural modesty, to have contracted an antipathy to all vain shows; which was much increased in him, by what he had heard of the gross excesses of flattery, to which the *French* have run, beyond the examples of former Ages, in honour of their King; Who having shewed too great a pleasure in these, they have been so far pursued, that the wit of that Nation has been for some years chiefly imployed on these; For they saw that mens fortunes were more certainly advanced, by a new and lively invention in that way, than by any service or merit whatsoever. This, in which that King has seemed to be too much pleased, rendring him contemptible to better Judges, gave the King such an aversion to every thing that looked that way, that he scarce bore even with things, that were decent and proper.

The King ordered many of his Troops to be disbanded soon after the Peace; But a stop was put to that, because the *French* were very slow in evacuating the Places, that were to be restored by the Treaty, and were not beginning to reduce their Troops: So, tho' the King declared what he intended to do, yet he made no haste to execute it, till it should appear how

The King came back to *England*.

Consultations about a standing Army.



1697 the *French* intended to govern themselves. The King thought it was absolutely necessary, to keep up a considerable Land Force; he knew the *French* would still maintain great Armies, and that the pretended Prince of *Wales* would certainly be assisted by them, if *England* should fall into a feeble and defenceless Condition; The King of *Spain* was also, in such an uncertain state of health, so weak and so exhausted, that it seemed necessary, that *England* should be in a condition to bar *France's* invading that Empire, and to maintain the Rights of the House of *Austria*. But tho' he explained himself thus in general to his Ministers, yet he would not descend to particulars, to tell how many he thought necessary, so that they had not authority to declare, what was the lowest number the King insisted on.

The matter  
argued on  
both sides.

Papers were writ on both sides, for and against a standing Force; On the one hand, it was pretended, that a standing Army was incompatible with publick Liberty, and according to the Examples of former times, the one must swallow up the other; It was proposed, that the Militia might be better modelled and more trained, which, with a good naval Force, some thought, would be an effectual security against Foreign Invasions, as well as it would maintain our Laws and Liberties at home. On the other side, it was urged, that since all our Neighbours were armed, and the most formidable of them all kept up such a mighty Force, nothing could give us a real security, but a good Body of regulated Troops; Nothing could be made of the Militia, chiefly of the Horse, but at a vast charge; and if it was well regulated, and well commanded, it would prove a mighty Army; But this of the Militia was only talked of, to put by the other; for no project was ever proposed to render it more useful; A Force at Sea might be so shattered, while the Enemy kept within their Ports (as it actually happened at the Revolution) that this strength might come to be useless, when we should need it most; So that without a considerable Land Force, it seemed the Nation would be too much exposed. The word, *standing Army*, had an odious sound in *English* ears; So the popularity lay on the other side; And the King's Ministers suffered generally in the good Characters, they had hitherto maintained, because they studied to stop the tide, that run so strong the other way.

A Session of  
Parliament.

At the opening the Session of Parliament, the King told them, that in his opinion, a standing Land Force was necessary; The House of Commons carried the jealousy of a standing Army so high, that they would not bear the Motion, nor did they like



like the way the King took of offering them his opinion in the point: This seemed a prescription to them, and might bias some, in the Counsels they were to offer the King, and be a bar to the freedom of Debate; The Managers for the Court had no Orders to name any number; So the House came to a Resolution of paying off and disbanding all the Forces, that had been raised since the year 1680; This Vote brought the Army to be less than 8000: The Court was struck with this; and then they tried, by an after-game, to raise the number to 15000 Horse and Foot. If this had been proposed in time, it would probably have been carried without any difficulty; but the King was so long upon the reserve, that now, when he thought fit to speak out his mind, he found it was too late: So a Force not exceeding 10000 Horse and Foot was all that the House could be brought to. This gave the King the greatest distaste of any thing, that had befallen him in his whole Reign; He thought it would derogate much from him, and render his Alliance so inconsiderable, that he doubted whether he could carry on the Government, after it should be reduced to so weak and so contemptible a state. He said, that if he could have imagined, that after all the service he should have done the Nation, he should have met with such returns, he would never have meddled in our Affairs; and that he was weary of governing a Nation, that was so jealous, as to lay itself open to an Enemy, rather than trust him, who had acted so faithfully during his whole Life, that he had never once deceived those who trusted him. He said this, with a great deal more to the same purpose, to my self; But he saw the necessity of submitting to that, which could not be helped.

A small force kept up.

During these Debates, the Earl of *Sunderland* had argued with many upon the necessity of keeping up a greater Force; This was in so many hands, that he was charged as the Author of the Counsel, of keeping on foot a standing Army: So he was often named in the House of Commons, with many severe reflections, for which there had been but too much occasion given, during the two former Reigns. The Tories pressed hard upon him, and the Whigs were so jealous of him, that he apprehending, that while the former would attack him, the others would defend him faintly, resolved to prevent a publick affront, and to retire from the Court and from Business; not only against the entreaties of his Friends, but even the King's earnest desire that he would continue about him; Indeed, upon this occasion, his Majesty expressed such a concern and value for him, that the

1698

The Earl of *Sunderland* retired from business.



1698 the jealousies were encreased, by the confidence the Court saw, the King had in him. During the time of his credit, things had been carried on, with more spirit and better success than before: He had gained such an ascendant over the King, that he brought him to agree to some things, that few expected he would have yielded to: He managed the publick affairs, in both Houses, with so much steadiness and so good a conduct, that he had procured to himself a greater measure of esteem, than he had in any of the former parts of his Life; And the feebleness and disjointed state we fell into, after he withdrew, contributed not a little to establish the Character, which his administration had gained him.

The Civil  
List settled  
on the King  
for Life.

The Parliament went on slowly in fixing the Fund for the Supplies they had voted: They settled a Revenue on the King for Life, for the ordinary expence of the Government, which was called the Civil List: This they carried to Seven hundred thousand pounds a year, which was much more than the former Kings of *England* could apply to those occasions; Six hundred thousand pounds was all that was designed, but it had been promised at the Treaty of *Ryswick*, that King *James*, being now as dead to *England*, his Queen should enjoy her Jointure, that was Fifty thousand pound a year; and it was intended to settle a Court about the Duke of *Glocester*, who was then nine years old; So to enable the King, to bear that expence, this large provision was made for the Civil List: But by some great error in the management, tho' the Court never had so much, and never spent so little, yet payments were ill made, and by some strange consumption, all was wasted.

A new East-  
India Com-  
pany.

While the House of Commons was seeking a Fund, for paying the Arrears of the Army, and for the Expence at Sea and Land for the next year; A Proposition was made, for constituting a new *East-India* Company, who should trade with a joint Stock, others being admitted in a determinate Proportion to a separate Trade: The old *East-India* Company opposed this, and offered to advance a Sum (but far short of what the publick Occasions required) for an Act of Parliament, that should confirm their Charters. The Projectors of the new Company offered two Millions, upon the security of a good Fund, to pay the Interest of their Money at eight *per Cent*; Great opposition was made to this: For the King, upon an Address that was made to him by the House of Commons, had granted the old Company a new Charter, they being obliged to take in a new Subscription of Seven hundred thousand pounds, to encrease their Stock and Trade. Those empowered by



by this new Charter, were not charged with any Maleverſation; 1698  
 They had been trading under great diſadvantages, and with great  
 loſſes, by reaſon of the War: It is true, the King had reſerved  
 a power to himſelf, by a claufe in the Charter, to diſſolve them  
 upon warning given, three years before ſuch diſſolution: So it  
 was ſaid, that no injuſtice was done them, if publick notice  
 ſhould be given of ſuch an intended diſſolution. To this it  
 was answered, that the Claufe, reſerving that power, was put  
 in many Charters, but that it was conſidered only as a threat-  
 ning, obliging them to a good conduct; But that it was not  
 ordinary to diſſolve a Company, by virtue of ſuch a Claufe, when  
 no Error or Maleverſation was objected: The old Company  
 came at laſt to offer the whole Sum that was wanted; But the  
 Party was now formed, ſo they came too late, and this had no  
 other effect, but to raiſe a clamour againſt this proceeding, as  
 extremely rigorous, if not unjuſt. This threw the old Com-  
 pany, and all concerned in it, into the hands of the Tories,  
 and made a great breach and disjointing in the City of *Lon-*  
*don*: And it is certain, that this Act, together with the Inclina-  
 tions which thoſe of the Whigs, who were in good Poſts, The Whigs  
 had expreſſed for keeping up a greater Land Force, did con- loſe their  
 tribute to the blaſting the reputation, they had hitherto main- credit in the  
 tained, of being good Patriots, and was made uſe of over Nation.  
*England* by the Tories, to diſgrace both the King and them.  
 To this, another charge of a high nature was added, that they  
 robbed the Publick, and applied much of the Money, that was  
 given for the ſervice of the Nation, both to the ſupporting a  
 vaſt Expence, and to the raiſing great Eſtates to themſelves.  
 This was ſenſible to the people, who were uneaſy under heavy  
 Taxes, and were too ready to believe, that, according to the  
 practice in King *Charles's* time, a great deal of the Money that  
 was given in Parliament, was divided among thoſe who gave it.  
 Theſe clamours were raiſed and managed with great dexterity,  
 by thoſe, who intended to render the King, and all who were  
 beſt affected to him, ſo odious to the Nation, that by this means  
 they might carry ſuch an Election, of a new Houſe of Com-  
 mons, as that by it all might be overturned. It was ſaid, that  
 the Bank of *England* and the new *East-India* Company, being  
 in the hands of Whigs, they would have the command of all  
 the Money, and by conſequence, of all the Trade of *England*;  
 So a great Party was raiſed againſt the new Company, in both  
 Houſes: But the Act for it was carried: The King was very  
 indifferent in the matter at firſt, but the greatneſs of the Sum  
 that was wanted, which could not probably be raiſed by any  
 other



1698 other Project, prevailed on him; The Interests of Princes carrying them often to act against their private Opinions and Inclinations.

The King  
of Spain's  
ill state of  
health.

Before the King went into *Holland*, which was in *July*, News came from *Spain*, that their King was dying; This Alarm was often given before, but it came much quicker now; The *French* upon this, sent a Fleet to lie before *Cadiz*, which came thither, at the time that the Galleons were expected home from the *West-Indies*; And it was apprehended, that, if the King had died, they would have seized on all that Treasure. We sent a Fleet thither to secure them, but it came too late, to have done any service, if it had been needed; This was much censured, but the Admiralty excused themselves, by saying, that the Parliament was so late in fixing the Funds for the Fleet, that it was not possible to be ready sooner than they were: The King of *Spain* recovered for that time, but it was so far from any entire recovery, that a Relapse was still apprehended. When the King went to *Holland*, he left some sealed Orders behind him, of which some of his Ministers told me, they knew not the contents till they were opened: By these, the King ordered 16000 Men to be kept up; For excusing this, it was said, that tho' the Parliament had, in their Votes, mentioned only 10000 Land men, to whom they had afterwards added 3000 Marines, and had raised only the Money necessary for that number, yet no determined number was mentioned in the Act itself; So, since the apprehension of the King of *Spain*'s Death made it advisable, to have a greater force ready for such an Accident, the King resolved to keep up a Force, somewhat beyond that, which the House of Commons had consented to; The leaving these Orders sealed, made the whole blame to be cast singly on the King, as it skreened the Ministers from a share in this Counsel: And we have more than once known Ministers put the advices, that they themselves gave, in such a manner on their Masters, that in executing them, our Kings have taken more care to shelter their Ministers, than to preserve themselves.

The Duke  
of Gloucester  
put in a method of Education.

The King, before his leaving *England*, settled a Household about the Duke of *Gloucester*; The Earl of *Marlborough*, who was restored to favour, was made his Governor, and I was named by the King, to be his Preceptor. I used all possible endeavours to excuse my self; I had hitherto no share in the Princess's favour or confidence; I was also become uneasy at some things in the King's conduct; I considered him as a glorious Instrument, raised up by God, who had done great things by him; I had also such obligations to him, that I had resolved,



ed, on publick as well as on private accounts, never to engage in any opposition to him, and yet I could not help thinking he might have carried matters further than he did; And that he was giving his Enemies handles, to weaken his Government. I had tried, but with little success, to use all due freedom with him; He did not love to be found fault with; and tho' he bore every thing that I said very gently, yet he either discouraged me with silence, or answered in such general expressions, that they signified little or nothing. These considerations disposed me, rather to retire from the Court and Town, than to engage deeper in such a constant attendance, for so many years, as this Employment might run out to; The King made it indeed easy, in one respect; for as the young Prince was to be all the Summer at *Windsor*, which was in my Diocese; So he allowed me ten weeks in the year, for the other parts of my Diocese. All my endeavours to decline this were without effect; the King would trust that care only to me, and the Princess gave me such encouragement, that I resolved not only to submit to this, which seemed to come from a direction of Providence, but to give my self wholly up to it. I took, to my own Province, the reading and explaining the Scriptures to him, the instructing him in the Principles of Religion, and the Rules of Virtue, and the giving him a view of History, Geography, Politicks and Government. I resolved also to look very exactly to all the Masters, that were appointed to teach him other things; But now I turn, to give an account of some things, that more immediately belong to my own Profession.

This year, *Thomas Firmin*, a famous Citizen of *London*, died; He was in great esteem, for promoting many charitable Designs, for looking after the Poor of the City, and setting them to work; for raising great Sums for Schools and Hospitals, and indeed, for Charities of all sorts, private and publick; He had such credit with the richest Citizens, that he had the command of great Wealth, as oft as there was occasion for it; And he laid out his own time chiefly, in advancing all such designs: These things gained him a great reputation; He was called a *Socinian*, but was really an *Arian*, which he very freely owned, before the Revolution; But he gave no publick vent to it, as he did afterwards. He studied to promote his Opinions, after the Revolution, with much heat; Many Books were printed against the Trinity, which he dispersed over the Nation, distributing them freely to all who would accept of them; Profane Wits were much delighted with this; It became a common Topick of Discourse, to treat all Mysteries in Religion, as

The progress of Socinianism.

the



1698 the contrivances of Priests, to bring the World into a blind submission to them; Priestcraft grew to be another word in fashion, and the Enemies of Religion vented all their Impieties, under the cover of these words; But while these pretended much zeal for the Government, those who were at work to undermine it, made great use of all this; They raised a great outcry against Socinianism, and gave it out, that it was like to over-run all; For Archbishop Tillotson, and some of the Bishops, had lived in great friendship with Mr. Firmin, whose charitable temper they thought it became them to encourage; Many undertook to write in this Controversy; Some of these were not fitted for handling such a nice Subject; A learned Deist made a severe remark on the progress of this Dispute; He said, he was sure the Divines would be too hard for the Socinians, in proving their Doctrines out of Scripture; But if the Doctrine could be once laughed at and rejected as absurd, then its being proved, how well soever, out of Scripture, would turn to be an Argument against the Scriptures themselves, as containing such incredible Doctrines.

Different  
Explanations of the  
Trinity

The Divines did not go all in the same method, nor upon the same Principles; Dr. Sherlock engaged in the Controversy; He was a clear, a polite and a strong Writer, and had got great credit in the former Reign, by his Writings against those of the Church of Rome; But he was apt to assume too much to himself, and to treat his Adversaries with contempt; This created him many Enemies, and made him pass for an insolent haughty Man; He was at first a Jacobite, and while, for not taking the Oaths, he was under suspension, he wrote against the Socinians, in which he took a new method of explaining the Trinity; He thought there were three eternal Minds; two of these issuing from the Father, but that these were one, by reason of a mutual consciousness in the three, to every of their thoughts: This was looked on as plain Tritheism; But all the Party applauded him and his Book; Soon after that, an accident of an odd nature happened.

Dr. Sherlock  
left the Ja-  
cobites.

There was a Book drawn up by Bishop Overall, fourscore years ago, concerning Government; in which, its being of a Divine Institution was very positively asserted; It was read in Convocation, and passed by that Body, in order to the publishing it, in opposition to the Principles laid down, in that famous book of Parson's the Jesuit, published under the name of Dollman; King James the First, did not like a Convocation entering into such a Theory of Politicks; So he wrote a long Letter to Abbot, who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury,



*terbury*, but was then in the Lower House; I had the Original, 1698  
 writ all in his own hand, in my possession; By it he desired,  
 that no further progress should be made in that matter, and  
 that this Book might not be offered to him for his assent: Thus  
 that matter slept, but *Sancroft* had got *Overal's* own Book into  
 his hands; So, in the beginning of this Reign, he resolved to  
 publish it, as an authentick Declaration, that the Church of  
*England* had made in this matter; And it was published, as  
 well as licensed by him, a very few days before he came under  
 suspension, for not taking the Oaths: But there was a Para-  
 graph or two in it, that they had not considered, which was  
 plainly calculated, to justify the owning the United Provinces  
 to be a lawful Government: For it was there laid down, that  
 when a change of Government was brought to a thorough set-  
 tlement, it was then to be owned and submitted to, as a work of  
 the Providence of God; and a part of King *James's* Letter to  
*Abbot* related to this. When *Sherlock* observed this, he had  
 some Conferences with the Party, in order to convince them  
 by that, which he said had convinced himself; Soon after that  
 he took the Oaths, and was made Dean of *St. Paul's*; He  
 published an account of the grounds he went on, which drew out  
 many virulent Books against him; After that they pursued him  
 with the clamour of Tritheism, which was done with much  
 malice, by the very same persons, who had highly magnified  
 the performance, while he was of their Party: So powerful is  
 the bias of interest and passion, in the most speculative and  
 the most important Doctrines.

Dr. *South*, a learned but an ill-natured Divine, who had  
 taken the Oaths, but with the reserve of an equivocal sense,  
 which he put on them, attackt Dr. *Sherlock's* Book of the Tri-  
 nity, not without Wit and Learning, but without any measure  
 of Christian Charity, and without any regard, either to the  
 dignity of the Subject, or the decencies of his Profession. He  
 explained the Trinity in the common method, that the Deity  
 was one Essence in three Subsistencies; *Sherlock* replied, and  
 charged this as Sabellianism; and some others went into the  
 Dispute, with some Learning, but with more heat: One preached  
*Sherlock's* Notion, before the University of *Oxford*, for which  
 he was censured; but *Sherlock* wrote against that Censure, with  
 the highest strains of contempt: The *Socinians* triumphed, not  
 a little upon all this: and, in several of their Books, they divi-  
 ded their Adversaries into real and nominal Trinitarians; *Sher-*  
*lock* was put in the first Class; As for the second Class, they  
 pretended it had been the Doctrine of the Western Church,

Dr. *South*  
 wrote a-  
 gainst him.



1698 ever since the time that the fourth Council in the *Lateran* sat ;  
 ~~~~~ Some, who took advantage from these Debates to publish their  
 Impieties without fear or shame, rejoiced to see the Divines
 engaged in such subtle Questions ; And they reckoned, that,
 which side soever might have the better, in the turn of this
 Controversy, yet in conclusion they alone must be the Gain-
 ers, by every Dispute, that brought such important matters to
 a doubtfulness, which might end in Infidelity at last.

The King's
 Injunctions
 silence those
 Disputes.

The ill effects that were like to follow, on those different
 Explanations, made the Bishops move the King to set out In-
 junctions, requiring them to see to the repressing of Error and
 Heresy, with all possible zeal, more particularly in the funda-
 mental Articles of the Christian Faith : And to watch against and
 hinder the use of new Terms or new Explanations in those mat-
 ters: This put a stop to those Debates, as Mr. *Firmin's* Death
 put a stop to the printing and spreading of *Socinian* Books.
 Upon all this, some angry Clergymen, who had not that share
 of Preferment, that they thought they deserved, begun to com-
 plain, that no Convocation was suffered to sit, to whom the
 judging in such points, seemed most properly to belong : Books
 were writ on this head ; It was said, that the Law made in
 King *Henry* the Eighth's time, that limited the Power of that
 body, so that no new Canons could be attempted or put in
 use, without the King's License and Consent, did not disable
 them from sitting : On the contrary, a Convocation was held
 to be a part of the Parliament, so that it ought always to at-
 tend upon it, and to be ready, when advised with, to give
 their Opinions chiefly in matters of Religion. They had also,
 as these men pretended, a right to prepare Articles and Canons,
 and to lay them before the King, who might indeed deny his
 assent to them, as he did to Bills, that were offered him by
 both Houses of Parliament. This led them to strike at the
 King's Supremacy, and to assert the intrinsic Power of the
 Church which had been disowned by this Church, ever since the
 time of the Reformation : And indeed, the King's Supremacy
 was thought to be carried formerly too high, and that, by the
 same sort of men, who were now studying to lay it as low. It
 seemed, that some men were for maintaining it, as long
 as it was in their management, and that it made for them :
 but resolved to weaken it, all they could, as soon as it went
 out of their hands, and was no more at their discretion :
 Such a turn do mens interests and partialities give to their Op-
 nions.

All this while it was manifest, that there were two different Parties among the Clergy; One was firm and faithful to the present Government, and served it with zeal; These did not envy the Dissenters the ease, that the Toleration gave them; they wished for a favourable opportunity of making such alterations, in some few Rites and Ceremonies, as might bring into the Church those, who were not at too great a distance from it; And I do freely own that I was of this number. Others took the Oaths indeed, and concurred in every act of compliance with the Government, but they were not only cold in serving it, but were always blaming the Administration, and aggravating misfortunes; They expressed a great esteem for Jacobites, and in all Elections, gave their Votes to those, who leaned that way: At the same time, they shewed great resentments against the Dissenters, and were enemies to the Toleration, and seemed resolved never to consent to any alteration in their favour. The bulk of the Clergy ran this way, so that the moderate Party was far out numbered. Profane Minds had too great advantages from this, in reflecting severely on a body of men, that took Oaths, and performed publick Devotions, when the rest of their Lives was too publick and too visible a contradiction, to such Oaths and Prayers.

But while we are thus unhappily disjointed in matters of Religion, our Neighbours are not so entirely united, as they pretend to be; The Quietists are said to encrease not only in *Italy*, but in *France*; The Persecution there began at first, upon a few *Jansenists*, but it turned soon to the Protestants, on whom it has been long very heavy and bloody; This had put an end to all Disputes in those matters; A new Controversy has since been managed, with great heat, between *Bossuet*, the famous Bishop, first of *Condom* and now of *Meaux*; and *La Motte Fénélon*, who was once in high favour with *Madam Maintenon*, and was, by her means, made Preceptor to the *Dauphin's* Children, and afterwards advanced to be Archbishop of *Cambray*. He wrote a Treatise of Spiritual Maxims, according to the subtilty, as well as the sublimity of the Writers, called the *Myficks*; In it, he distinguished between that, which was falsely charged upon them, and that which was truly their Doctrine: He put the perfection of a spiritual Life, in the loving of God purely for himself, without any regard to our selves, even to our own Salvation: And in our being brought to such a state of Indifference, as to have no will nor desire of our own, but to be so perfectly united to the Will of God, as to rejoice in the hope of Heaven, only because it is the Will of God, to bring

1698
Divisions
among the
Clergy.

Divisions
among the
Papists.

1698 bring us thither, without any regard to our own happiness. *Bossuet* wrote so sharply against him, that one is tempted to think, a rivalry for favour and preferment had as great a share in it, as zeal for the Truth. The matter was sent to *Rome*, *Fenelon* had so many authorized and canonized Writers of his side, that many distinctions must be made use of to separate them from him; But the King was much set against him; He put him from his attendance on the young Princess, and sent him to his Diocese; His disgrace served to raise his Character. *Madam Maintenon's* violent aversion to a man, she so lately raised, was imputed to his not being so tractable as she expected, in persuading the King to own his Marriage with her: But that I leave to conjecture. There is a breach running thro' the *Lutheran Churches*; It appeared at first openly at *Hamborough*, where many were going into stricter methods of Piety, who from thence were called Pietists; there is no difference of Opinion between them and the rest, who are most rigid to old forms, and are jealous of all new things, especially of a stricter course of Devotion, beyond what they themselves are inclined to practise: There is likewise a Spirit of Zeal and Devotion, and of publick Charities, sprung at home, beyond what was known among us in former times; of which I may have a good occasion to make mention hereafter.

The Scotch
settle at *Darien*.

But to return from this digression: The Company in *Scotland*, this year, set out a Fleet, with a Colony, on design to settle in *America*; The secret was better kept, than could have been well expected, considering the many hands in which it was lodged; It appeared at last, that the true design had been guessed, from the first motion of it; They landed at *Darien*, which, by the report that they sent over, was capable of being made a strong place, with a good Port. It was no wonder, that the *Spaniards* complained loudly of this; It lay so near *Porto Belo* and *Panama* on the one side, and *Carthagena* on the other, that they could not think they were safe, when such a Neighbour came so near the Center of their Empire in *America*; The King of *France* complained also of this, as an Invasion of the *Spanish* Dominion, and offered the Court of *Madrid* a Fleet to dislodge them. The *Spaniards* pressed the King hard upon this; They said, they were once possessed of that place; and tho' they found it too unhealthy to settle there, yet the right to it belonged still to them: So this was a breach of Treaties, and a violent possession of their Country; In answer to this, the *Scotch* pretended, that the Natives of *Darien* were never conquered by the *Spaniards*, and were by consequence

a free People ; they said, they had purchased of them leave to possess themselves of that place, and that the *Spaniards* abandoned the Country, because they could not reduce the Natives : So the pretension of the first discovery was made void, when they went off from it, not being able to hold it ; and then the Natives being left to themselves, it was lawful for the *Scots* to treat with them : It was given out, that there was much Gold in the Countrey. Certainly, the Nation was so full of hopes from this Project, that they raised a Fund for carrying it on, greater than, as was thought, that Kingdom could stretch to ; Four hundred thousand pounds Sterling was subscribed, and a fourth part was paid down, and afterwards, Seventy thousand pounds more was brought in, and a National fury seemed to have transported the whole Kingdom, upon this Project.

The Jacobites went into the management, with a particular heat ; They saw the King would be much pressed from *Spain* ; The *English* Nation apprehending, that this would be set up as a breach of Treaties, and that upon a Rupture, their Effects in *Spain* might be seized, grew also very uneasy at it ; upon which it was thought, that the King would in time be forced to disown this Invasion, and to declare against it, and in that case, they hoped to have inflamed the Kingdom with this, that the King denied them his Protection, while they were only acting according to Law ; and this, they would have said, was contrary to the Coronation Oath, and so they would have thought they were freed from their Allegiance to him. The Jacobites, having this prospect, did all that was possible to raise the hopes of the Nation to the highest degree ; Our *English* Plantations grew also very jealous of this new Colony ; They feared, that the double prospect, of finding Gold, and of robbing the *Spaniards*, would draw many Planters from them, into this new Settlement ; and that the *Buccaneers* might run into them : For by the *Scotch* Act, this place was to be made a free Port ; and if it was not ruined, before it was well formed, they reckoned it would become a seat of Piracy and another *Algiers* in those parts. Upon these grounds, the *English* Nation inclined to declare against this, and the King seemed convinced, that it was an infraction of his Treaties with *Spain* : So Orders were sent, but very secretly, to the *English* Plantations, particularly to *Jamaica* and the *Leeward* Islands, to forbid all Commerce with the *Scots* at *Darien*. The *Spaniards* made some faint attempts on them, but without success ; This was a very great difficulty on the King ; He saw how much he was like to be pressed on both hands, and he apprehended what ill consequences were like to follow, on his declaring himself either way.

1698

The present
Ministry's
good con-
duct.

The Parliament of *England* had now fate its period of three years, in which great things had been done; The whole Money of *England* was recoined, the King was secured in his Government, an honourable Peace was made, Publick Credit was restored, and the payment of Publick Debts was put on sure and good Funds. The chief conduct lay now in a few hands; The Lord *Somers* was made a Baron of *England*; and as he was one of the ablest and the most incorrupt Judges, that ever sat in Chancery; so his great Capacity for all Affairs made the King consider him beyond all his Ministers, and he well deserved the confidence that the King expressed for him on all occasions. In the House of Commons, Mr. *Mountague* had gained such a visible ascendant over all, that were zealous for the King's Service, that he gave the Law to the rest, which he did always with great spirit, but sometimes with too assuming an air: The Fleet was in the Earl of *Orford's* management, who was both Treasurer of the Navy, and was at the head of the Admiralty; he had brought in many into the Service, who were very zealous for the Government, but a spirit of Impiety and Dissolution ran thro' too many of them, so that those, who intended to cast a load upon the Government, had too great advantages given by some of these. The Administration at home was otherwise without exception, and no grievances were complained of.

A new Par-
liament.

There was a new Parliament called, and the Elections fell generally on men, who were in the Interests of the Government: Many of them had indeed some popular Notions, which they had drank in under a bad Government, and thought they ought to keep them under a good one; So that those, who wished well to the publick, did apprehend great difficulties in managing them. The King himself did not seem to lay this to heart, so much as was fitting; He stayed long beyond Sea; He had made a visit to the Duke of *Zell*, where he was treated in a most magnificent manner. Cross Winds hinder'd his coming to *England*, so soon as he had intended; upon which, the Parliament was prorogued for some weeks, after the Members were come up; even this soured their spirits, and had too great a share in the ill humour, that appeared among them.

The Forces
much dimi-
nished.

The King's keeping up an Army beyond the Votes of the former Parliament, was much resented, nor was the occasion for doing it enough considered; All this was increased by his own management after he came over. The Ministers represented to him, that they could carry the keeping up a Land Force of ten or twelve thousand, but that they could not carry it

it further; He said, so small a number was as good as none 1698 at all, therefore he would not authorize them to propose it; On the other hand, they thought they should lose their Credit with their best friends, if they ventured to speak of a greater number. So, when the House of Commons took up the Debate, the Ministry were silent and proposed no number; upon which those, who were in the contrary interest, named Seven thousand Men, and to this they added, that they should be all the King's natural born Subjects: Both the parts of this Vote gave the King great uneasiness; He seemed not only to lay it much to heart, but to sink under it; He tried all that was possible to struggle against it, when it was too late; it not being so easy to recover things in an after-game, as it was to have prevented this misunderstanding, that was like to arise between him and his Parliament. It was surmized, that he was resolved not to pass the Bill, but that he would abandon the Government, rather than hold it, with a Force that was too small to preserve and protect it; yet this was considered only as a threatening, so that little regard was had to it: The Act passed with some opposition in the House of Commons; a feeble attempt was made in the House of Lords against it, but it was rather a reproach, than a service to the Government, it being faintly made and ill supported. The Royal Assent was given, and when it was hoped, that the passing the Act had softened peoples minds, a new attempt was made for keeping the *Dutch* Guards in *England*, but that was rejected, tho' the King sent a Message desiring it.

In the carrying these points, many hard things were said against the Court, and against the King himself; It was suggested, that he loved not the Nation; that he was on the reserve with all *Englishmen*, and shewed no confidence in them; But that as soon as the Session of Parliament was over, he went immediately to *Holland*; And they said, this was not to look after the affairs of the *States*, which had been more excusable; but that he went thither to enjoy a lazy privacy at *Loo*; where, with a few Favourites, he hunted and passed away the Summer, in a way that did not raise his Character much. It is certain, the usage he had met with of late, put his Spirits too much on the fret; and he neither took care to disguise that, nor to overcome the ill humour, which the manner of his deportment, rather than any just occasion given by him, had raised in many against him. Some, in the House of Commons, began to carry things much further, and to say, that they were not bound to maintain the Votes, and to keep up the Credit

The Party opposed the King with great bitterness.

1698 Credit of the former Parliament; And they tried to shake the Act, made in favour of the new *East-India* Company: This was so contrary to the fundamental Maxims of our Constitution, that it gave cause of Jealousy, since this could be intended for nothing, but to ruine the Government: Money raised by Parliament, upon Bargains and Conditions that were performed, by those who advanced it, gave them such a purchase of those Acts, and this was so sacred, that to overturn it must destroy all Credit for the future, and no Government could be maintained that did not preserve this religiously.

1699
A Debate
concerning
Grants of
Irish Es-
tates.

Among other Complaints, one made against the Court was, that the King had given Grants of the confiscated Estates in *Ireland*; It was told before, that a Bill being sent up by the Commons, attainting the *Irish* that had been in Arms, and applying their Estates to the paying the Publick Debts, leaving only a Power to the King, to dispose of the third part of them, was like to lie long before the Lords; Many Petitions being offered against it; Upon which the King, to bring the Session to a speedy conclusion, had promised, that this matter should be kept entire, till their next meeting: But the next Session going over, without any proceeding in it, the King granted away all those Confiscations: It being an undoubted Branch of the Royal Prerogative, that all Confiscations accrued to the Crown, and might be granted away at the pleasure of the King: It was pretended, that those Estates came to a Million and a half in value. Great Objections were made to the merits of some, who had the largest share in those Grants; Attempts had been made, in the Parliament of *Ireland*, to obtain a confirmation of them, but that which *Ginkle*, who was created Earl of *Athlone*, had, was only confirmed; Now it was become a popular subject of Declamation, to arraign both the Grants, and those who had them: Motions had been often made, for a general Resumption of all the Grants, made in this Reign; But in answer to this, it was said, that since no such motion was made, for a Resumption of the Grants made in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, notwithstanding the extravagant profusion of them, and the ill grounds, upon which they were made, it shewed both a disrespect and a black ingratitude, if, while no other Grants were resumed, this King only should be called in question. The Court Party said often, let the Retrospect go back to the year 1660, and they would consent to it, and that which might be got by it would be worth the while. It was answered, this could not be done after so long a time, that so many Sales, Mortgages,

Mortgages, and Settlements had been made, pursuant to those Grants; So all these attempts came to nothing. But now they fell on a more effectual method: A Commission was given, by Act of Parliament, to seven persons named by the House of Commons, to enquire into the Value of the confiscated Estates in *Ireland* so granted away, and into the Considerations, upon which those Grants were made. This past in this Session, and in the Debates, a great alienation discovered itself in many from the King and his Government, which had a very ill effect upon all affairs, both at home and abroad. When the time prefixed for the disbanding the Army came, it was reduced to Seven thousand Men: of these, Four thousand were Horse and Dragoons, the Foot were Three thousand; The Bodies were also reduced to so small a number of Soldiers, that it was said we had now an Army of Officers: The new model was much approved of by proper judges, as the best into which so small a number could have been brought. There was at the same time, a very large Provision made for the Sea, greater than was thought necessary in a time of Peace. Fifteen thousand Seamen, with a Fleet proportioned to that number, was thought a necessary security, since we were made so weak by Land.

I mentioned, in the relation of the former year, the *Czar's* coming out of his own Country; on which I will now enlarge: He came this Winter over to *England*, and stay'd some Months among us; I waited often on him, and was ordered, both by the King and the Archbishop and Bishops, to attend upon him, and to offer him such Informations of our Religion and Constitution, as he was willing to receive; I had good Interpreters, so I had much free discourse with him; He is a man of a very hot temper, soon inflamed and very brutal in his Passion; He raises his natural heat, by drinking much Brandy, which he rectifies himself with great application; He is subject to convulsive Motions all over his Body, and his Head seems to be affected with these; He wants not Capacity, and has a larger measure of Knowledge, than might be expected from his Education, which was very indifferent; A want of Judgment, with an instability of Temper, appear in him too often and too evidently; He is mechanically turn'd, and seems designed by Nature rather to be a Ship Carpenter, than a great Prince; This was his chief study and exercise, while he stay'd here: He wrought much with his own hands, and made all about him work at the Models of Ships; He told me, he designed a great Fleet at *Azuph*, and with it to attack the *Turkish* Empire; But he did not seem capable of conducting so great a Design, though

The *Czar* of
Moscovy in
England.

1699 his conduct in his Wars since this, has discovered a greater Genius in him, than appeared at that time; He was desirous to understand our Doctrine, but he did not seem disposed to mend matters in *Moscow*; He was indeed resolved to encourage Learning, and to polish his People, by sending some of them to travel in other Countries, and to draw Strangers to come and live among them; He seemed apprehensive still of his Sister's Intrigues; There was a mixture both of Passion and Severity in his temper. He is resolute, but understands little of War, and seemed not at all inquisitive that way: After I had seen him often, and had conversed much with him, I could not but adore the depth of the Providence of God, that had raised up such a furious man, to so absolute an Authority over so great a part of the World.

David, considering the great things God had made for the use of man, broke out into the Meditation, *What is man, that thou art so mindful of him?* But here there is an occasion, for reversing these words, since Man seems a very contemptible thing, in the sight of God, while such a person as the *Czar* has such multitudes, put as it were under his feet, exposed to his restless Jealousy and savage Temper. He went from hence to the Court of *Vienna*, where he purposed to have stay'd some time, but he was called home, sooner than he had intended, upon a discovery or a suspicion of Intrigues managed by his Sister: The Strangers to whom he trusted most, were so true to him, that those designs were crushed before he came back; But on this occasion, he let loose his fury on all whom he suspected; Some hundreds of them were hanged all round *Moscow*, and it was said, that he cut off many Heads with his own hand, and so far was he from relenting or shewing any sort of tenderness, that he seemed delighted with it: How long he is to be the Scourge of that Nation, or of his Neighbours, God only knows: So extraordinary an incident will, I hope, justify such a digression.

The Affairs
of Poland.

The King of *Poland* was not much better thought of by the *Poles*, though somewhat deeper in his designs; He had given that Republick great cause of suspecting, that he intended to turn that free and elective State, into an hereditary and absolute Dominion; Under the pretence of a Civil War, like to arise at home, on the Prince of *Conti's* account, and of the War with the *Turks*, he had brought in an Army of *Saxons*, of whom the *Poles* were now become so jealous, that if he does not send them home again, probably that Kingdom will fall into new Wars.

The

The young King of *Sweden* seemed to inherit the roughness of his Father's temper, with the Piety and the Virtues of his Mother; His Coronation was performed in a particular manner; He took up the Crown himself, and set it on his head; The design of this Innovation in the Ceremonial seems to be, that he will not have his Subjects think, that he holds his Crown in any respect by their Grant or Consent, but that it was his own by Descent: Therefore no other person was to set it on his head: Whereas, even absolute Princes are willing to leave this poor remnant and shadow of a popular Election, among the Ceremonies of their Coronation; since they are crowned upon the desires and shoutings of their People. Thus the two Northern Crowns, *Denmark* and *Sweden*, that were long under great restraints by their Constitution, have in our own time, emancipated themselves so entirely, that in their Government they have little regard, either to the rules of Law or the decencies of Custom. A little time will shew, whether *Poland* can be brought to submit to the same absoluteness of Government; They who set their Crown to Sale, in so bare-faced a manner, may be supposed ready likewise to sell their Liberties, if they can find a Merchant, that will come to their Price.

The frequent relapses, and the feeble state of the King of *Spain's* Health, gave the World great alarms. The Court of *Vienna*, trusted to their interest in the Court of *Spain*, and in that King himself; The *French* Court was resolved not to let go their Pretensions to that Succession, without great advantages; The King and the States were not now strong enough, to be the Umpires in that matter; This made them more easily hearken to Propositions, that were set on foot by the Court of *France*; The Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* was proposed, he being the only Issue of the King of *Spain's* second Sister, who was married to the Emperor. Into this, the King, the States, and the Elector of *Bavaria* entred; The Court of *Spain* agreed to this; and that King, by his Will, confirmed his Father's Will, by which the Succession of the Crown was settled on the Issue of the second Daughter, and it was resolved to engage all the Grandees and Cities of *Spain*, to maintain the Succession, according to this Settlement. The House of *Austria* complained of this, and pretended that, by a long tract of reciprocal Settlements, several mutual Entails had passed, between those two Branches of the House of *Austria*; The Court of *France* seemed also to complain of it, but they were secretly in it, upon engagements, that the Dominions in *Italy* should fall to their share; But while these engagements, in favour of the Prince Electoral, were

1699

The Affairs of Sweden.

A Treaty for the Succession to the Crown of Spain.

1699 were raising great apprehensions every where, that young Prince, who seemed marked out for great things, and who had all the promising beginnings, that could be expected in a Child of seven years old, fell sick, and was carried off the third or fourth day of his illness; So uncertain are all the prospects, and all the hopes, that this World can give. Now the *Dauphin* and the Emperor were to dispute, or to divide this Succession between them; So a new Treaty was set on foot: It was generally given out, and too easily believed, that the King of *France* was grown weary of War, and was resolved to pass the rest of his days in Peace and Quiet; But that he could not consent to the exaltation of the House of *Austria*; yet if that House were set aside, he would yield up the *Dauphin's* pretensions; and so the Duke of *Savoy* was much talked of, but it was with the prospect of having his Hereditary Dominions yielded up to the Crown of *France*: But this great matter came to another digestion a few Months after.

The Earl of
Albemarle's
favour.

About this time, the King set up a new Favourite: *Keppel*, a Gentleman of *Guelder*, was raised from being a Page, into the highest degree of favour, that any person had ever attained, about the King: He was now made Earl of *Albemarle*, and soon after Knight of the Garter, and by a quick and unaccountable progress, he seemed to have engrossed the Royal Favour so entirely, that he disposed of every thing, that was in the King's Power. He was a cheerful young man, that had the art to please, but was so much given up to his own pleasures, that he could scarce submit to the attendance and drudgery, that was necessary to maintain his Post. He never had yet distinguished himself in any thing, tho' the King did it in every thing. He was not cold nor dry, as the Earl of *Portland* was thought to be; who seemed to have the art of creating many enemies to himself, and not one friend: But the Earl of *Albemarle* had all the Arts of a Court, was civil to all, and procured many favours. The Earl of *Portland* observed the progress of this favour with great uneasiness; They grew to be not only incompatible, as all Rivals for favour must needs be, but to hate and oppose one another in every thing; by which the King's Affairs suffered much; The one had more of the confidence, and the other much more of the favour; The King had heaped many Grants on the Earl of *Portland*, and had sent him Ambassador to *France*, upon the Peace; where he appeared with great Magnificence, and at a vast Expence, and had many very unusual Respects put upon him by that King and all that Court; but upon his return, he could not bear the

the visible superiority in favour, that the other was grown up to; 1699
So he took occasion, from a small preference that was given him, in prejudice of his own Post, as Groom of the Stole, and upon it withdrew from the Court, and laid down all his Employments. The King used all possible means to divert him from this resolution, but without prevailing on him; He consented to serve the King still in his affairs, but he would not return to any Post in the Household; And not long after that he was employed in the new Negotiation, set on foot for the Succession to the Crown of *Spain*.

This year died the Marquis of *Winchester*, whom the King had created Duke of *Bolton*; He was a man of a strange mixture; He had the Spleen to a high degree, and affected an extravagant behaviour; for many weeks he would take a conceit not to speak one word; and at other times, he would not open his mouth, till such an hour of the day, when he thought the Air was pure; He changed the day into night, and often hunted by torch light, and took all sorts of Liberties to himself, many of which were very disagreeable to those about him. In the end of King *Charles's* time, and during King *James's* reign, he affected an appearance of folly, which afterwards he compared to *Junius Brutus's* behaviour under the *Tarquins*. With all this, he was a very knowing and a very crafty politick man: and was an artful Flatterer, when that was necessary to compass his end, in which generally he was successful: He was a man of a profuse expence, and of a most ravenous avarice to support that; and tho' he was much hated, yet he carried matters before him with such authority and success, that he was in all respects, the great Riddle of the age.

The Death
of the Duke
of *Bolton*.

This Summer, Sir *Josiah Child* died; He was a man of great Notions as to Merchandize, which was his Education, and in which he succeeded beyond any man of his time; He applied himself chiefly to the *East-India* Trade, which by his management was raised so high, that it drew much envy and jealousy both upon himself and upon the Company; He had a compass of knowledge and apprehension, beyond any Merchant I ever knew; He was vain and covetous, and thought too cunning, tho' to me he seemed always sincere.

And of Sir
Josiah
Child.

The Complaints that the Court of *France* sent to *Rome*, against the Archbishop of *Cambray's* Book, procured a Censure from thence; But he gave such a ready and entire submission to it, that how much soever that may have lessened him, in some mens Opinions, yet it quite defeated the designs of his enemies against him: Upon this occasion, it appeared how much

The Archbi-
shop of
Cambray's
Book con-
demned.

1699 both the Clergy of *France*, and the Courts of Parliament there, were sunk from that firmness, which they had so long maintained against the incroachment of the Court of *Rome*; not so much as one person of those bodies, has set himself to assert those Liberties, upon which they had so long valued themselves; The whole Clergy submitted to the *Bull*, the King himself received it, and the Parliament registred it: We do not yet know, by what methods and practices this was obtained at the Court of *Rome*, nor what are the distinctions, by which they save the Doctrine of so many of their Saints, while they condemn this Archbishop's Book; For it is not easy to perceive a difference between them: From the conclusion of this Process at *Rome*, I turn to another, against a Bishop of our own Church, that was brought to a sentence and conclusion this Summer.

The Bishop
of St. *David's*
de-
prived for
Simony.

Dr. *Watson* was promoted by King *James* to the Bishoprick of *St. David's*; It was believed that he gave money for his advancement, and that, in order to the reimbursing himself, he sold most of the spiritual Preferments in his Gift: By the Law and Custom of this Church, the Archbishop is the only Judge of a Bishop, but, upon such occasions, he calls for the assistance of some of the Bishops; He called for six in this cause; I was one of them; It was proved, that the Bishop had collated a Nephew of his to a great many of the best Preferments in his Gift, and that, for many years, he had taken the whole profits of these to himself, keeping his Nephew very poor, and obliging him to perform no part of his duty: It was also proved, that the Bishop obtained leave to keep a Benefice, which he held before his Promotion, by a *Commendam* (one of the abuses, which the Popes brought in among us, from which we have not been able hitherto to free our Church) he had sold both the Cure, and the Profits to a Clergyman, for a sum of Money, and had obliged himself to resign it upon demand; That is, as soon as the Clergyman could, by another sum, purchase the next presentation of the Patron: These things were fully proved. To these, was added a charge of many oppressive Fees, which being taken for Benefices, that were in his Gift, were not only Extortion but a presumptive Simony: all these he had taken himself, without making use of a Register or Actuary; for as he would not trust those secrets to any other, so he swallowed up the Fees, both of his Chancellor and Register; He had also ordained many persons, without tendring them the Oaths, enjoined by Law, and yet, in their Letters of Orders, he had certified under his hand and Seal, that they had taken those Oaths; This was, what the Law calls *Crimen falsi*, the certi-

certifying that, which he knew to be false; No exceptions lay to the Witnesses, by whom these things were made out, nor did the Bishop bring any proofs, on his side, to contradict their Evidence; Some affirmed, that he was a sober and regular man, and that he spoke often of Simony, with such detestation, that they could not think him capable of committing it: The Bishop of *Rochester* withdrew from the Court, on the day, in which Sentence was to be given; He consented to a suspension, but he did not think that a Bishop could be deprived, by the Archbishop: When the Court sat to give Judgment, the Bishop resumed his Privilege of Peerage, and pleaded it; but he, having waved it in the House of Lords, and having gone on still submitting to the Court; No regard was had to this, since a Plea to the Jurisdiction of the Court, was to be offered in the first instance, but could not be kept up to the last, and then be made use of: The Bishops, that were present, agreed to a sentence of Deprivation: I went further, and thought that he ought to be excommunicated. He was one of the worst men, in all respects, that ever I knew in Holy Orders: passionate, covetous, and false in the blackest instances; without any one vertue or good quality, to balance his many bad ones. But, as he was advanced by King *James*, so he stuck firm to that Interest; and the Party, tho' ashamed of him, yet were resolved to support him, with great zeal: He appealed to a Court of Delegates; and they, about the end of the year, confirmed the Archbishop's sentence. Another prosecution followed for Simony, against *Jones* Bishop of *St. Asaph*, in which, tho' the presumptions were very great, yet the Evidence was not so clear, as in the former case; The Bishops in *Wales* give almost all the Benefices in their Diocese; So this Primitive Constitution, that is still preserved among them, was scandalously abused by some wicked men, who set holy things to sale, and thereby encreased the prejudices, that are but too easily received, both against Religion and the Church.

I published this year an Exposition of the Thirty nine Articles of Religion: It seemed a Work much wanted, and it was justly to be wondred at, that none of our Divines had attempted any such Performance, in a way suitable to the dignity of the subject: For some slight Analyses of them are not worth, either mentioning or reading. It was a work, that required study and labour, and laid a man open to many malicious attacks; This made some of my friends advise me against publishing it; In compliance with them, I kept it five years by me, after I had finished it: But I was now prevail'd on by the

I published
an Exposition
of the
Thirty nine
Articles.

1699 the Archbishop and many of my own Order, besides a great many others, to delay the publishing it no longer. It seemed a proper addition to the History of the Reformation, to explain and prove the Doctrine; which was then established. I was moved first, by the late Queen, and pressed by the late Archbishop to write it; I can appeal to the Searcher of all hearts, that I wrote it, with great sincerity and a good intention; and with all the application and care, I was capable of; I did then expect, what I have since met with, that malicious men would imploy both their industry and ill-nature, to find matter for censure and cavils; But tho' there have been some Books writ on purpose against it, and many in Sermons and other Treatises have occasionally reflected, with great severity, upon several passages in it, yet this has been done, with so little justice or reason, that I am not yet convinced, that there is one single period or expression, that is justly remarked on, or that can give me any occasion, either to retract, or so much as to explain any one part of that whole Work; which I was very ready to have done, if I had seen cause for it. There was another reason, that seemed to determine me to the publishing it at this time.

The growth
of Popery.

Upon the Peace of *Ryswick*, a great swarm of Priests came over to *England*, not only those, whom the Revolution had frightened away, but many more new men, who appeared in many places with great insolence; And it was said, that they boasted of the favour and protection, of which they were assured. Some enemies of the Government began to give it out, that the favouring that Religion was a secret Article of the Peace; and so absurd is malice and calumny, that the Jacobites began to say, that the King was either of that Religion, or at least a favourer of it: Complaints of the avowed practices and insolence of the Priests were brought from several places, during the last Session of Parliament, and those were maliciously aggravated by some, who cast the blame of all on the King.

An Act a-
gainst Pa-
pists.

Upon this, some proposed a Bill, that obliged all persons educated in that Religion, or suspected to be of it, who should succeed to any Estate before they were of the age of eighteen, to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the Test, as soon as they came to that age; and till they did it, the Estate was to devolve to the next of kin, that was a Protestant; but was to return back to them, upon their taking the Oaths. All popish Priests were also banished by the Bill, and were adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, if they should
again

again return into *England*; and the reward of an hundred ¹⁶⁹⁹ pound was offered to every one, who should discover a Popish Priest, so as to convict him. Those, who brought this into the House of Commons, hoped, that the Court would have opposed it; But the Court promoted the Bill; So when the Party saw their mistake, they seemed willing to let the Bill fall; and when that could not be done, they clogged it with many severe and some unreasonable Clauses, hoping that the Lords would not pass the Act; And it was said, that if the Lords should make the least alteration in it, they, in the House of Commons, who had set it on, were resolved to let it lie on their Table, when it should be sent back to them. Many Lords, who secretly favoured Papists, on the Jacobite account, did for this very reason, move for several alterations; Some of these importing a greater severity; But the zeal against Popery was such in that House, that the Bill past without any amendment, and it had the Royal Assent. I was for this Bill, notwithstanding my Principles for Toleration, and against all Persecution for Conscience sake; I had always thought, that if a Government found any Sect in Religion, incompatible with its quiet and safety, it might, and sometimes ought to send away all of that Sect, with as little hardship as possible; It is certain, that as all Papists must, at all times, be ill subjects to a Protestant Prince, so this is much more to be apprehended, when there is a pretended Popish Heir in the case; This Act hurt no man, that was in the present possession of an Estate, it only incapacitated his next Heir, to succeed to that Estate, if he continued a Papist; So the danger of this, in case the Act should be well looked to, would put those of that Religion, who are men of Conscience, on the selling their Estates; and in the course of a few years, might deliver us from having any Papists left among us. But this Act wanted several necessary Clauses, to enforce the due execution of it; The word *next of kin*, was very indefinite, and the *next of kin* was not obliged to claim the benefit of this Act, nor did the Right descend to the remoter Heirs, if the more immediate ones should not take the benefit of it; The Test, relating to matters of Doctrine and Worship, did not seem a proper ground for so great a severity; So this Act was not followed nor executed in any sort; But here is a Scheme laid, tho' not fully digested, which on some great provocation, given by those of that Religion, may dispose a Parliament to put such Clauses in a new Act, as may make this effectual.

1699

Affairs in
Holstein.

The King of *Denmark* was in a visible decline all this year, and died about the end of Summer; While he was languishing, the Duke of *Holstein* began to build some new Forts in that Dutchy; This the *Danes* said, was contrary to the Treaties, and to the *Condominium*, which that King and the Duke have in that Dutchy; The Duke of *Holstein* had married the King of *Sweden*'s Sister, and depended on the assurances he had, of being supported by that Crown; The young King of *Denmark*, upon his coming to the Crown, as he complained of these Infractions, so he entred into an Alliance, with the King of *Poland*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and, as was said, with the Landgrave of *Hesse* and the Duke of *Wolfembüttel*, to attack *Sweden* and *Holstein* at once, on all hands. The King of *Poland* was to invade *Livonia*; The Elector of *Brandenburgh* was to fall into the Regal *Pomerania*, and the other Princes were to keep the Dukes of *Zell* and *Hanover*, from assisting *Holstein*; The King of *Denmark* himself was to attack *Holstein*, but his Father's chief Minister and Treasurer, the Baron *Plesse*, did not like the Concert, and apprehended it would not end well; So he withdrew from his Post, which he had maintained long, with a high reputation, both for his capacity and integrity; which appeared in this, that, tho' that King's Power is now carried to be absolute, yet he never stretched it to new or oppressive Taxes; and therefore seeing things were like to take another ply in a new Reign, he resigned his employment. He was the ablest and the worthiest man, that I ever knew belonging to those parts; He was much trusted and employed by Prince *George*; So that I had great opportunities to know him.

A War raised
against
the King of
Sweden.

The King of *Sweden*, seeing such a Storm coming upon him from so many hands, claimed the Effects of his Alliance with *England* and *Holland*, who were Guarantees of the several Treaties made in the North, particularly of the last made at *Altena*, but ten years before. The House of *Lunenburg* was also engaged in interest, to preserve *Holstein*, as a Barrier between them and *Denmark*: The King of *Poland* thought the invasion of *Livonia*, which was to be begun with the Siege of *Riga*, would prove both easy and of great advantage to him. *Livonia* was antiently a Fief of the Crown of *Poland*, and delivered itself for protection, to the Crown of *Sweden*, by a Capitulation: By that, they were still to enjoy their ancient Liberties; afterwards, the pretension of the Crown of *Poland* was yielded up, about threescore years ago: So that *Livonia* was an absolute but legal Government: Yet the late King of *Sweden*

den had treated that principality, in the same rough manner, 1699 in which he had oppressed his other Dominions; So it was thought, that the *Livonians* were disposed (as soon as they saw a power ready to protect them, and to restore them to their former Liberties) to shake off the *Swedish* Yoke; especially, if they saw the King attack'd in so many different places at once.

The King of *Poland* had a farther design in this Invasion: The King of *Poland's* designs. He had an Army of *Saxons* in *Poland*, to whom he chiefly trusted, in carrying on his Designs there; The *Poles* were become so jealous, both of him and of his *Saxons*, that in a general Diet, they had come to very severe Resolutions, in case the *Saxons* were not sent out of the Kingdom, by a prefixed day; That King therefore reckoned, that as the reduction of *Livonia* had the fair appearance, of recovering the antient inheritance of the Crown; So by this means, he would carry the *Saxons* out of *Poland*, as was decreed, and yet have them within call: He likewise studied to engage those of *Lithuania*, to join with him in the attempt. His chief dependance was on the *Czar*, who had assured him, that if he could make Peace with the *Turk*, and keep *Azuph*, he would assist him powerfully against the *Swedes*; His design being to recover *Narva*, which is capable of being made a good Port. By this means, he hoped to get into the *Baltick*, where if he could once settle, he would soon become an uneasy Neighbour, to all the northern Princes: The King of *Poland* went into *Saxony*, to mortgage and sell his Lands there, and to raise as much money, as was possible, for carrying on this War; and he brought the Electorate to so low a state, that if his Designs in *Poland* miscarry; and if he is driven back into *Saxony*, he, who was the richest Prince of the Empire, will become one of the poorest. But the Amusements of Balls and Opera's consumed so much, both of his Time and Treasure, that whereas the Design was laid to surprize *Riga*, in the middle of the Winter, he did not begin his attempt upon it, before the end of *February*, and these Designs went no farther this year.

While the King was at *Loo* this Summer, a new Treaty was set on foot, concerning the Succession to the Crown of *Spain*; The King and the States of the United Provinces saw the danger, to which they would be exposed, if they should engage in a new War, while we were yet under the vast Debts, that the former had brought upon us; The King's Ministers in the House of Commons assured him, that it would be a very difficult thing to bring them, to enter into a new War, for maintaining

1699 taining the rights of the House of *Austria*. During the Debates concerning the Army, when some mentioned the danger of that Monarchy falling into the hands of a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*, it was set up for a maxim, that it would be of no consequence to the affairs of *Europe*, who was King of *Spain*, whether a *Frenchman* or a *German*; And that as soon as the Successor should come within *Spain*, he would become a true *Spaniard*, and be governed by the Maxims and Interests of that Crown; So that there was no prospect of being able to infuse into the Nation an apprehension of the consequence of that Succession. The Emperor had a very good claim; but as he had little strength to support it by Land, so he had none at all by Sea; and his Treasure was quite exhausted, by his long War with the *Turk*: The *French* drew a great Force towards the Frontiers of *Spain*, and they were resolved to march into it, upon that King's death: There was no strength ready to oppose them, yet they seemed willing to compound the matter; But they said, the consideration must be very valuable, that could make them desist from so great a Pretension; and both the King and the States thought it was a good Bargain, if, by yielding up some of the less important branches of that Monarchy, they could save those in which they were most concerned, which were *Spain* itself, the *West-Indies*, and the *Netherlands*. The *French* seemed willing to accept of the Dominions in and about *Italy*, with a part of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and to yield up the rest to the Emperor's second Son, the Archduke *Charles*; The Emperor entered into the Treaty, for he saw he could not hope to carry the whole Succession entire; but he pressed to have the Dutchy of *Milan* added to his hereditary Dominions in *Germany*; The expedient that the King proposed was, that the Duke of *Lorraine* should have the Dutchy of *Milan*, and that *France* should accept of *Lorraine* instead of it; He was the Emperor's Nephew, and would be entirely in his Interests; The Emperor did not agree to this, but yet he pressed the King, not to give over the Treaty, and to try if he could make a better Bargain for him; above all things, he recommended Secrecy, for he well knew how much the *Spaniards* would be offended, if any Treaty should be owned, that might bring on a dismembring of their Monarchy; for tho' they were taking no care to preserve it, in whole or in part, yet they could not bear the having any branch torn from it. The King reckoned that the Emperor, with the other Princes of *Italy*, might have so much interest in *Rome*, as to stop the Pope's giving the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*; And which way soever that

that matter might end, it would oblige the Pope to shew great partiality, either to the House of *Austria* or the House of *Bourbon*; which might occasion a breach among them, with other consequences, that might be very happy to the whole Protestant Interest; Any War, that might follow in *Italy*, would be at great distance from us, and in a Country, that we had no reason to regard much; Besides, that the Fleets of *England* and *Holland* must come, in conclusion, to be the Arbiters of the matter.

These were the King's secret motives; For I had most of them from his own mouth: The *French* consented to this Scheme, and if the Emperor would have agreed to it, his Son the Archduke was immediately to go to *Spain*, to be considered as the Heir of that Crown: By these Articles, signed both by the King of *France* and the *Dauphin*, they bound themselves, not to accept of any Will, Testament, or Donation, contrary to this Treaty, which came to be called the *Partition Treaty*. I had the Original in my hands, which the *Dauphin* signed; The *French* and the Emperor tried their strength in the Court of *Spain*; It is plain, the Emperor trusted too much to his Interest in that Court, and in that King himself; And he refused to accept of the Partition, meerly to ingratiate himself with them; otherwise, it was not doubted, but that, seeing the impossibility of mending matters, he would have yielded to the necessity of his affairs. The *French* did, in a most perfidious manner, study to alienate the *Spaniards* from their Allies, by shewing them to how great a diminution of their Monarchy they had consented; So that no way possible was left, for them to keep those Dominions still united to their Crown, but by accepting the Duke of *Anjou* to be their King, with whom all should be again restored. The *Spaniards* complained in the Courts of their Allies, in ours in particular, of this Partition, as a detestable Project; which was to rob them of those Dominions, that belonged to their Crown, and ought not to be torn from it; No mention was made of this, during the Session of Parliament, for tho' the thing was generally believed, yet it not being publicly owned, no notice could be taken of bare Reports; and nothing was to be done, in pursuance of this Treaty, during the King of *Spain's* Life.

In *Scotland*, all men were full of hopes, that their new Colony should bring them home mountains of Gold; The Proclamations, sent to *Jamaica* and to the other *English* Plantations, were much complained of, as acts of Hostility and a Violation of the common Rights of humanity; These had a

The affairs
of Scotland.

1699 great effect on them, tho' without these, that Colony was too weak and too ill supplied, as well as too much divided within itself, to have subsisted long; Those, who had first possessed themselves of it, were forced to abandon it; Soon after they had gone from it, a second Recruit of Men and Provisions was sent thither from *Scotland*; But one of their Ships unhappily took Fire, in which they had the greatest stock of Provisions; And so these likewise went off: And tho' the third Reinforcement, that soon followed this, was both stronger and better furnished, yet they fell into such Factions among themselves, that they were too weak to resist the *Spaniards*, who feeble as they were, yet saw the necessity of attacking them: And they finding themselves unable to resist the Force, which was brought against them, capitulated; and with that the whole Design fell to the ground, partly for want of stock and skill in those who managed it, and partly by the baseness and treachery of those whom they employed.

Great discontent upon the loss of *Darien*.

The conduct of the King's Ministers in *Scotland* was much censured, in the whole progress of this affair; For they had connived at it, if not encouraged it, in hopes that the Design would fall of itself, but now it was not so easy, to cure the universal discontent, which the miscarriage of this Design, to the impoverishing the whole Kingdom, had raised, and which now began to spread like a Contagion, among all sorts of people. A Petition for a present Session of Parliament was immediately sent about the Kingdom, and was signed by many thousands: This was sent up, by some of the chief of their Nobility, whom the King received very coldly: Yet a Session of Parliament was granted them, to which the Duke of *Queensbury* was sent down Commissioner. Great pains were taken, by all sorts of practices, to be sure of a Majority; Great offers were made them in order to lay the discontents, which ran then very high; A Law for a *Habeas Corpus*, with a great Freedom for Trade, and every thing, that they could demand, was offered, to persuade them to desist, from pursuing the design upon *Darien*. The Court had tried, to get the Parliament of *England* to interpose in that matter, and to declare themselves against that Undertaking; The House of Lords was prevailed on, to make an Address to the King, representing the ill effects that they apprehended from that Settlement; But this did not signify much, for as it was carried in that House by a small Majority of seven or eight, so it was laid aside by the House of Commons. Some were not ill pleased, to see the King's affairs run into an embroilment; And others did apprehend, that there was a Design

sign to involve the two Kingdoms, in a National quarrel, that 1699
by such an artifice, a greater Army might be raised, and kept
up on both sides; So they let that matter fall, nor would they
give any entertainment to a Bill, that was sent them by the
Lords, in order to a Treaty for the Union of both Kingdoms.
The managers in the House of Commons, who opposed the
Court, resolved to do nothing, that should provoke *Scotland*,
or that should take any part of the blame and general discon-
tent, that soured that Nation, off from the King: It was fur-
ther given out, to raise the National disgust yet higher, that the
opposition the King gave to the *Scotch* Colony, flowed nei-
ther from a regard to the Interests of *England*, nor to the Trea-
ties with *Spain*, but from a care of the *Dutch*, who from *Cu-
rasoe* drove a coasting Trade, among the *Spanish* Plantations,
with great advantage; which, they said, the *Scotch* Colony, if
once well settled, would draw wholly from them. These
things were set about that Nation with great industry; The ma-
nagement was chiefly in the hands of Jacobites; Neither the
King nor his Ministers were treated with the decencies, that are
sometimes observed, even after Subjects have run to Arms;
The keenest of their rage was plainly pointed at the King him-
self; Next him the Earl of *Portland*, who had still the direc-
tion of their affairs, had a large share of it. In the Session of
Parliament, it was carried by a Vote, to make the affair of *Da-
rien* a national concern; Upon that, the Session was for some-
time discontinued; When the news of the total abandoning of
Darien was brought over, it cannot be well expressed, into how
bad a temper this cast the body of that people; They had now
lost almost two hundred thousand pounds Sterling, upon this
Project, besides all the imaginary treasure, they had pro-
mised themselves from it: So the Nation was raised into a sort
of a fury upon it, and in the first heat of that, a remonstrance
was sent about the Kingdom for hands, representing to the King,
the necessity of a present sitting of the Parliament, which was
drawn in so high a strain, as if they had resolved to pursue the
effects of it, by an armed Force. It was signed by a great
Majority of the Members of Parliament, and the ferment in
mens spirits was raised so high, that few thought it could have
been long curbed, without breaking forth into great extremi-
ties.

The King stay'd beyond Sea till *November*; Many expected
to see a new Parliament; For the King's Speech at the end of
the former Session looked like a Complaint, and an Appeal to
the Nation against them; He seemed inclined to it, but his
Mini-
A Session of
Parliament.

1699 Ministers would not venture on it; The dissolving a Parliament in anger has always cast such a load on those, who were thought to have advised it, that few have been able to bear it; besides, the disbanding the Army had render'd the Members, who promoted it, very popular to the Nation; So that they would have sent up the same men, and it was thought that there was little occasion for heat in another Session; But those who opposed the King, resolved to force a change of the Ministry upon him; They were seeking Colours for this, and thought they had found one, with which they had made much noise; It was this.

A Complaint made of some Pirates.

Some Pirates had got together in the *Indian* Seas, and robbed some of the *Mogul's* Ships, in particular one, that he was sending with Presents to *Mecca*; most of them were *English*: The *East-India* Company, having represented the danger of the *Mogul's* taking Reprisals of them, for these Losses, it appeared that there was a necessity of destroying those Pirates, who were harbouring themselves in some creeks in *Madagascar*. So a Man of War was to be set out to destroy them, and one *Kid* was pitched upon, who knew their haunts, and was thought a proper man for the service; But there was not a Fund, to bear the charge of this; For the Parliament had so appropriated the money given for the Sea, that no part of it could be applied to this expedition. The King proposed the managing it, by a private undertaking, and said he would lay down three thousand pounds himself, and recommended it to his Ministers, to find out the rest: In compliance with this, the Lord *Somers*, the Earls of *Orford*, *Rumney*, *Bellamount*, and some others contributed the whole expence; For the King excused himself, by reason of other accidents, and did not advance the sum, that he had promised: Lord *Somers* understood nothing of the matter, and left it wholly to the management of others, so that he never saw *Kid*, only he thought it became the Post he was in, to concur in such a publick Service. A Grant was made to the Undertakers, of all that should be taken from those Pirates, by their Ship. Here was a handle for Complaint, for as it was against Law, to take a Grant of the Goods of any Offenders before Conviction, so a parity between that and this case was urged: but without any reason: The Provisions of Law being very different, in the case of Pirates and that of other Criminals. The former cannot be attackt, but in the way of War; and therefore since those, who undertook this, must run a great risque in executing it, it was reasonable, and according to the Law of War, that they should have a right to all, that they found in the Enemies hands, whereas those, who seize

seize common Offenders, have such a strength by the Law, to assist them, and incur so little danger in doing it, that no just inference can be drawn from the one case to the other. When this *Kid* was thus set out, he turned Pirate himself; So a heavy load was cast on the Ministry, chiefly on him, who was at the head of the Justice of the Nation; It was said, he ought not to have engaged in such a Project; And it was maliciously insinuated, that the Privateer turned Pirate, in confidence of the protection of those, who imployed him, if he had not secret Orders from them for what he did. Such black constructions are men, who are engaged in Parties, apt to make of the actions of those, whom they intend to disgrace, even against their own Consciences: So that an Undertaking, that was not only innocent but meritorious, was traduced as a design for Robbery and Piracy. This was urged in the House of Commons as highly criminal, for which all, who were concerned in it, ought to be turned out of their Employments; and a Question was put upon it, but it was rejected by a great Majority. The next attempt was to turn me out from the Trust of Educating the Duke of *Glocester*: Some objected my being a *Scotchman*, others remember'd the Book that was ordered to be burnt; So they pressed an Address to the King, for removing me from that Post; but this was likewise lost by the same Majority, that had carried the former Vote. The pay for the small Army, and the expence of the Fleet, were settled: And a Fund was given for it; Yet those, who had reduced the Army, thought it needless to have so great a Force at Sea; They provided only for eight thousand men; This was moved by the Tories, and the Whigs readily gave way to this reduction, because the Fleet was now in another management; *Russel* (now Earl of *Orford*) with his friends being laid aside, and a set of Tories being brought into their places.

The great business of this Session was the Report brought from *Ireland*, by four of the seven Commissioners, that were sent by Parliament, to examine into the Confiscations, and the Grants made of them. Three of the seven refused to sign it, because they thought it false, and ill grounded in many particulars, of which they sent over an account to both Houses; But no regard was had to that, nor was any enquiry made into their objections to the Report. These three were looked on, as men gained by the Court; And the rest were magnified, as men that could not be wrought on, nor frightened from their duty. They had proceeded like Inquisitors, and did readily

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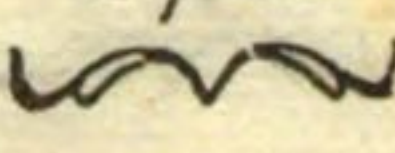
1700

Debates concerning Estates in Ireland.

1700 dily believe every thing, that was offered to them, that tended to inflame the Report; as they suppressed all, that was laid before them, that contradicted their design, of representing the value of the Grants as very high, and of shewing how undeserving those were, who had obtained them: There was so much truth, in the main of this, that no Complaints against their proceedings could be hearkned to; And indeed, all the methods that were taken, to disgrace the Report, had the quite contrary effect: They represented the Confiscated Estates to be such, that out of the Sale of them, a Million and a half might be raised; So this specious Proposition, for discharging so great a part of the Publick Debt, took with the House; The hatred, into which the Favourites were fallen, among whom and their Creatures the Grants were chiefly distributed, made the motion go the quicker; All the opposition that was made, in the whole progress of this matter, was looked on as a courting the men in favour; nor was any regard paid to the reserve of a third part, to be disposed of by the King, which had been in the Bill that was sent up eight years before to the Lords. When this was mentioned, it was answered, that the Grantees had enjoyed those Estates so many years, that the mean profits did arise to more than a third part of their value: Little regard also was shewn to the Purchases made under those Grants, and to the great improvements, made by the Purchasers or Tenants, which were said to have doubled the value of those Estates. All that was said, on that head, made no impression, and was scarce heard with patience: Yet, that some justice might be done both to Purchasers and Creditors, a number of Trustees were named, in whom all the confiscated Estates were vested, and they had a very great and uncontrollable Authority lodged with them, of hearing and determining all just claims, relating to those Estates, and of selling them to the best Purchasers; And the money to be raised by this Sale, was appropriated to pay the Arrears of the Army. When all this was digested into a Bill, the Party apprehended, that many Petitions would be offered to the House, which the Court would probably encourage, on design at least to retard their proceedings: So, to prevent this, and that they might not lose too much time, nor clog the Bill with too many Clauses and Proviso's, they passed a Vote of a very extraordinary nature; That they would receive no Petitions, relating to the matter of this Bill. The Case of the Earl of *Athlone's* Grant was very singular; The House of Commons had been so sensible of his good service, in reducing *Ireland*, that they had made

An Act
vesting them
in Trustees.

made an Address to the King, to give him a recompence, suitable to his Services: And the Parliament of *Ireland* was so sensible of their obligations to him, that they, as was formerly told, confirmed his Grant, of between two and three thousand pounds a year. He had sold it to those, who thought they purchased under an unquestionable Title, yet all that was now set aside, no regard being had to it; So that this Estate was thrown into the heap. Some Exceptions were made, in the Bill, in favour of some Grants, and Provision was made for rewarding others, whom the King, as they thought, had not enough considered. Great opposition was made to this by some, who thought that all Favours and Grants ought to be given by the King, and not originally by a House of Parliament, and this was managed with great heat, even by some of those, who concurred in carrying on the Bill: In conclusion it was, by a new term as well as a new invention, consolidated with the Money Bill, that was to go for the pay of the Fleet and Army, and so it came up to the House of Lords; which by consequence they must either pass or reject. The method, that the Court took in that House to oppose it, was, to offer some Alterations, that were indeed very just and reasonable; but since the House of Commons would not suffer the Lords to alter Money Bills, this was in effect to lose it. The Court, upon some previous Votes, found they had a Majority among the Lords; So, for some days, it seemed to be designed to lose the Bill, and to venture on a Prorogation or a Dissolution, rather than pass it. Upon the apprehensions of this, the Commons were beginning to fly out into high Votes, both against the Ministers and the Favourites; The Lord *Somers* was attack'd a second time, but was brought off by a greater Majority, than had appeared for him, at the beginning of the Session. During the Debates about the Bill, he was ill; And the worst construction possible was put on that; it was said, he advised all the opposition that was made to it, in the House of Lords, but that, to keep himself out of it, he feigned that he was ill: Tho' his great attendance in the Court of Chancery, the House of Lords, and at the Council Table, had so impaired his health, that every year, about that time, he used to be brought very low, and disabled from business. The King seemed resolved, to venture on all the ill consequences, that might follow the losing this Bill; tho' those would probably have been fatal. As far as we could judge, either another Session of that Parliament, or a new One, would have banished the Favourites, and begun the Bill anew, with the addition of obliging the Grantees,

1700  tees, to refund all the mean profits: Many in the House of Lords, that in all other things were very firm to the King, were for passing this Bill, notwithstanding the King's earnestness against it, since they apprehended the ill consequences, that were like to follow, if it was lost. I was one of these, and the King was much displeased with me for it: I said, I would venture his displeasure, rather than please him in that, which I feared would be the ruine of his Government: I confess, I did not at that time apprehend, what injustice lay under many of the Clauses in the Bill, which appeared afterwards so evidently, that the very same persons, who drove on the Bill, were convinced of them, and redressed some of them in Acts, that passed in subsequent Sessions: If I had understood that matter aright and in time, I had never given my Vote for so unjust a Bill. I only considered it as a hardship put on the King, many of his Grants being thus made void; some of which had not been made on good and reasonable considerations, so that they could hardly be excused, much less justified; I thought the thing was a sort of force, to which it seemed reasonable to give way, at that time, since we were not furnished with an equal strength, to withstand it: But when I saw afterwards, what the consequences of this Act proved to be; I did firmly resolve, never to consent again to any tack to a Money Bill, as long as I lived. The King became sullen upon all this, and upon the many incidents, that are apt to fall in upon Debates of this nature: He either did not apprehend, in what such things might end, or he was not much concerned at it: His resentment, which was much provoked, broke out into some instances, which gave such handles to his Enemies, as they wished for; and they improved those advantages, which his ill conduct gave them, with much spite and industry, so as to alienate the Nation from him. It was once in agitation among the Party, to make an Address to him, against going beyond Sea, but even that was diverted, with a malicious design. Hitherto the Body of the Nation retained a great measure of affection to him; This was beginning to diminish, by his going so constantly beyond Sea, as soon as the Session of Parliament was ended; tho' the War was now over. Upon this, it grew to be publickly said, that he loved no *Englishman's* face, nor his company; So his Enemies reckoned it was fit for their ends, to let that prejudice go on, and encrease in the minds of the people; till they might find a proper occasion, to graft some bad designs upon it. The Session ended in *April*; Men of all sides, being put into a very ill humour by the proceedings in it.

The

The Leaders of the Tories began to insinuate to the Favourites, the necessity of the King's changing his Ministry, in particular of removing the Lord *Somers*, who, as he was now considered as the Head of the Whigs, so his wise Counsels, and his modest way of laying them before the King, had gained him a great share of his esteem and confidence; and it was reckoned, that the chief strength of the Party lay in his credit with the King, and in the prudent methods he took, to govern the Party, and to moderate that heat and those jealousies, with which the King had been so long disgusted, in the first years of his Reign. In the House of Commons, he had been particularly charged, for turning many Gentlemen out of the Commission of the Peace; This was much aggravated, and raised a very high complaint against him; but there was no just cause for it: When the design of the Assassination and Invasion, in the year 1695 and 1696 was discovered, a voluntary Association was entered into, by both Houses of Parliament, and that was set round the Nation: In such a time of danger, it was thought, that those, who did not enter voluntarily into it, were so ill affected, or at least so little zealous for the King, that it was not fit, they should continue Justices of Peace: So an Order passed in Council, that all those, who had so refused, should be turned out of the Commission: He had obeyed this Order, upon the representations made to him, by the Lords Lieutenants and the *Custodes Rotulorum* of the several Counties, who were not all equally discreet: Yet he laid those representations before the Council, and had a special Order, for every person, that was so turned out. All this was now magnified, and it was charged on him, that he had advised and procured these Orders, yet this could not be made so much as a colour to proceed against him, a clamour and murmuring was all that could be raised from it. But now the Tories studied to get it infused into the King, that all the hard things, that had been of late put on him by the Parliament, were occasioned by the hatred, that was born to his Ministers; and that if he would change hands, and imploy others, matters might be softened and mended in another Parliament: With this the Earl of *Jersey* studied to possess the Earl of *Albemarle*; And the uneasiness the King was in, disposed him to think, that if he should bring in a set of Tories, into his business, they would serve him with the same zeal, and with better success, than the Whigs had done; and he hoped to throw all upon the Ministers, that were now to be dismissed.

1700
A change in
the Ministry.

1700

The Lord
Somers is
turned out.

The first time that the Lord *Somers* had recovered so much health, as to come to Court, the King told him, it seemed necessary for his service, that he should part with the Seals, and he wished, that he would make the delivering them up his own Act: He excused himself in this; all his Friends had pressed him, not to offer them, since that seemed to shew fear or guilt; So he begged the King's pardon, if in this he followed their advice; but he told the King that, whensoever he should send a Warrant under his hand, commanding him to deliver them up, he would immediately obey it; The Order was brought by Lord *Jersey*, and upon it the Seals were sent to the King. Thus the Lord *Somers* was discharged from this great Office, which he had held seven years, with a high reputation for capacity, integrity, and diligence: He was in all respects the greatest Man I had ever known in that Post; His being thus removed, was much censured by all, but those who had procured it; Our Princes used not to dismiss Ministers, who served them well, unless they were pressed to it by a House of Commons, that refused to give money, till they were laid aside. But here a Minister (who was always vindicated by a great Majority in the House of Commons, when he was charged there, and who had served both with fidelity and success, and was indeed censured for nothing so much, as for his being too compliant with the King's humour and notions, or at least for being too soft or too feeble in representing his errors to him) was removed without a shadow of complaint against him. This was done with so much haste, that those, who had prevailed with the King to do it, had not yet concerted, who should succeed him; They thought, that all the great Men of the Law were aspiring to that high Post, so that any one, to whom it should be offered, would certainly accept of it: But they soon found they were mistaken; for what, by reason of the instability of the Court, what by reason of the just apprehensions men might have, of succeeding so great a man, both *Holt* and *Trevor*, to whom the Seals were offered, excused themselves. It was Term-time, so a vacancy in that Post put things in some confusion. A temporary Commission was granted, to the three Chief Judges, to judge in the Court of Chancery; and after a few days, the Seals were given to Sir *Nathan Wright*, in whom there was nothing equal to the Post, much less to him, who had lately filled it. The King's inclinations seemed now turned to the Tories, and to a new Parliament: It was for some time in the dark, who had the Confidence, and gave directions to affairs; we, who looked on, were often disposed to think, that there was

was no direction at all, but that every thing was left to take its course, and that all was given up to hazard. 1700

The King, that he might give some content to the Nation, stay'd at *Hampton-Court* till *July*, and then went to *Holland*; But before he went, the Minister of *Sweden* pressed him to make good his engagements with that Crown; *Riga* was now besieged by the King of *Poland*; The first attempt, of carrying the place by surprize, miscarried; Those of *Riga* were either over-awed by the *Swedish* Garrison, that commanded there, or they apprehended, that the change of Masters would not change their condition, unless it were for the worse; So they made a greater stand, than was expected; and in a Siege of above eight months, very little progress was made: The firmness of that place, made the rest of *Livonia* continue fixt to the *Swedes*; The *Saxons* made great waste in the Country, and ruined the Trade of *Riga*: The King of *Sweden*, being obliged to imploy his main Force elsewhere, was not able to send them any considerable assistance: The Elector of *Brandenburgh* lay quiet, without making any attempt: So did the Princes of *Hesse* and *Wolfsbuttle*; The two scenes of Action were in *Holstein*, and before *Copenhagen*. The King of *Denmark* found the taking the Forts, that had been raised by the Duke of *Holstein*, an easy work; they were soon carried and demolished; He besieged *Toninghen* next, which held him longer. Upon the *Swedes* demand of the Auxiliary Fleets, that were stipulated, both by the King and the States, Orders were given for equipping them here, and likewise in *Holland*; The King was not willing to communicate this design to the two Houses, and try if the House of Commons would take upon themselves the Expence of the Fleet; They were in so bad a humour, that the King apprehended, that some of them might endeavour to put an affront upon him, and oppose the sending a Fleet into the Sound: Tho' others advised the venturing on this, for no Nation can subsist without Alliances sacredly observed; And this was an ancient one, lately renewed by the King; so that an opposition in such a point, must have turned to the prejudice of those who should move it. Soon after the Session, a Fleet of thirty Ships *English* and *Dutch*, was sent to the *Baltick*, commanded by *Rook*; The *Danes* had a good Fleet at Sea, much superior to the *Swedes*, and almost equal to the Fleet sent from hence; But it was their whole strength, so they would not run the hazard of losing it; They kept at Sea for some time, having got between the *Swedes* and the Fleet of their Allies, and studied to hinder their conjunction; When they saw that could not be done, they retired,

A Fleet sent to the Sound.

1700 tired, and secured themselves within the Port of *Copenhagen*, which is a very strong one: The *Swedes*, with their Allies, came before that Town and bombarded it for some days, but with little damage to the Place, and none to the Fleet. The Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, together with the Forces, that the *Swedes* had at *Bremen*, passed the *Elbe*, and marched to the assistance of the Duke of *Holstein*: This obliged the *Danes*, to raise the Siege of *Toninghen*, and the two Armies lay in view of one another, for some weeks, without coming to any Action: Another design of the *Danes* did also miscarry. A Body of *Saxons* broke into the Territories of the Duke of *Brunswick*, in hopes to force their Army to come back, to the defence of their own Country: But the Duke of *Zell* had left things in so good order, that the *Saxons* were beat back, and all the booty that they had taken, was recovered.

Peace between *Denmark* and *Sweden*.

In the mean time, the King offered his Mediation, and a Treaty was set on foot: The two young Kings were so much sharpened against one another, that it was not easy to bring them, to hearken to terms of Peace. The King of *Denmark* proposed, that the King of *Poland* might be included in the Treaty, but the *Swedes* refused it: And the King was not Guarantee of the Treaties between *Sweden* and *Poland*, so he was not obliged to take care of the King of *Poland*: The Treaty went on but slowly, this made the King of *Sweden* apprehend, that he should lose the Season, and be forced to abandon *Riga*, which began to be straitned: So, to quicken the Treaty, he resolved on a Descent in *Zealand*. This was executed, without any opposition, the King of *Sweden* conducting it in person, and being the first that landed: He shewed such spirit and courage in his whole Conduct, as raised his Character very high: It struck a terror thro' all *Denmark*: For now the *Swedes* resolved to besiege *Copenhagen*. This did so quicken the Treaty, that by the middle of *August* it was brought to a full end: old Treaties were renewed, and a liberty of fortifying was reserved for *Holstein*, under some limitations: and the King of *Denmark* pay'd the Duke of *Holstein* two hundred and sixty thousand rix-dollars for the charge of the War. The Peace being thus made, the *Swedes* retired back to *Schonen*: and the Fleets of *England* and *Holland* returned home. The King's Conduct, in this whole matter, was highly applauded; he effectually protected the *Swedes*, and yet obliged them to accept of reasonable terms of Peace: The King of *Denmark* suffered most in honour and interest: It was a great happiness, that this War was so soon at an end; for if it had continued, all the
North

North must have engaged in it, and there the chief strength of the Protestant Religion lay: so that Interest must have suffered much, which side soever had come by the worst, in the progress of the War: and it is already so weak, that it needed not a new diminution.

The secret of the Partition Treaty was now published; and the Project was to be offered jointly, by the Ministers of *France*, *England* and the *States*, to all the Princes of *Europe*, but particularly to those, who were most concerned in it; and an Answer was to be demanded, by a day limited for it. The Emperor refused to declare himself, till he knew the King of *Spain's* mind concerning it: The Duke of *Savoy*, and the Princes of *Italy*, were very apprehensive of the neighbourhood of *France*: The Pope was extreme old, and declined very fast. The Treaty was variously censured: Some thought it would deliver up the *Mediterranean* Sea, and all our Trade there, into the hands of *France*: Others thought, that the Treaties of Princes were (according to the pattern, that the Court of *France* had set now for almost half an age) only artifices to bring matters to a present quiet, and that they would be afterwards observed, as Princes found their account in them. The present good understanding, that was between our Court and the Court of *France*, made, that the Party of our Malecontents at home, having no support from thence, sunk much in their heat, and they had now no prospect; for it seemed, as if the King of *France* had set his heart on the Partition Treaty, and it was necessary for him, in order to the obtaining his ends in it, to live in a good Correspondence with *England* and the *States*: All our hopes were, that the King of *Spain* might yet live a few years longer, till the great Mortgages, that were on the Revenue, might be cleared, and then it would be more easy for us, to engage in a new War, and to be the Arbiters of *Europe*.

Censures
past on the
Partition
Treaty.

But while we were under the apprehension of his death, we were surprized by an unlooked for and sudden death of our young Prince at home, which brought a great change on the face of affairs. I had been trusted with his education now for two years; and he had made an amazing progress; I had read over the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, and *Gospels* with him, and had explained things, that fell in my way, very copiously; and was often surprized, with the Questions that he put me, and the Reflections that he made; he came to understand things, relating to Religion, beyond imagination; I went thro' Geography so often with him, that he knew all the Maps very particularly; I explained to him the forms of Government in every Coun-

The Death
of the Duke
of Gloucester.

1700 try, with the Interests and Trade of that Country, and what was both good and bad in it: I acquainted him, with all the great Revolutions, that had been in the world, and gave him a copious account of the *Greek* and *Roman* Histories, and of *Plutarch's* Lives; The last thing I explained to him was the *Gothick* Constitution, and the Beneficiary and Feudal Laws: I talked of these things at different times, near three hours a day: This was both easy and delighting to him. The King ordered five of his chief Ministers, to come once a quarter, and examine the progress he made: They seemed amazed both at his knowledge, and the good understanding that appeared in him: He had a wonderful memory, and a very good judgment. He had gone thro' much weakness, and some years of ill health: The Princess was with Child of him, during all the Disorder we were in at the Revolution, tho' she did not know it herself at the time, when she left the Court: This probably had given him so weak a Constitution, but we hoped the dangerous time was over: His Birth-day was the 24th of *July*, and he was then eleven years old: He complained a little the next day, but we imputed that to the fatigues of a Birth-day; So that he was too much neglected; The day after, he grew much worse, and it proved to be a Malignant Fever; He died the fourth day of his illness, to the great grief of all who were concerned in him. He was the only remaining Child, of seventeen that the Princess had born, some to the full time and the rest before it. She attended on him, during his sickness, with great tenderness, but with a grave composedness, that amazed all who saw it: She bore his death with a Resignation and Piety that were indeed very singular. His death gave a great alarm to the whole Nation: The Jacobites grew insolent upon it and said, now the chief difficulty was removed out of the way of the Prince of *Wales's* Succession. Soon after this, the House of *Brunswick* returned the Visit, that the King had made them last year, and the eyes of all the Protestants in the Nation turned towards the Electress of *Brunswick*; who was Daughter to the Queen of *Bohemia*, and was the next Protestant Heir, all Papists being already excluded from the Succession. Thus, of the four Lives that we had in view, as our chief security, the two that we depended most on, the Queen and the Duke of *Glocester* were carried off on the sudden, before we were aware of it, and of the two that remain'd (the King and the Princess) as there was no issue, and little hopes of any by either of them, so the King, who at best was a man of a feeble Constitution, was now falling under an ill habit of body: His Legs were

were much swelled, which some thought was the beginning of 1700
a Dropsy, while others thought it was only a scorbutick Dis-
temper.

Thus God was giving us great alarms, as well as many mer-
cies: He bears long with us, but we are become very corrupt
in all respects; So that the state of things among us gives a
melancholy prospect. The Nation was falling under a general
discontent, and a dislike of the King's person and government;
And the King, on his part, seemed to grow weary of us and
of our affairs; and partly by the fret, from the opposition he
had of late met with, partly from his ill health, he was falling
as it were into a lethargy of mind; We were, upon the mat-
ter, become already more than half a Commonwealth; since
the Government was plainly in the hands of the House of Com-
mons, who must sit once a year, and as long as they thought
fit, while the King had only the Civil List for Life, so that
the whole Administration of the Government was under their
inspection: The Act for Triennial Parliaments kept up a stand-
ing faction in every County and Town of *England*: But tho'
we were falling insensibly into a Democracy, we had not learn-
ed the virtues, that are necessary for that sort of Government;
Luxury, Vanity, and Ambition increased daily, and our animosities
were come to a great height, and gave us dismal apprehensions.
Few among us seem'd to have a right notion of the love of
their Country, and of a zeal for the good of the Publick: The
House of Commons, how much soever its power was advanced,
yet was much sunk in its credit; very little of gravity, order, or
common decency appeared among them: The balance lay
chiefly in the House of Lords, who had no natural strength to
resist the Commons: The Toleration, of all the sects among us,
had made us live more quietly together of late, than could be
expected, when severe Laws were rigorously executed against
Dissenters. No tumults or disorders had been heard of in any
part of the Kingdom, these eleven years, since that Act passed:
and yet the much greater part of the Clergy studied to blow
up this fire again, which seemed to be now, as it were covered
over with ashes.

The temper
of the Na-
tion.

The Dissenters behaved themselves more quietly, with relation
to the Church, they having quarrels and disputes among them-
selves: The Independents were raising the old *Antinomian* Te-
nets, as if men, by believing in Christ, were so united to him,
that his righteousness became theirs, without any other condi-
tion, besides that of their Faith: So that, tho' they acknow-
ledged the obedience of his Laws to be necessary, they did not
call

Divisions
among the
Dissenters.

1700 call it a condition, but only a consequence of justification. In this, they were opposed by most of the Presbyterians, who seemed to be sensible, that this struck at the root of all Religion, as it weaken'd the obligation to a holy life: This year had produced a new extravagance in that matter. One *Asgil*, a Member of Parliament, had published a Book, grounded on their notions, on which he had grafted a new and wild inference of his own, that since true Believers recover'd in Christ all that they lost in *Adam*, and our natural death was the effect of *Adam's* Sin, he inferr'd that Believers were render'd immortal by Christ, and not liable to death: And that those who believed, with a true and firm Faith, could not die. This was a strain beyond all that ever went before it, and since we see that all men die, the natural consequence that resulted from this was, that there neither are nor ever were any true Believers. The Presbyterians had been also engaged in disputes with the Anabaptists. They complain'd, that they saw too great a giddiness in their people, and seemed so sensible of this, and so desirous to be brought into the Church, that a few inconsiderable Concessions would very probably have brought the bulk of them into our Communion: But the greater part of the Clergy were so far from any disposition this way, that they seem to be more prejudiced against them than ever.

And among
the Quakers.

The Quakers have had a great breach made among them, by one *George Keith*, a *Scotchman*, with whom I had my first education at *Aberdeen*; He had been thirty six years among them; He was esteemed the most learned man, that ever was in that sect; He was well versed both in the Oriental Tongues, in Philosophy and Mathematicks; After he had been above thirty years in high esteem among them; He was sent to *Pennsylvania* (a Colony set up by *Pen*, where they are very numerous) to have the chief direction of the education of their youth. In those parts, he said, he first discovered that, which had been always either denied to him, or so disguised that he did not suspect it; But being far out of reach, and in a place where they were Masters, they spoke out their mind plainer; and it appeared to him, that they were Deists, and that they turned the whole Doctrine of the Christian Religion into Allegories; chiefly those, which relate to the Death and Resurrection of Christ, and the reconciliation of Sinners to God, by virtue of his Cross: He being a true Christian, set himself with great zeal against this, upon which they grew weary of him, and sent him back to *England*. At his return, he set himself to read many of their Books, and then he discovered the Mystery, which was formerly so hid from him, that he had not observed it: Upon this,

this, he opened a new meeting, and by a printed Summons he 1700
called the whole Party, to come and see the Proof, that he
had to offer, to convince them of these errors: Few Quakers
came to his Meetings, but great multitudes of other People flockt
about him: He brought the Quakers Books with him, and read
such passages out of them, as convinced his hearers, that he had
not charged them falsely: He continued these Meetings, being
still in outward appearance a Quaker, for some years; till hav-
ing prevailed, as far as he saw any probability of success, he
laid aside their exterior, and was reconciled to the Church,
and is now in Holy Orders among us, and likely to do good
service, in undeceiving and reclaiming some of those misled
Enthusiasts.

The Clergy continued to be much divided: All mode-
rate Divines were looked upon by some hot men, with an ill
eye, as persons who were cold and indifferent in the mat-
ters of the Church: That which flowed from a gentleness,
both of temper and principle, was represented, as an incli-
nation to favour Dissenters, which passed among many, for
a more heinous thing than leaning to Popery itself. Those
men, who began now to be called the *High Church* Party,
had all along expressed a coldness, if not an opposition to the
present Settlement; Soon after the Revolution, some great Pre-
ferments had been given among them, to try if it was possi-
ble to bring them, to be hearty for the Government; but it
appearing, that they were soured with a leaven, that had gone
too deep to be wrought out, a stop was put to the courting them
any more; When they saw Preferments went in another Chan-
nel, they set up a complaint over *England* of the want of Con-
vocations, they that were not allowed to sit nor act with a free
liberty, to consider of the grievances of the Clergy, and of the
danger the Church was in. This was a new pretension, never
thought of since the Reformation; Some Books were writ
to justify it, with great acrimony of stile, and a strain of in-
solence, that was peculiar to one *Atterbury*, who had indeed
very good parts, great learning, and was an excellent Preacher,
and had many extraordinary things in him; but was both am-
bitious and virulent out of measure; And had a singular ta-
lent in asserting Paradoxes with a great air of assurance, shewing
no shame when he was detected in them, tho' this was done in
many instances: But he let all these pass, without either con-
fessing his errors, or pretending to justify himself: he went on
still venting new falsehoods in so barefaced a manner, that he
seemed to have outdone the Jesuits themselves. He thought

A division
in the
Church.

1700 the Government had so little strength or credit, that any claim against it would be well received; he attack'd the Supremacy of the Crown, with relation to Ecclesiastical matters, which had been hitherto maintained by all our Divines with great zeal; But now the hot men of the Clergy did so readily entertain his Notions, that in them it appeared, that those who are the most earnest in the defence of certain points, when these seem to be for them, can very nimbly change their minds upon a change of circumstances.

Debates concerning the Bishop of St. David's.

An eminent instance of this had appeared in the House of Lords, in the former Session; Where the deprived Bishop of *St. David's* complained of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; First, For breach of Privilege, since Sentence was past upon him, tho' he had in Court claimed Privilege of Parliament, to which no regard had been paid: But as he had waved his Privilege in the House of Lords, it was carried, after a long Debate and by no great Majority, that in that case, he could not resume his Privilege. He excepted next to the Archbishop's Jurisdiction, and pretended that he could not judge a Bishop, but in a Synod of the Bishops of the Province, according to the Rules of the Primitive Times: In opposition to this it was shewn, that from the ninth and tenth Century downward, both Popes and Kings had concurred to bring this Power singly into the hands of the Metropolitans; That this was the constant practice in *England* before the Reformation; that by the provisional Clause, in the Act past in the twenty fifth of *Henry* the Eighth, that empowered thirty two persons to draw a new Body of Church Laws, all former Laws or Customs were to continue in force, till that new Body was prepared: So that the Power, the Metropolitan then was possessed of, stood confirmed by that Clause: It is true, during the High Commission, all Proceedings against Bishops were brought before that Court, which proceeded in a Summary way, and against whose Sentence no Appeal lay; But after that Court was taken away, a full Declaration was made, by an Act of Parliament, for continuing the Power that was lodged with the Metropolitan. It was also urged, that if the Bishop had any exception to the Archbishop's Jurisdiction, that ought to have been pleaded in the first instance, and not reserved to the conclusion of all: Nor could the Archbishop erect a new Court, or proceed in the Trial of a Bishop in any other way, than in that, which was warranted by Law or Precedent. To all this no answer was made, but the business was kept up, and put off by many delays; It was said, the thing was new, and the House was not yet

yet well apprized of it; and the last time, in which the Debate was taken up in the House, it ended in an intimation, that it was hoped the King would not fill that See, till the House should be better satisfied, in the point of the Archbishop's Authority: So the Bishoprick was not disposed of for some years: And this uncertainty put a great delay to the Process against the other *Welch* Bishop, accused of the same Crime.

In *October* the Pope died; and at the same time, all *Europe* was alarmed with the desperate state of the King of *Spain's* health; when the news came to the Court of *France*, that he was in the last Agony, the Earl of *Manchester*, who was then our Ambassador in that Court, told me, that Mr. *Torcy*, the *French* Secretary of State, was sent to him by the King of *France*, desiring him to let the King his Master know the News, and to signify to him, that the *French* King hoped, that he would put things in a readiness, to execute the Treaty, in case any opposition should be made to it; And in his whole discourse, he expressed a fixed Resolution in the *French* Councils to adhere to it: A few days after that, the news came of his Death and of his Will, declaring the Duke of *Anjou* the Universal Heir of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy: It is not yet certainly known, by what means this was brought about, nor how the King of *Spain* was drawn to consent to it, or whether it was a meer forgery, made by Cardinal *Portocarrero* and some of the *Grande*s, who partly by practice and corruption, and partly for safety and that their Monarchy might be kept entire (they imagining that the Power of *France* was far superior to all, that the House of *Austria* would be able to engage in its interests) had been prevailed on to prepare and publish this Will; and, to make it more acceptable to the *Spaniards*, among other Forfeitures of the Crown, not only the Successor's departing from, what they call the Catholick Faith, but even his not maintaining the immaculate Conception of the Virgin, was One.

As soon as the news came to *Rome*, it quickned the Intrigues of the Conclave, so they set up *Albano*, a man of fifty two years of age, who beyond all mens expectation was chosen Pope, and took the name of *Clement* the Eleventh: He had little practice in affairs, but was very learned; And in so critical a time, it seems, a Pope of Courage and Spirit, not sunk with age into covetousness or peevishness, was thought the fittest Person for that See. *France* had sent no exclusion to bar him, not imagining that he could be thought on: At first they did not seem pleased with the choice, but it was too late to oppose it: So they resolved to gain him to their interests, in which they

1700

The death of the King of Spain.

Clement the Eleventh chosen Pope.

1700 they have succeeded beyond what they then hoped for. When the Court of *France* had notice sent them of the late King of *Spain's* Will, real or pretended, they seemed to be at a stand for some days; And the Letters wrote from the Secretary's Office, gave it out for certain, that the King would stick to the Partition Treaty: Madam *de Maintenon* had an unspeakable fondness for the Duke of *Anjou*; So she prevailed with the *Dauphin* to accept of the Will, and set aside the Treaty; She also engaged *Pontchartrain* to second this.

The King
of *Spain's*
Will is ac-
cepted.

They being thus prepared; when the news of the King of *Spain's* Death came to *Fontainebleau*, where the Court was at that time; Mr. *Spanheim*, who was then there as Ambassador of *Prussia*, told me, that a Cabinet Council was called, within two hours after the news came; It met in Madam *de Maintenon's* Lodgings, and sat about four hours: *Pontchartrain* was for accepting the Will, and the rest of the Ministry were for adhering to the Treaty; But the *Dauphin* joined, for accepting the Will, with an air of positiveness, that he had never assumed before; So it was believed to be done by concert with the King, who was reserved and seemed more enclined to the Treaty: In conclusion, Madam *Maintenon* said, what had the Duke of *Anjou* done, to provoke the King, to barr him of his Right to that Succession? And upon this, all submitted to the *Dauphin's* opinion, and the King seemed overcome with their reasons.

The Duke
of *Anjou* de-
clared King
of *Spain*.

This was on *Munday*; But tho' the matter was resolved on, yet it was not published till *Thursday*; For then, at the King's Levee, he declared, that he accepted of the Will, and the Duke of *Anjou* was now treated as King of *Spain*. Notice of this being sent to *Spain*, an Ambassador came in form, to signify the Will, and to desire that their King might go and live among them; Upon which he was sent thither, accompanied by his two Brothers, who went with him to the Frontiers of *Spain*. When the Court of *France* published this Resolution, and sent it to all the Courts of *Europe*, they added a most infamous excuse, for this notorious breach of Faith: They said, the King of *France* considered chiefly what was the main design of the Treaty, which was to maintain the Peace of *Europe*; and therefore to pursue this, he departed from the words of the Treaty, but he adhered to the Spirit and the chief intent of it. This seemed to be an equivocation of so gross a nature, that it looked like the invention of a Jesuit Confessor, adding impudence to Perjury. The King and the *States* were struck with this: The King was full of indignation, to find himself so much abused; So he came over to *England*, to see what was to be done

done upon so great an emergency. The *Spaniards*, seeing themselves threaten'd with a War from the Emperor, and apprehending that the Empire, together with *England* and the United Provinces, might be engaged to join in the War, and being unable to defend themselves, delivered all into the hands of *France*; And upon that, both the *Spanish Netherlands* and the Dutchy of *Milan* received *French* Garrisons: The *French* Fleet came to *Cadix*; A Squadron was also sent to the *West-Indies*; So that the whole *Spanish* Empire fell now, without a stroke of the Sword, into the *French* Power. All this was the more formidable, because the Duke of *Burgundy* had then no Children, and by this means, the King of *Spain* was in time likely to succeed to the Crown of *France*; And thus the World saw the appearance of a new Universal Monarchy, like to arise out of this conjunction.

It might have been expected that, when such a new unlook-
ed for Scene was opened, the King should have lost no time in bringing his Parliament together, as soon as possible; It was prorogued to the 20th of *November*, and the King had sent Orders from *Holland*, to signify his Resolution for their Meeting on that day; But the Ministers, whom he was then bringing into his business, had other views: They thought they were not sure of a Majority in Parliament for their purposes, so they prevailed with the King to dissolve the Parliament, and after a set of Sheriffs were pricked, fit for the turn, a new Parliament was summoned, to meet on the sixth day of *February*, but it was not opened till the tenth.

A new Par-
liament
summoned.

And now I am come to the end of this Century, in which there was a black appearance of a new and dismal scene; *France* was now in possession of a great Empire, for a small part of which they had been in Wars (broke off indeed in some intervals) for above two hundred years; while we in *England*, who were to protect and defend the rest, were, by wretched factions and violent animosities, running into a feeble and disjointed state; The King's cold and reserved manner, upon so high a provocation, made some conclude, that he was in secret engagements with *France*; that he was resolved to own the new King of *Spain*, and not to engage in a new War: This seemed so different from his own inclinations, and from all the former parts of his Life, that it made many conclude, that he found himself in an ill state of health, the swelling of his Legs being much encreased, and that this might have such effects on his mind, as to make him less warm and active, less disposed to involve himself in new troubles; and that he might think

The end of
the Century.

1700 it too inconsiderate a thing to enter on a new War, that was not like to end soon, when he felt himself in a declining state of health: But the true secret, of this unaccountable behaviour in the King, was soon discovered.

A new Ministry.

The Earl of *Rochester* was now set at the head of his business, and was to bring the Tories into his Service: They had continued, from his first accession to the Throne, in a constant opposition to his interests; Many of them were believed to be Jacobites in their hearts, and they were generally much against the Toleration, and violent enemies to the Dissenters: They had been backward in every thing, that was necessary for carrying on the former War; they had opposed Taxes as much as they could, and were against all such, as were easily levied and less sensibly felt by the people; and were always for those, that were most grievous to the Nation, hoping that by those heavy burthens, the people would grow weary of the War and of the Government; On the contrary the Whigs, by supporting both, were become less acceptable to the Nation: In Elections their Interest was much sunk; every new Parliament was a new discovery, that they were become less popular, and the others, who were always opposing and complaining, were now cried up as the Patriots. In the three last Sessions, the Whigs had shewed such a readiness to give the King more force, together with a management to preserve the Grants of *Ireland*, that they were publickly charged as Betrayers of their Country, and as men that were for trusting the King with an Army; in a word, they were accused of too ready a compliance with the humours and interests of Courts and Favourites, so they were generally censured and decried: And now since they had not succeeded to the King's mind, some about him possessed him with this, that either they would not, or could not serve him. In some of them indeed, their Principles lay against those things, whereas the Tories Principles did naturally lead them to make the Crown great and powerful: It was also said, that the great opposition made, to every thing the King desired, and the difficulties that had been of late put upon him, flowed chiefly from the hatred born to those, who were employed by him, and who had brought in their friends and creatures into the best Posts; And they were now studying, to recover their lost popularity; which would make them cold, if not backward in complying with what the King might desire for the future; The Whigs did also begin to complain of the King's Conduct, of his minding Affairs so little, of his being so much out of the Kingdom, and of his ill choice of Favourites; and they imputed the late mis-

miscarriages to errors in conduct, which they could neither prevent nor redress: The Favourites, who thought of nothing but to continue in favour, and to be still safe and secure in their credit, concurred to press the King to take other measures, and to turn to another set of men, who would be no longer his enemies, if they had some of the best Places shared among them: And tho' this method had been almost fatal, when the King had followed it, soon after his first Accession to the Crown, yet there seemed to be less danger in trying it now, than was formerly. We were in full Peace: And it was commonly said, that no body thought any more of King *James*, and therefore it was fit, for the King's Service, to encourage all his people to come into his interests, by letting them see how soon he could forget all that was past. These considerations had so far prevailed with him, that before he went out of *England*, he had engaged himself secretly to them: It is true, the Death, first of the Duke of *Glocester*, and now of the King of *Spain*, had very much changed the face of affairs, both at home and abroad; yet the King would not break off from his engagements.

Soon after his return to *England*, the Earl of *Rochester* was declared Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and he had the chief direction of affairs; And, that the most eminent man of the Whigs might not oppose them in the new Parliament, they got Mr. *Mountague* to be made a Baron, who took the Title of *Halifax*, which was sunk by the death of that Marquis, without issue Male. The man, on whose management of the House of Commons, this new Set depended, was Mr. *Harley*, the Heir of a Family, which had been hitherto the most eminent of the Presbyterian Party; his Education was in that way: But he, not being considered at the Revolution, as he thought he deserved, had set himself to oppose the Court in every thing, and to find fault with the whole Administration; he had the chief hand, both in the reduction of the Army, and in the matter of the *Irish* Grants; The High Party trusted him, tho' he still kept up an interest among the Presbyterians; and he had so particular a dexterity, that he made both the High Church Party and the Dissenters depend upon him; so it was agreed that he should be Speaker. All this while, the new Ministers talked of nothing but Negotiations, and gave it out, that the King of *France* was ready to give all the security that could be desired, for maintaining the Peace of *Europe*. At this time, the Emperor sent over to *England* a Minister, to set forth his Title to the *Spanish* Monarchy, settled on his House

1700 House by antient Entails, often repeated, and now devolving on him by an undoubted Right, since by the Renunciation made by the late Queen of *France*, (as was stipulated by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, and then made by her in due form) this could not be called in question. Our new Ministers were scarce civil to the Emperor's Envoy; and would not enter into any Consultations with him: But the *Dutch*, who were about the King, and all the Foreign Ministers spoke in another Stile; they said, that nothing but a General Union of all the Powers in *Europe*, could hinder the conjunction of the two Monarchies: So, by what those, who talked often with the King, gave out, it came to be soon known, that the King saw the necessity of a new War, but that he kept himself in a great reserve, that he might manage his new Ministers and their Party, and see if he could engage them to concur with him.

The King
of Sweden's
glorious
Campaign.

But before I conclude the relation of this year, at which the Century ends, I must close it with an account of the King of Sweden's glorious Campaign: He made all the haste he could to relieve *Livonia*, where not only *Riga* was for some months besieged by the King of *Poland*, but *Narva* was also attackt by the *Czar*, who hoped by taking it, to get an entrance into the *Baltick*: The *Czar* came in Person against it, with an Army of one hundred thousand men: *Narva* was not provided for a Siege: It had a small Garrison, and had very poor Magazines, yet the *Muscovites* attackt it so feebly, that it held out beyond all expectation, till the end of the year. Upon the King of Sweden's landing at *Revel*, the *Saxons* drew off from *Riga*, after a long Siege at a vast charge: This being done, and *Riga* both opened and supplied, that King marched next to *Narva*; The *Czar*, upon his March towards him, left his Army in such a manner, as made all people conclude, he had no mind to hazard his Person; The King marched thro' ways, that were thought so impracticable, that little care had been taken to secure them; So he surpris'd the *Muscovites*, and broke into their Camp, before they apprehended he was near them; he totally routed their Army, took many Prisoners, with all their Artillery and Baggage, and so made a glorious entry into *Narva*. This is the noblest Campaign that we find in any History; in which a King about eighteen years of age, led an Army himself against three Kings, who had confederated against him, and was successful in every one of his Attempts, giving great marks, both of personal courage and good conduct in them all; and which is more extraordinary, an eminent measure both of Virtue and Piety appeared in his whole behaviour. In him, the

the World hoped to see another *Gustavus Adolphus*, who conquered, or rather possessed himself of *Livonia*, in the same year of his age, in which this King did now so gloriously recover it, when almost lost by the Invasion of two powerful Neighbours. There were great disorders at this time in *Lithuania*, occasioned by the Factions there, which were set on and fomented by the King, who seemed to aspire to be the Hereditary King of *Poland*. But as these things are at a great distance from us, so since we have no publick Minister in those parts, I cannot give an account of them, nor form a true judgment thereupon. The Eighteenth Century began with a great Scene, that opened with it.

The new King of *Spain* wrote to all the Courts of *Europe*, giving notice of his Accession to that Crown, only he forgot *England*; And it was publickly given out, that he had promised the pretended Prince of *Wales*, that in due time he would take care of his interests: The King and the *States* were much alarmed, when they beheld the *French* possessed of the *Spanish Netherlands*; A great part of the *Dutch* Army lay scattered up and down in those Garrisons, more particularly in *Luxemburgh*, *Namur* and *Mons*, and these were now made Prisoners of War: Neither Officers nor Soldiers could own the King of *Spain*, for their Masters had not yet done it: At this time, the *French* pressed the *States* very hard to declare themselves: A great Party in the *States* were for owning him, at least in form, till they could get their Troops again into their own hands, according to Capitulation: Nor were they then, in a condition to resist the impression, that might have been made upon them, from the Garrisons in the *Spanish Guelder*, who could have attack'd them before they were able to make head; So the *States* consented to own the King of *Spain*. That being done, their Battalions were sent back, but they were ill used, contrary to Capitulation, and the Soldiers were tempted to desert their Service, yet very few could be prevailed on to do it.

As soon as our Parliament was opened, it appeared that the *French* had a great Party in it; It is certain, great Sums came over this Winter from *France*, the Packet-boat came seldom without 10000 *Louis d'Or's*, it brought often more; The Nation was filled with them, and in six months time, a Million of Guineas were coined out of them; The Merchants indeed said, that the ballance of Trade was then so much turned to our side, that, whereas we were wont to carry over a Million of our

1700
Great apprehensions of the danger *Europe* was now in.

A Party for *France* in the Parliament.

1701 Money in Specie, we then sent no money to *France*; and had at least half that Sum sent over to ballance the Trade: yet this did not account for that vast flood of *French* Gold, that was visible amongst us: And, upon the *French* Ambassador's going away, a very sensible alteration was found in the Bills of Exchange; So it was concluded, that great remittances were made to him, and that these were distributed among those, who resolved to merit a share in that Wealth, which came over now so copiously, beyond the example of former times. The King, in his Speech to the Parliament, in the most effectual manner possible, recommended the settling the Succession of the Crown, in the Protestant Line; and with relation to Foreign affairs, he laid them before the Two Houses, that they might offer him such Advices, as the State of the Nation and her Alliances required: but he did not so much as intimate to them his own thoughts concerning them. A design was laid, in the House of Commons, to open the Session with an Address to the King, that he would own the King of *Spain*; The matter was so far concerted, that they had agreed on the words of the Vote, and seemed not to doubt of the concurrence of the House; but Mr. *Monkton* opposed it with great heat, and among other things said, if that Vote was carried, he should expect that the next Vote to be put, would be for owning the pretended Prince of *Wales*: Upon this occasion it appeared, how much popular Assemblies are apt to be turned, by a thing boldly said, tho' the consequence is ever so remote; since the connection of these two points lay at some distance, yet the issue of the Debate was quite contrary to that which was designed: It ended in an Address to the King, to enter into new Alliances with the *States*, for our mutual Defence, and for preserving the Liberty and Peace of *Europe*; These last words were not carried, without much difficulty: They were considered, as they were indeed, an insinuation towards a War.

Partiality in
judging E-
lections.

Upon the view of the House, it appeared very evidently, that the Tories were a great Majority; yet they, to make the matter sure, resolved to clear the House of a great many, that were engaged in another interest: Reports were brought to them of Elections, that had been scandalously purchased, by some who were concerned in the new *East-India* Company; instead of Drinking and Entertainments, by which Elections were formerly managed, now a most scandalous practice was brought in of buying Votes, with so little decency, that the Electors engaged themselves by Subscription, to chuse a blank person, before they were trusted with the name of their Candidate.

date. The old *East-India* Company had driven a course of Corruption within doors with so little shame, that the new Company intended to follow their example, but with this difference, that, whereas the former had bought the persons who were elected, they resolved to buy Elections. Sir *Edward Seymour*, who had dealt in this Corruption his whole life-time, and whom the old Company was said to have bought before, at a very high price, brought before the House of Commons the discovery of some of the practices of the New Company: The examining into these took up many days; In conclusion, the matter was so well proved, that several Elections were declared void: and some of the persons so chosen, were for some time kept in prison; after that they were expelled the House. In these proceedings, great partiality appeared; for when in some cases, Corruption was proved clearly, against some of the Tory Party, and but doubtfully against some of the contrary side, that, which was voted Corruption in the latter, was called the giving Alms in those of the former sort. Thus for some weeks, the House seemed to have forgot all the Concerns of *Europe*, and was wholly imployed in the weakening of one side, and in fortifying the other; To make some shew of zeal for the Publick safety, they voted thirty thousand Men for the Fleet; But they would allow no Marines, tho' they were told, that a Fleet without these was only a good security for our own Defence, but could have no influence on the Affairs of *Europe*, either to frighten or to encourage those abroad: Such a Fleet as it could not offend, so it was much too strong, if it was intended only for a defence, and it looked like a needless wasting the Treasure of the Nation, to imploy so much of it to so little purpose, and only to make a shew.

While the House of Commons was going on, minding only Party matters, a design was laid in the House of Lords, to attack the Partition Treaty and some of those, who were concerned in it; They begun with an Address to the King, that he would order all the Treaties made, since the Peace of *Ryswick*, to be laid before them. This was complied with so slowly, that they were not brought to the House till the 26th of *February*, and no notice was taken of them, till the 10th of *March*; It soon appeared that this was done by a *French* direction. The Court of *France* (perceiving that the *Dutch* were alarmed at their neighbourhood, and were encreasing their force, both by Sea and Land, and were calling upon their Allies to furnish their Quota's, which they were bound by Treaties to send to their defence) enter'd upon a Negotiation with them

The Partition Treaty charged in the House of Lords.

1701 them at the *Hague*, to try what would lay these fears. Upon this, in the beginning of *March*, the *States*, in conjunction with Mr. *Stanhope*, the *English* Envoy at the *Hague*, gave in Memorials, in which they insisted on the violation of the Partition Treaty, and particularly on the *French* possessing themselves of the *Spanish Netherlands*: They also desired, that the Emperor might have just satisfaction in his pretensions, and that in the mean while, *Luxemburgh*, *Namur*, *Mons*, and *Aeth*, might be put in their hands; and *Ostend* and *Newport* into the hands of the *English*, and both they and the *Dutch* might have a free Trade, as before, to all the *Spanish* Dominions. The *French* seeing these demands run so high, and being resolved to offer no other security for the Peace of *Europe*, but the renewing the Treaty of *Ryswick*, set all their Engines at work in *England*, to involve us into such contentions at home, as should both disable us, from taking any care of Foreign affairs, and make the rest of *Europe* conclude, that nothing considerable was to be expected from *England*. As soon as the news of those Memorials could come to *England*, the Marquis of *Normanby* and the rest of the Tories, took up the Debate concerning the Partition Treaty: This they managed with great dexterity, while the matter was as much neglected by the King, who went that day to *Hampton-Court*, where he stay'd some time; by this means, no directions were given, and we were involved in great difficulties, before the Court was aware of it: The King either could not prevail with his new Ministers to excuse the Treaty, if they would not justify it; or he neglected them so far, as not to speak to them at all about it. Those, who attack'd it, said, they meant nothing in that but to offer the King Advices for the future, to prevent such errors as had been committed in that Treaty, both as to matter and form. They blamed the giving such Territories to the Crown of *France*, and the forsaking the Emperor; They also complained of the secrecy, in which the Treaty was carried on, it not being communicated to the *English* Council or Ministry, but privately transacted by the Earls of *Portland* and *Jersey*: They also blamed the putting the Great Seal, first to blank Powers, and then to the Treaty itself, which the King's new Ministers said, was unjust in the contrivance, and ridiculous in the execution. To all this, it was answered, that there not being a Force ready and sufficient to hinder the *French* from possessing themselves of the *Spanish* Monarchy, which they were prepared for, the Emperor had desired the King to enter into a Treaty of Partition, and had consented to every Article of it, except that
which

which related to the Dutchy of *Milan*; But the King, not thinking that worth the engaging in a new War, had obtain'd an exchange of it for the Dutchy of *Lorrain*: The Emperor did not agree to this, yet he pressed the King not to break off the Treaty, but to get the best terms he could for him, and above all things, he recommended secrecy, that so he might not lose his interest in *Spain*, by seeming to consent to this Partition: It is certain, that by our Constitution, all Foreign Negotiations were trusted entirely to the Crown; that the King was under no obligation by Law, to communicate such secrets to his Council, or to hear, much less was he obliged to follow their Advices: In particular it was said, that the Keeper of the Great Seal had no sort of authority, to deny the putting it, either to Powers for a Treaty, or to any Treaty which the King should agree to: The Law gives no direction in such matters, and he could not refuse to put the Great Seal to any thing, for which he had an Order from the King, unless the matter was contrary to Law, which had made no provision in this case: They insisted most on the other side, upon the concluding a Treaty of this importance, without communicating it first to the Privy Council; so the first day of the Debate ended with this.

The Earl of *Portland* apprehending that this might fall too heavy on him, got the King's leave to communicate the whole matter next day to the House; So he told them, that he had not concluded the Treaty alone, but had, by the King's Order, acquainted six of his chief Ministers with it, who were the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Marlborough*, the Viscount *Lonsdale*, the Lords *Somers* and *Hali-fax*, and Secretary *Vernon*; Upon which those Lords, being likewise freed by the King from the Oath of Secrecy, told the House, that the Earl of *Jersey*, having in the King's Name called them together, the Treaty was read to them, and that they excepted to several things in it, but they were told, that the King had carried the matter as far as was possible, and that he could obtain no better terms: So when they were told, that no alterations could be made, but that every thing was settled, they gave over insisting on particulars; they only advised, that the King might not engage himself in any thing, that would bring on a new War, since the Nation had been so uneasy under the last. This was carried to the King, and a few days after that, he told some of them, that he was made acquainted with their exceptions, but how reasonable soever they were, he had driven the matter as far as he could; The Earl of *Pembroke* said to the House of Lords, he had offered the King those Advices, that he thought were most for his service, and for the good of the Nation;

The Lords
advised
with in it
opposed it;

1701 Nation; but that he did not think himself bound to give an account of that, to any other persons; He was not the man struck at, so there was nothing said, either against him, or the Earls of *Marlborough* or *Jersy*: Upon this, the Debate went on; Some said, this was a mockery, to ask advice, when there was no room for it: It was answered, the King had asked the advice of his Privy Council, and they had given it; but that, such was the Regal Prerogative, that it was still free to him to follow it or not, as he saw cause.

An Address
to the King
about it.

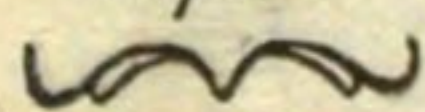
In conclusion, the House of Lords resolved to set out this whole matter, in an Address to the King, complaining both of the Partition Treaty, and of the method in which it had been carried on; The Lord *Wharton* moved an addition to the Address, that, whereas the *French* King had broke that Treaty, they should advise the King to treat no more with him, or rely on his word without further security: This was much opposed, by all those who were against the engaging in a new War; They said, all Motions of that kind ought to come from the House of Commons, who only could support such an Advice, that did upon the matter engage us into a new War; nor would they lay any blame on the breaking of a Treaty, which they were resolved to condemn: They also excepted to the words *further security* as ambiguous; yet the Majority of the House agreed to it; for there was such treachery in the *French* Negotiations, that they could not be relied on, without a good Guarantee, and the Pledge of some strong places. It now plainly appeared, that the design was, to set on the House of Commons, to impeach some of the Lords, who had been concerned in the Partition Treaty, for it was moved to send the Address to the House of Commons, for their concurrence; but that was not carried. The King seemed to bear all this with his usual coldness: and the new Ministers continued still in his confidence, but he laid the matter much to heart; Now he saw the error he had fallen into, by the change he had made in the Ministry: It was plain they resolved to govern him in every thing, and not to be governed by him in any one thing.

Memorials
sent from
the States.

As soon as this was over, the Earl of *Jersy* did, by the King's Order, bring to the House of Lords the Memorials that had been given in at the *Hague*, and then, by comparing Dates, it was easy to conjecture, why the Partition Treaty had been let lie so long on the Table, and it seemed as if it was taken up at last, only to blast this Negotiation; A *French* management appearing very plainly in the whole steps, that had been made.
The

The House of Commons began, at the same time, not only to complain of the Partition Treaty, but likewise of the demand of *Ostend* and *Newport*, nor would they shew any concern for the Emperor's pretensions: The *Dutch* demanded the execution of the Treaty, that King *Charles* had made with them, in the year 1677, by which *England* was bound to assist them with ten thousand Men and twenty Ships of War, if they were attack'd; Some endeavoured, all that was possible, to put this off for the present, pretending that they were not yet attack'd: Others moved, that the pay of ten thousand Men might be given to them, with the twenty Ships, as a full equivalent to the Treaty; yet they not liking this, it was in conclusion agreed to send the ten thousand Men: five thousand of these were to be drawn out of the Army in *Ireland*, and five thousand of them were to be new levied; but they took care, that *Ireland* should not be provided with any new Forces in their stead, so jealous were they of trusting the King with an Army. The representation sent over by the *States*, setting forth the danger they were in, and desiring the assistance of *England*, was penned with great spirit, and in a very moving strain; The House of Lords did, upon a Debate on that subject, make an Address to the King, to enter into Leagues Offensive and Defensive, with the Emperor and other Princes and *States*, who were interested against the conjunction of the *French* and *Spanish* Monarchies; But the House of Commons could not, upon this occasion, be carried further, than to advise the King to enter into such Alliances, as should be necessary, for our common security, and for the Peace of *Europe*. This coldness and uncertainty in our Councils, gave the *French* great advantages in their Negotiations, both in *Germany* and in *Portugal*; They tried the Courts of *Italy*, but without success; only the Duke of *Mantua* consented, that they should make a shew, as if they had surprized him, and so force him to put *Mantua* in their hands: The Pope and the *Venetians* would not declare themselves; the Pope favoured the *French*, as the *Venetians* did the Emperor; who began the War with a pretension on the Dutchy of *Milan*, as a Fief of the Empire that devolved on him; and he was making Magazines, both in *Tirol* and at *Trent*: The *French* seemed to despise all he could do, and did not apprehend, that it was possible for him to march an Army into *Italy*; Both the King and the *States* pressed him to make that attempt; The Elector of *Bavaria*, and some of the Circles, had agreed to a Neutrality this year; So there was no hope of doing much upon the *Rhine*, and the *French* were making the
Italians

1701



Italians feel, what insolent Masters they were like to prove; So a general uneasiness among them, determined the Emperor, to send an Army into *Italy*, under the Command of Prince *Eugene*: *England* was all this while very unwilling to engage, yet for fear we should at last have seen our interest so clearly, that we must have fallen into it, those who were practised on to embroil us, so that we might not be in a condition to mind Foreign Affairs, set on foot a design to impeach the former Ministry.

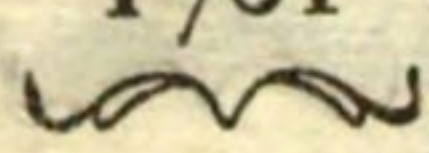
A design to
impeach the
former Mi-
nistry.

The handle, that brought this about, was given by the Earl of *Portland*; When he was excusing his own part in the Partition Treaty, he said, that having withdrawn himself from business, and being at his Country House in *Holland*, the King sent to him, desiring him to enter upon that Negotiation; upon that, he wrote to Secretary *Vernon*, to ask his advice and the advice of his other Friends, whether it was fit for him to meddle in that matter, since his being by Birth a Foreigner, seemed a just excuse for not engaging in a thing of such consequence; To this Secretary *Vernon* answered, that all his friends thought he was a very proper person, to be employed in that Treaty, since he had known the progress of all those Treaties, and the persons, who were employed on that occasion; and he named the Lord *Somers* among those, who had advised this. The Earl of *Portland* had mistaken this circumstance, which did not belong to the last Partition Treaty, but to that of the year before, in favour of the Prince Electoral of *Bavaria*. The House of Commons, hearing of this, required Secretary *Vernon* to lay before them that Letter, with his answer to it; for the Earl of *Portland* said, that he had left all Papers, relating to that matter, in *Holland*. *Vernon* said, he had received no such Letter in the year 1699; So that led them to enquire farther, and they required him, to lay before them all the Letters he had, relating to both Treaties: He said, those were the King's Secrets, writ in confidence, by the persons he employed; But in such a case, a House of Commons will not be put off: a denial rather raises in them more earnestness, in following their point; It was said, the King had dispensed with the Oath of Secrecy, when he ordered all matters to be laid before them, and they would admit of no excuse. *Vernon* upon this went to the King, and told him, since these were his Secrets, he was ready to expose himself to the indignation of the House, and to refuse to shew his Letters: But the King said, his refusing to do it would not only raise a storm against himself, from which the King could not protect him, but it would occasion an Ad-
dress

dress to the King, to order him to lay every thing before the House, which, in the state that things were in then, he could not deny: *Vernon*, upon these Orders given him, at two different times, carried all the Letters, and laid them before the House of Commons; It appeared by these, that he had communicated the Treaty to the King's Ministers, who were in Town, about the end of *August* 1698; That Lord *Somers* being then at *Tunbridge*, he went to him; and that he had communicated the Project, both to the Earl of *Orford* and the Lord *Halifax*; Several objections were made by them to many parts of the Treaty, which were mentioned in *Vernon's* Letters; but, if better terms could not be had, they thought it was better to conclude the Treaty, than to leave the *Spanish* Monarchy, to be over-run by *France*, or to involve *Europe* in a new War; Lord *Somers* had also put the Seals to Blank Powers, for concluding this Treaty. When all this was read, those, who were set on to blow up the flame, moved the House to impeach some of the Ministers, who had been concerned in this transaction; yet in this they proceeded, with so visible a partiality, that tho' the Earl of *Jersey* had signed the Treaty, had been Plenipotentiary at *Ryswick*, Ambassador in *France*, and Secretary of State, while the Partition Treaty was negotiating; yet he, having joined himself to the new Ministry, was not questioned about it: The Party said, he had been too easily drawn into it, but that he was not in the Secret, and had no share in the Councils, that projected it.

On the first of *April*, the House of Commons brought up a general Impeachment of the Earl of *Portland*, for high Crimes and Misdemeanors; but the chief design was against the Earl of *Orford*, and the Lords *Somers* and *Halifax*. Their Enemies tried again what use could be made of *Kid's* business, for he was taken in our Northern Plantations in *America*, and brought over: He was examined by the House, but either he could not lay a probable story together, or some remnants of honesty, raised in him by the near prospect of death, restrained him; he accused no person of having advised or encouraged his turning Pirate; He had never talked alone with any of the Lords, and never at all with Lord *Somers*: He said, he had no Orders from them, but to pursue his Voyage against the Pirates in *Madagascar*; All endeavours were used to persuade him to accuse the Lords; he was assured that if he did it, he should be preserved; and if he did it not, he should certainly die for his Piracy; yet this could not prevail on him to charge them: So he, with some of his Crew, were hanged, there ap-

They are impeached.

1701  pearing not so much as a colour to fasten any imputation on those Lords; yet their Enemies tried, what use could be made of the Grant of all that *Kid* might recover from the Pirates, which some bold and ignorant Lawyers affirmed to be against Law. So this matter was for the fourth time debated in the House of Commons, and the behaviour of those Peers in it appeared to be so innocent, so legal and in truth so meritorious, that it was again let fall. The insisting so much on it, served to convince all people, that the enemies of these Lords wanted not inclinations, but only matter to charge them, since they made so much use of this; But so partial was a great part of the House, that the dropping this was carried only by a small Majority: When one design failed, another was set up.

Lord Somers
heard by
the House
of Com-
mons.

It was pretended, that by Secretary *Vernon's* Letters it was clearly proved, that the Lord *Somers* had consented to the Partition Treaty; So a Debate coming on concerning that, Lord *Somers* desired that he might be admitted, to give an account of his share in it, to the House of Commons; Some opposition was made to this, but it had been always granted, so it could not be denied him; He had obtained the King's leave, to tell every thing; So that when he appeared before the House, he told them, the King had writ to him, that the state of the King of *Spain's* health was desperate, and that he saw no way to prevent a new War, but to accept of the proposition, the *French* made for a Partition: The King sent him the Scheme of this, and ordered him to communicate it to some others, and to give him both his own opinion and theirs concerning it, and to send him over Powers for a Treaty, but in the secretest manner that was possible: Yet the King added, that, if he and his other Ministers thought that a Treaty ought not to be made upon such a Project, then the whole matter must be let fall, for he could not bring the *French* to better terms. Lord *Somers* upon this said, that he thought it was the taking too much upon himself, if he should have put a stop to a Treaty of such consequence; If the King of *Spain* had died, before it was finished, and the blame had been cast on him, for not sending the necessary Powers, because he was not ordered to do it, by a Warrant in full form, he could not have justified that, since the King's Letter was really a Warrant, and therefore he thought he was bound to send the Powers that were called for, which he had done. But at the same time, he wrote his own opinion very fully to the King, objecting to many particulars, if there was room for it, and proposing several things, which, as he thought, were for the good and interest

terest of *England*. Soon after the Powers were sent over by him, the Treaty was concluded, to which he put the Great Seal, as he thought he was bound to do: In this, as he was a Privy Councillor, he had offered the King his best advice, and as he was Chancellor, he had executed his Office according to his duty. As for putting the Seal to the Powers, he had done it upon the King's Letter, which was a real Warrant, tho' not a formal one: he had indeed desired, that a Warrant in due form might be sent him for his own security; but he did not think it became him, to endanger the Publick, only for want of a point of Form, in so critical a time, where great dispatch was requisite. He spoke so fully and so clearly, that, upon his withdrawing, it was believed, if the Question had been quickly put, the whole matter had been soon at an end, and that the prosecution would have been let fall: But his enemies drew out the Debate to such a length, that the impression, which his Speech had made, was much worn out; and the House sitting till it was past midnight, they at last carried it by a Majority of seven or eight to impeach him and the Earl of *Orford* and the Lord *Halifax*, of high Crimes and Misdemeanors: The general Impeachment was brought up the next day to the Lords Bar.

The Commons were very sensible, that those Impeachments must come to nothing, and that they had not a Majority in the House of Lords, to judge in them, as they should direct; So they resolved on a shorter way, to fix a severe censure on the Lords, whom they had thus impeached; They voted an Address to the King, for excluding them from his Presence and Councils for ever; This had never gone along with an Impeachment before; The House of Commons had indeed begun such a practice in King *Charles* the Second's time: When they disliked a Minister, but had not matter to ground an Impeachment on, they had taken this method, of making an Address against him, but it was a new attempt, to come with an Address after an Impeachment: This was punishing before Trial, contrary to an indispensable Rule of Justice, of not judging before the Parties were heard: The Lords saw, that this made their Judicature ridiculous, when, in the first instance of an Accusation, application was made to the King for a Censure, and a very severe one; since few Misdemeanors could deserve a harder Sentence. Upon these grounds, the Lords prevented the Commons, and sent some of their Body to the King, with an Address, praying him, that he would not proceed to any Censure of these Lords, till they had undergone their Trial. The King

Contrary
Addresses
of the Two
Houses.

1701 King received these Addreffes, fo contrary to one another, from both Houfes, but made no answer to either of them; unless the letting the names of these Lords continue ftill in the Council Books, might be taken as a refufing to grant what the Commons had defired. They renewed their Addrefs, but had no direct answer from the King; This, tho' a piece of common juftice, was complained of, and it was faid, that these Lords had ftill great credit with the King; The Commons had, for forms fake, ordered a Committee to prepare Articles of Impeachment, but they intended to let the matter fleep; thinking that, what they had already done had fo marked those Lords, that the King could not imploy them any more; for that was the main thing they drove at.

The King
owned the
King of
Spain.

While this was in agitation, a Letter came to the King from the King of *Spain*, giving notice of his Acceffion to that Crown; It was dated, the day after he entred into *Spain*, but the Date and the Letter were vifibly writ at different times; The King ordered the Letter to be read in the Cabinet Council; there was fome fhort Debate concerning it, but it was never brought into any further deliberation there. The Earl of *Rochester* faw the King feemed diftruffful of him, and referved to him in that matter, and was highly offended at it: He and the reft of the new Miniftry preffed the King, to own the King of *Spain*, and to answer his Letter; and fince the *Dutch* had done it, it feemed reasonable that the King fhould likewise do it; They prevailed at laft, but with much difficulty; The thing was kept fecret, and was not communicated to the Privy Council, or to the Two Houfes, nor did the King fpeak of it to any of the Foreign Minifters; The *Paris Gazette* gave the World the firft notice of it. This being carried in fuch a manner, feemed the more ftrange, becaufe his Miniftry had fo lately condemned a former One, for not communicating the Partition Treaty to the Council, before it was concluded; and yet had, in a matter of great confequence, fo foon forgot the Cenfures, they had thrown out fo liberally, upon the fecretcy with which that matter had been tranfacted. While things were moving in fuch a flow and uncertain pace in *England*, the *Dutch* had daily new alarms brought them of the Forces, that the *French* were pouring into their Neighbourhood; into the *Spanifh Guelder* on the one hand, and into *Antwerp* on the other; So that they were apprehenfive of a defign, both upon *Nimeguen* and *Bergen-op-zom*: They took the beft care they could to fecure their Frontier: The Negotiations went on flowly at the *Hague*; The *French* rejected all their demands, and offered nothing but
to

to renew the Peace of *Ryswick*; This the *Dutch* laid again before the King, in a very awakening strain; and he sent all to the House of Commons, but they could not be brought to declare, that the Offers made by the *French* were not sufficient. *D' Avaux*, seeing this coldness in our Counsels, refused to treat any more with the *Dutch*, in conjunction with the Envoy of *England*, and said, his Powers directed him only to them; This put a full stop to all further Treaty; for the *States* said; they were engaged in such a close conjunction with *England*, that they could not enter on a separate Treaty. In the mean while they armed powerfully; and our Fleet, in conjunction with theirs, were Masters of the Sea; but for want of Marines, they were in no condition to make any impression on the Enemy. The Emperor went on, with his preparation for a Campaign in *Italy*; The *French* sent an Army into the *Milanese*, that they reckoned would be much superior to any Force the Emperor could send thither; The Duke of *Savoy* was engaged in the interest of *France*, by King *Philip's* marrying his Second Daughter: The Pope still refused to give the Investiture of *Naples*, or to accept the Annual present; for he would not quite break with the Emperor.

The *French* practices were every where the more prevalent, because they gave out that *England* would not engage in a War, and the face of our Affairs looked but dark at home; The Emperor's Ministers had an uneasy time among us; the King encouraged them, but the new Ministers were scarce civil to them, and studied to put them quite out of hope; The King of *Denmark* entered into a Treaty with the Emperor and the *States*; Great pains were taken to mediate a Peace between *Sweden* and *Poland*; The Court of *France*, as well as that of *Vienna*, tried it; both sides hoping that *Sweden*, if not *Poland*, might enter into their interests: The *French* reckoned that *Denmark* and *Sweden* could never be on the same side; So, when they found they could not gain *Denmark*, they tried a Mediation, hoping to get *Sweden* into an Alliance with them, but all attempts for a Mediation proved unsuccessful. The Diet of *Poland* was put off, and their King being delivered from them, resolved to carry on the War; The *Spaniards*, and the Subjects of their other Dominions, began to feel the Insolence of the *French* very sensibly; but nothing was more uneasy to them, than the new regulations, they were endeavouring to bring in, to lessen the expence of the Court of *Spain*: So they seemed well disposed to entertain a new Pretender.

Negotiations in several places.

1701

An Act de-
claring a
Protestant
Succession.

While all these things were in a ferment all *Europe* over ; The declaring a Protestant Successor, after the Princess and such Issue as she might have, seemed to be forgot by our Parliament, tho' the King had begun his Speech with it. The new Ministers spoke of it with much zeal ; from this their friends made inferences in their favour, that certainly men, in the interests of *France*, would not promote a design so destructive of all they drove at : This was so little of a piece, with the rest of their conduct, that those, who were still jealous of their sincerity, looked on it as a blind, to cover their ill designs, and to gain them some credit ; for they could not but see, that, if *France* was once possessed of the Power and Wealth of *Spain*, our Laws, and every thing that we could do to support them, would prove but feeble defences. The manner, in which this motion of the Succession was managed, did not carry in it great marks of sincerity ; It was often put off from one day to another, and it gave place to the most trifling matters ; at last, when a day was solemnly set for it, and all people expected, that it should pass without any difficulty, *Harley* moved, that some things previous to that might be first considered. He observed, that the haste the Nation was in, when the present Government was settled, had made us go too fast, and overlook many securities, which might have prevented much mischief, and therefore he hoped they would not now fall into the same error : Nothing pressed them at present, so he moved they would settle some Conditions of Government, as Preliminaries, before they should proceed to the Nomination of the Person ; that so we might fix every thing that was wanting, to make our security compleat. This was popular, and took with many, and it had so fair an appearance, that indeed none could oppose it ; Some weeks were spent upon it ; Suspicious people thought, this was done on design to blast the Motion, and to offer such extravagant Limitations, as should quite change the Form of our Government, and render the Crown titular and precarious : The King was alarmed at it, for almost every particular, that was proposed, implied a reflection on him and his Administration, chiefly that of not imploying Strangers, and not going too often out of the Kingdom ; It was proposed, that every thing should be done with the advice of the Privy Council, and every Privy Counsellor was to sign his advice ; All men, who had Places or Pensions, were made incapable of sitting in the House of Commons ; As all this was unacceptable to the King, so many, who had an ill opinion of the design of those, who were now at the Helm, began to con-

conclude, that the delays were affected, and that these Limitations were designed, to raise disputes between the Two Houses, by which the Bill might be lost. When some time had been spent in those Preliminaries, it came to the nomination of the Person; Sir *John Bowles*, who was then disordered in his Senses, and soon after quite lost them, was set on by the Party, to be the first that should name the Electress Dowager of *Brunswick*, which seemed done to make it less serious, when moved by such a person: He was, by the Forms of the House, put in the Chair of the Committee, to whom the Bill was committed: The thing was still put off for many weeks; At every time that it was called for, the motion was entertained with coldness, which served to heighten the jealousy; The Committee once or twice sat upon it, but all the Members ran out of the House, with so much indecency, that the Contrivers seemed ashamed of this management: There were seldom fifty or sixty at the Committee; yet in conclusion, it past and was sent up to the Lords; where we expected great opposition would be made to it: Some imagined, the Act was only an artifice, designed to gain credit to those, who at this time were so ill thought of over the Nation, that they wanted some colourable thing, to excuse their other proceedings: Many of the Lords absented themselves on design; Some little opposition was made by the Marquis of *Normanby*; And four Lords, the Earls of *Huntington* and *Plymouth* and the Lords *Guilford* and *Jefferies*, protested against it. Those, who wisht well to the Act, were glad to have it passed any way, and so would not examine the Limitations that were in it; They thought it of great importance to carry the Act, and that, at another time, those Limitations might be better considered: So the Act passed, and the King sent it over by the Earl of *Macclesfield* to the Electress, together with the Garter to the *Electress*. We reckoned it a great point carried, that we had now a Law on our side, for a Protestant Successor; for we plainly saw, a great Party formed against it, in favour of the pretended Prince of *Wales*. He was now past thirteen, bred up with a hatred both of our Religion and our Constitution, in an admiration of the *French* Government; and yet many who called themselves Protestants, seemed fond of such a Successor; a degree of infatuation that might justly amaze all who observed it, and saw the fury with which it was promoted.

Another very good Act past this Session, concerning the Privilege of Parliament; Peers had, by Law or Custom, a Privilege for themselves and their Servants, during the Session, and

An Act explaining Privilege.

at

1701 at least twenty days before and after; of late they have reckoned forty days before and after, in which neither they nor their Servants could be sued in any Court, unless for Treason, Felony, or breach of the Peace: The House of Commons had also possessed themselves of the same Privilege; but with this difference, that the Lords pretended theirs was a right, not subject to the Order of the House of Lords; whereas the Commons held, that their Privilege was subject to the Authority of their House: Of late years, Sessions were long and continued by intermediate Prorogations, so that the whole year round was a time of Privilege; This made a great obstruction in the course of justice, and none, who were so protected, could be sued for Debt; The abuse was carried further, by the Protections which some Lords gave, or rather sold to persons, who were no way concerned in their affairs; but when they needed this shelter, they had a pretended office given them, that was a bar to all Arrests: After many fruitless attempts to regulate these abuses, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, that took away all Privilege against Legal Prosecutions, in intermediate Prorogations, and did so regulate it, during the sitting of Parliament, that an effectual remedy was provided for a grievance, that had been long and much complained of: These were the only popular things, that were done by this Parliament, the rest of their proceedings shewed both the madness and fury of Parties.

Proceedings
upon the
Impeach-
ments.

And first,
The Articles
against the
Earl of Or-
ford.

The Impeachments lay long neglected in the House of Commons, and probably they would have been let sleep, if the Lords concerned had not moved for a Trial; On their motion, Messages were sent to the Commons to quicken their Proceedings; At last, Articles were framed and brought up, first against the Earl of *Orford*: He was charged for taking great Grants from the King; *Kid's* business was objected to him; he was also charged for abuses in managing the Fleet, and victualling it, when it lay on the Coast of *Spain*, and for some Orders he had given, during his Command; and in conclusion, for his advising the Partition Treaty. And in setting this out, the Commons urged, that the King, by the Alliance made with the Emperor in the year 1689, was bound to maintain his Succession to the Crown of *Spain*, which they said was still in force; So the Partition Treaty was a Breach of Faith, contrary to that Alliance, and this past current in the House of Commons, without any Debate or Enquiry into it; for every thing was acceptable there, that loaded that Treaty, and these Lords: But they did not consider, that by this they declared, they thought the

the King was bound to maintain the Emperor's right to that Succession: yet this was not intended by those, who managed the Party, who had not hitherto given any countenance to the Emperor's pretensions: So apt are Parties to make use of any thing, that may serve a turn, without considering the consequences of it.

The Earl of *Orford* put in his Answer in four days; He said he had no Grant of the King, but a Reversion at a great distance, and a Gift of ten thousand Pounds, after he had defeated the *French* at *La Hogue*, which he thought he might lawfully accept of, as all others before him had done: He opened *Kid's* matter, in which he had acted legally, with good intentions to the publick, and to his own loss: His Accounts, while he commanded the Fleet, had been all examined and were past; but he was ready to wave that, and to justify himself in every particular, and he denied his having given any Advice about the Partition Treaty; This was immediately sent down to the Commons; But they let it lie before them, without coming to a replication; which is only a piece of Form, by which they undertake to make good their charge.

Articles were next sent up against the Lord *Somers*; In these the two Partition Treaties were copiously set forth, and it was laid down for a foundation, that the King was bound to maintain the Emperor's right of Succession to the Crown of *Spain*; Lord *Somers* was charged, for setting the Seals, first to the Powers and then to the Treaties themselves; He was also charged, for accepting some Grants, and the manner of taking them was represented as fraudulent, he seeming to buy them of the King, and then getting himself discharged of the Price contracted for; *Kid's* business was also mentioned, and dilatory and partial proceedings in Chancery were objected to him. He put in his Answer in a very few days: In the Partition Treaty, he said, he had offered the King very faithful advice as a Counsellor, and had acted according to the duty of his Post, as Chancellor; So he had nothing more to answer for: As for his Grants, the King designed him a Grant to such a value; The King was not deceived in the value; The manner of passing it, was according to the usual methods of the Treasury, in order to make a Grant sure, and out of the danger of being avoided. *Kid's* business was opened, as was formerly set forth; and as to the Court of Chancery, he had applied himself wholly to the dispatch of business in it, with little regard to his own health or quiet, and had acted according to the best of his judgment, without fear or favour. This was presently

1701 sent down to the House of Commons, and upon that they were at a full stand: They framed no Articles against the Earl of *Portland*, which was represented to the King, as an expression of their respect to him.

Articles of
Impeach-
ment against
Lord *Halifax*.

Lord *Halifax*'s An-
swer.

Some time after this, near the end of the Session, they sent up Articles against the Lord *Halifax*, which I mention here, that I may end this matter all at once; They charged him for a Grant that he had in *Ireland*, and that he had not pay'd in the produce of it, as the Act concerning those Grants had enacted: They charged him for another Grant, out of the Forest of *Dean*, to the waste of the Timber, and prejudice of the Navy of *England*: They charged him, for holding Places that were incompatible, being at the same time both a Commissioner of the Treasury, and Auditor of the Exchequer; and in conclusion, he was charged for advising the two Partition Treaties. He was as quick with his Answer as the other Lords had been; He said, his Grant in *Ireland* was of some Debts and Sums of Money, and so was not thought to be within the Act, concerning confiscated Estates; All he had ever received of it was four hundred pounds; If he was bound to repay it, he was liable to an action for it; but every man was not to be impeached, who did not pay his Debts, at the day of payment. His Grant in the Forest of *Dean* was only of the Weedings; so it could be no waste of Timber, nor a prejudice to the Navy; The Auditor's place was held by another, till he obtained the King's leave to withdraw from the Treasury; As for the first Partition Treaty, he never once saw it, nor was he ever advised with in it; As for the second, he gave his Advice very freely about it, at the single time, in which he had ever heard any thing concerning it; This was sent down to the Commons, but was never so much as once read by them. When, by these Articles and the Answers to them, it appeared, that after all the noise and clamour that had been raised against the former Ministry (more particularly against the Lord *Halifax*) for the great waste of Treasure, during their Administration, that now, upon the strictest search, all ended in such poor accusations; it turned the minds of many, that had been formerly prejudiced against them. It appeared, that it was the animosity of a Party at best, if it was not a *French* practice, to ruine men, who had served the King faithfully, and to discourage others, from engaging themselves so far in his Interests, as these Lords had done. They saw the effect that must follow on this: and that the King could not enter upon a new War, if they could discourage from his Service all the men of lively and active tempers, that would

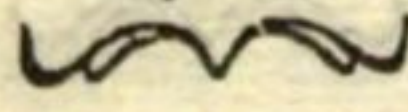
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raise a spirit in the Nation, for supporting such an important and dangerous War, as this now in prospect was like to prove. 1701

This gave a general disgust to all *England*, more particularly to the City of *London*, where Foreign affairs and the interest of Trade were generally better understood; The old *East-India* Company, tho' they hated the Ministry that set up the new, and studied to support this House of Commons, from whom they expected much favour; yet they, as well as the rest of the City, saw visibly that first the ruine of Trade, and then, as a consequence of that, the ruine of the Nation must certainly ensue, if *France* and *Spain* were once firmly united: So they began openly to condemn the proceedings of the Commons, and to own a jealousy, that the *Louis d'Or's* sent hither of late, had not come over to *England* for nothing. This disposition to blame the slowness, in which the House of Commons proceeded, with relation to Foreign Affairs, and the heat with which private quarrels were pursued, began to spread it self thro' the whole Nation. Those of the County of *Kent* sent up a Petition to the House, desiring them to mind the Publick more, and their private heats less, and to turn their Addresses to the King, to Bills of Supplies, to enable him both to protect the Nation, and to defend our Allies. This was brought up by some Persons of Quality, and was presented by them to the House: But it was looked on as a Libel on their Proceedings; and the Gentlemen, who brought it up, were sent to Prison; where they lay till the Prorogation, but they were much visited and treated as Confessors. This was highly censured; it was said, the Commons were the Creatures of the People, and upon all other occasions, they used to favour and encourage Petitions: This severity was condemned therefore as unnatural, and without a precedent: It was much questioned, whether they had really an Authority to Imprison any except their own Members, or such as had violated the Privilege of their House: But the Party thought it was convenient, by such an unusual severity, to discourage others from following the example set them by those of *Kent*: for a design was laid to get Addresses of the same nature, from all parts of the Kingdom, chiefly from the City of *London*. The Ministers represented to the King, what an indignity this would be to the House of Commons; and that, if he did not discourage it, he might look for unacceptable things from them. It might rather discourage, than give heart to our Allies, if they should see such a disjointing, and both City and Country in an opposition to the House of Commons; Some went in his Name, to the eminent Men

The Proceedings of Parliament much censured.

The Kentish Petition.

1701  Men of the City, to divert it, yet with all this it came so near, for such an Address, in a Common Council, that the Lord Mayor's Vote turned it for the Negative, so that fell. But a disposition to a War, and to a more hearty concurrence with the King, appeared to be the general sense of the Nation, and this had a great effect on the House of Commons: They began to talk of a War as unavoidable; and when the Session drew near an end, they, by an Address desired the King to enter into such Alliances with the Emperor, and other States and Princes, as were necessary for the support of us and our Allies, and to bring down the exorbitant Power of *France*. This was opposed with great zeal by those, who were looked on as the chief Conductors of the Jacobite Party, tho' many, who had in other things gone along with them, thought this was the only mean that was left, to recover their Credit with the people: for the current ran so strong for a War, that those, who struggled against it, were looked on as little better than publick Enemies. They had found good Funds for a Million and a half; It is true, one of these was very unacceptable to the King: It was observed, that the allotment for the Civil List did far exceed the Sum that was designed, which was only six hundred thousand pounds, and that, as King *James's* Queen would not take her Jointure, so by the Duke of *Glocester's* death, the charge on it was now less than when it was granted; so they took almost four thousand pounds a Week out of the Excise, and, upon an Assignment made of that for some years, a great sum was raised; This was very sensible to the Court, and the new Ministers found it no easy thing to maintain, at the same time, their Interest both with the King and their Party: This matter was at last yielded to by the King. All the remainder of this Session relates to the Impeachments.

Messages
pass between
the Two
Houses.

The Lords had resolved to begin with the Trial of the Earl of *Orford*; because the Articles against him were the first that were brought up; and since the Commons made no Replication, the Lords, according to clear Precedents, named a day for his Trial, and gave notice of it to the House of Commons: Upon this, the Commons moved the Lords, to agree to name a Committee of both Houses for settling the Preliminaries of the Trial, and they named two Preliminaries; One was, that the Lord who was to be tried, should not sit as a Peer; the other was, that those Lords, who were impeached for the same matter, might not vote in the Trial of one another: They also acquainted the Lords, that the course of their Evidence led them to begin with the Lord *Somers*. The Lords judged their
last

last demand reasonable, and agreed to it; but disagreed to the others. They considered themselves as a Court of Justice, and how great soever the regard due to the House of Commons might be, in all other respects, yet in matters of Justice, where they were the Accusers, they could only be considered as Parties. The King, when he had a Suit with a Subject, submitted to the equality of Justice; So the Commons ought to pretend to no advantage over a single person, in a Trial; A Court of Justice ought to hear the demands of both Parties pleaded fairly, and then to judge impartially; A Committee named by one of the Parties, to sit in an equality with the Judges, and to settle matters relating to the Trial, was a thing practised in no Court or Nation, and seemed contrary to the principles of Law or rules of Justice: By these means, they could at least delay Trials, as long as they pleased, and all delays of justice are real and great injustices. This had never been demanded but once, in the case of the Popish Plot; then it was often refused; it is true, it was at last yielded to by the Lords, tho' with great opposition; That was a case of Treason, in which the King's Life and the Safety of the Nation was concerned; There was then a great jealousy of the Court, and of the Lords that belonged to it; and the Nation was in so great a ferment, that the Lords might at that time yield to such a motion, tho' it derogated from their Judicature: That ought not to be set up for a precedent for a quiet time, and in a case pretended to be no more than a Misdemeanor; So the Lords resolved not to admit of this, but to hear whatsoever should be proposed by the Commons, and to give them all just and reasonable satisfaction in it. The chief point in question, in the year 1679, was, how far the Bishops might sit and vote in Trials of Treason; but without all dispute, they were to vote in Trials for Misdemeanors; It was also settled in the case of the Lord *Mordaunt*, that a Lord tried for a Misdemeanor was to sit within the Bar; In all other Courts, men tried for such Offences came within the Bar; This was stronger in the case of a Peer, who by his Patent had a Seat in that House, from which nothing but a judgment of the House, for some offence, could remove him: They indeed found that, in King *James* the First's time, the Earl of *Middlesex*, being accused of Misdemeanors, was brought to the Bar; But as that prosecution was violent, so there had been no later precedent of that kind, to govern proceedings by it: There had been many since that time, and it had been settled, as a rule for future times, that Peers tried for such Offences were to sit within the Bar. The

1701 other Preliminary was, that Peers accused for the same Offence, might not vote in the Trials of the others: The Lords found that a right of voting was so inherent in every Peer in all causes, except where himself was a Party, that it could not be taken from him, but by a sentence of the House; a Vote of the House could not deprive him of it; Otherwise, a Majority might upon any pretence deny some Peers their right of voting, and the Commons, by impeaching many Peers at once, for the same offence, might exclude as many Lords as they pleased from judging: It was also observed, that a man might be a judge in any cause, in which he might be a Witness; And it was a common practice to bring persons, charged with the same offence, if they were not in the same Indictment, to witness the facts, with which they themselves were charged, in another Indictment: and a parity of reason appeared in the case of Lords, who were charged in different Impeachments, for the same facts, that they might be judges in one another's Trials. Upon these points, many Messages passed between the Two Houses, with so much precipitation, that it was not easy to distinguish between the Answers and the Replies: The Commons still kept off the Trial, by affected delays; It was visible, that when a Trial should come on, they had nothing to charge these Lords with: So the Leaders of the Party shewed their skill, in finding out excuses, to keep up the clamour, and to hinder the matters from being brought to an issue: The main point, that was still insisted on, was a Committee of both Houses, so according to the forms of the House, it was brought to a free Conference.

In it, the Lord *Haversham*, speaking to the point of Lords being partial in their own cases and therefore not proper judges, said that the House of Commons had plainly shewed their partiality, in impeaching some Lords for facts, in which others were equally concerned with them, who yet were not impeached by them, tho' they were still in credit and about the King; which shewed, that they thought neither the one nor the other were Guilty. The Commons thought, they had now found an occasion of quarrelling with the Lords, which they were looking for; So they immediately withdrew from the Conference, tho' they were told that the Lord *Haversham* spoke only his own private sense, and not by any direction from the House. The House of Commons sent up a Complaint to the Lords, of this Reflection on their Proceedings, as an indignity done them, for which they expected Reparation; Upon this, the Lord *Haversham* offered himself to a Trial, and submitted to any Censure,

Censure, that the Lords should think he had deserved; but insisted that the words must first be proved, and he must be allowed to put his own sense on them; The Lords sent this to the Commons, but they seemed to think that the Lords ought to have proceeded to censure him in a summary way, which the Lords thought, being a Court of Judicature, they could not do, till the words were proved, and the importance of them discussed.

The House of Commons had now got a pretence to justify their not going further in these Trials; and they resolved to insist upon it: They said, they could expect no justice, and therefore they could not go on with the prosecutions of their Impeachments; And a day being set for the Lord Somers's Trial, they excepting still, it was put off for some time, at last a peremptory day was fixed for it; But the Commons refused to appear, and said they were the only Judges, when they were ready with their Evidence, and that it was a mockery, to go to a Trial, when they were not ready to appear at it. There were great and long Debates upon this in the House of Lords; The new Ministry, and all the Jacobites joined to support the pretensions of the Commons: every step was to be made by a Vote, against which many Lords protested, and the reasons given, in some of their protestations, were thought to be so injurious to the House, that they were by a Vote ordered to be expunged, a thing that seldom happens. When the day set for the Trial came, the other Lords, who were also impeached, asked the leave of the House to withdraw, and not to sit and vote in it; This was granted them, tho' it was much opposed and protested against by the Tory Party, because the giving such leave, supposed that they had a right to vote: The Lords went down in Form to *Westminster-Hall*, where the Articles against the Lord Somers were first read; Lord Somers's Answers were next read; and none appearing to make good the charge, the Lords came back to their House, where they had a long and warm Debate of many hours, concerning the Question that was to be put; The Judges told them, that, according to the Forms of Law, it ought to be *Guilty*, or *not Guilty*: But those of the Party said, as it was certain, that none could vote him Guilty, so since the House of Commons had not come to make good the charge, they could not vote him not Guilty; so to give them some content, the Question, agreed on to be put, was, whether he ought to be acquitted of the Impeachment or not? That being settled, the Lords went again to the Hall, and the question being put, fifty six voted in the Affirmative, and thirty one in the Negative. Upon this, the House of Commons

The Lords
tried and
acquitted.

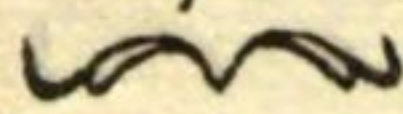
A Convocation
of the
Clergy met.

1701 mons passed some high Votes against the Lords, as having denied them justice, and having obstructed the publick proceedings; and called the Trial a pretended Trial. The Lords went as high in their Votes against the Commons; and each House ordered a Narrative of the proceedings to be published, for satisfying the Nation; A few days after this, the Earl of *Orford's* Trial came on, but all the Lords of the other side withdrawing, there was no dispute; So he was acquitted by an unanimous Vote. The Lords did also acquit both the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Halifax*; and because the Commons had never insisted on their prosecution of the Duke of *Leeds*, which they had begun some years before, they likewise acquitted him, and so this contentious Session came to an end. The Two Houses had gone so far in their Votes against one another, that it was believed they would never meet again; The proceedings of the Lords had the general approbation of the Nation on their side; Most of the Bishops adhered to the impeached Lords, and their behaviour on this occasion was much commended; I bore some share in those Debates, perhaps more than became me, considering my station and other circumstances; But as I was convinced of the innocence of the Lords, so I thought the Government itself was struck at, and therefore when I apprehended all was in danger, I was willing to venture every thing in such a quarrel; The violence, as well as the folly of the Party, lost them much ground, with all indifferent men; but with none more, than with the King himself; who found his error, in changing his Ministry at so critical a time; and he now saw, that the Tories were at heart irreconcilable to him: in particular, he was extream uneasy with the Earl of *Rocheſter*, of whose imperious and intractable temper, he complained much, and seemed resolved to disengage himself quickly from him, and never to return to him any more. He thought the Party was neither solid nor sincere, and that they were actuated by passion and revenge, without any views with relation to our quiet at home, or to our affairs abroad.

A Convocation of the Clergy met.

But having now given an account of the Session of Parliament, I turn to another scene: When the new Ministry undertook to serve the King, one of their Demands was, that a Convocation should have leave to sit, which was promised, and it sat this Winter; Dr. *Atterbury's* Book, concerning the Rights of a Convocation, was reprinted with great Corrections and Additions; The first Edition was drawn out of some imperfect and disorderly Collections, and he himself soon saw that, notwithstanding

withstanding the assurance and the virulence with which it was writ, he had made many great mistakes in it; So, to prevent a discovery from other hands, he corrected his Book, in many important matters; Yet he left a great deal to those who answered him, and did it with such a superiority of Argument and of Knowledge in these matters, that his insolence in despising these Answers, was as extraordinary, as the Parties adhering to him after such manifest discoveries. Dr. Kennet laid him so open, not only in many particulars, but in a thread of ignorance that ran thro' his whole Book, that if he had not had a measure of confidence peculiar to himself; he must have been much humbled under it. The Clergy hoped to recover many lost Privileges, by the help of his performances; They fancied they had a right to be a part of the Parliament, so they looked on him as their Champion, and on most of the Bishops, as the Betrayers of the Rights of the Church: This was encouraged by the new Ministry; They were displeased with the Bishops, for adhering to the old Ministry; and they hoped, by the Terror of a Convocation, to have forced them to apply to them for shelter. The Jacobites intended to put us all in such a flame, as they hoped would disorder the Government. The things the Convocation pretended to, were first, that they had a right to sit whensoever the Parliament sat; So that they could not be prorogued, but when the Two Houses were prorogued: Next they advanced, that they had no need of a Licence to enter upon Debates, and to prepare matters, tho' it was confessed, that the Practice for an hundred years was against them; But they thought the Convocation lay under no farther restraint, than that the Parliament was under; and as they could pass no Act without the Royal Assent; so they confessed that they could not enact or publish a Canon without the King's Licence. Antiently the Clergy granted their own Subsidies apart, but ever since the Reformation, the Grant of the Convocation was not thought good, till it was ratified in Parliament; But the Rule of Subsidies being so high on the Clergy, they had submitted to be taxed by the House of Commons, ever since the year 1665, tho' no Memorials were left to inform us, how that matter was consented to so generally, that no opposition of any sort was made to it; The giving of Money being yielded up, which was the chief business of Convocations, they had after that nothing to do; so they sat only for Form's sake, and were adjourned of course; nor did they ever pretend, notwithstanding all the danger that Religion was in during the former Reigns, to sit and act as a Synod; but now this was de-

1701  manded as a Right, and they complained of their being so often prorogued, as a violation of their Constitution, for which all the Bishops, but more particularly the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was cried out on; They said, that he and the Bishops looked so much to their own Interests, that they forgot the Interests of the Church, or rather betrayed them: The greater part of the Clergy were in no good temper: they hated the Toleration, and were heavily charged with the Taxes, which made them very uneasy; and this disposed them to be soon inflamed by those, who were seeking out all possible methods to disorder our affairs: They hoped to have engaged them against the Supremacy, and reckoned, that in the feeble state to which the Government was now brought, they might hope either to wrest it quite from the Crown, and then it would fall into the Management of the House of Commons; Or if the King should proceed against them according to the Statute, and sue them in a *Premunire*, this might unite the Clergy into such an opposition to the Government, as would probably throw us into great Convulsions: But many aspiring men among them, had no other design, but to force themselves into Preferment, by the opposition they made. In the Writ that the Bishops had, summoning them to Parliament, the Clause, known by the first word of it *Premunientes*, was still continued: at first, by virtue of it, the inferior Clergy were required to come to Parliament, and to consent to the Aids there given: But after the Archbishops had the provincial Writ, for a Convocation of the Province, the other was no more executed, tho' it was still kept in the Writ, and there did not appear the least shadow of any use that had been made of it, for some hundreds of years; yet now some Bishops were prevailed on, to execute this Clause, and to Summon the Clergy by virtue of it: The Convocation was opened with Speeches, full of sharp Reflections on the Bishops, which they past over, being unwilling to begin a Dispute.

They dispute the Archbishop's Power of adjourning them.

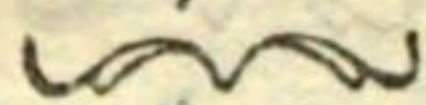
Dr. *Hooper*, Dean of *Canterbury*, was chosen Prolocutor, a man of Learning and good conduct hitherto; he was reserved, crafty and ambitious; his Deanery had not soften'd him, for he thought he deserved to be raised higher. The constant method of Adjournments had been this; the Archbishop signed a Schedule for that purpose, by which the Upper House was immediately adjourned, and that being sent down to the Prolocutor, did also adjourn the Lower House: The Clergy perceiving that, by this means, the Archbishop could adjourn them at pleasure, and either hinder or break off all Debates, resolved to begin at disputing

disputing this point; and they brought a Paper to the Upper House, in which they asserted their right of Adjourning themselves, and cited some Precedents for it; To this, the Bishops drew a very copious answer, in which all their Precedents were examined and answered, and the matter was so clearly stated, and so fully proved, that we hoped we had put an end to the Dispute: The Lower House sat for some time about the Reply to this; but instead of going on with that, they desired a free Conference: and began to affect, in all their Proceedings, to follow the methods of the House of Commons: The Bishops resolved not to comply with this, which was wholly new: They had, upon some occasions, called up the Lower House to a Conference, in order to the explaining some things to them: But the Clergy had never taken upon them, to desire a Conference with the Bishops before; So they resolved not to admit of it, and told them, they expected an Answer to the Paper they had sent them: The Lower House resolved not to comply with this, but on the contrary, to take no more notice of the Archbishop's Adjournments: They did indeed observe the rule of adjourning themselves to the day, which the Archbishop had appointed in his Schedule, but they did it as their own Act, and they adjourned themselves to intermediate days.

That they might express a zeal in the matters of Religion, they resolved to proceed against some bad Books; They began with one, entitled *Christianity not Mystrious*, wrote by one *Toland*, a man of a bold and petulant wit, who passed for a *Socinian*, but was believed to be a man of no Religion: They drew some propositions out of this Book, but did it with so little judgment, that they passed over the worst, that were in it, and singled out some, that how ill soever they were meant, yet were capable of a good sense: They brought up the Censure, that they had past on this Book, to the Bishops, and desired them to agree to their Resolutions: This struck so directly at the Episcopal Authority, that it seemed strange to see men, who had so long asserted the Divine Right of Episcopacy, and that Presbyters were only their Assistants and Council (according to the Language of all Antiquity) now assume to themselves the most important Act of Church Government, the judging in Points of Doctrine: In this it appeared, how soon mens Interests and Passions can run them from one extreme to another: The Bishops saw, that their design in this was only to gain some credit to themselves, by this shew of zeal for the great Articles of Religion; So they took advice of men learned in the Law, how far the Act of Submission in the twenty fifth of *Henry* the Eighth

They Censure Books.

1701



Eighth did restrain them in this case. There had been the like complaint made in the Convocation 1698, of many ill Books then published; and the Bishops had then advised both with Civilians and Common Lawyers in this matter: They were answered, that every Bishop might proceed in his own Court, against the Authors or Spreaders of ill Books, within his Diocese: But they did not know of any Power the Convocation had to do it: it did not so much as appear, that they could summon any to come before them: And when a Book was published, with the Author's Name to it, the condemning it, without hearing the Author upon it, seemed contrary to the common rules of Justice. It did not seem to be a Court at all, and since no Appeal lay from it, it certainly could not be a Court, in the first instance. When this Question was now again put to Lawyers, some were afraid, and others were unwilling to answer it: But Sir *Edward Northey*, afterwards made Attorney General, thought the condemning Books was a thing of great consequence; since the Doctrine of the Church might be altered, by condemning Explanations of one sort, and allowing those of another; and since the Convocation had no Licence from the King, he thought that, by meddling in that matter, they should incur the Pains in the Statute: so all further Debate of this matter was let fall by the Bishops. The Lower House going on, to sit in intermediate days, many of the most eminent and learned among them, not only refused to sit with them on those days, but thought it was incumbent on them, to protest against their Proceedings; but the Lower House refusing to suffer this to be enter'd in their Books, they signified it in a Petition to the Archbishop. The Party sitting alone, in those intermediate days; they enter'd into such a secrecy, that it could not be known what they fate so close upon: So the Archbishop appointed five Bishops, together with ten they should name, as a Committee to examine their Books; But tho' this had been often done, yet, upon this occasion, the Lower House refused to comply with it, or to name a Committee: This was such an unprecedented invasion of the Episcopal Authority, that the Upper House resolved to receive nothing from them, till that irregularity was set right.

And complain of my Exposition.

Hereupon they, being highly incensed against me, censured my Exposition of the Articles, which, in imitation of the General Impeachments by the House of Commons, they put in three General Propositions: *First*, That it allowed a diversity of Opinions, which the Articles were framed to avoid. *Secondly*, That it contained many Passages contrary to the true meaning

ing of the Articles, and to other received Doctrines of our Church. *Thirdly*, That some things in it were of dangerous consequence to the Church, and derogated from the honour of the Reformation. What the particulars, to which these general Heads referred, were, could never be learned; this was a Secret lodged in confiding hands: I begg'd, that the Archbishop would dispense with the Order made, against further communication with the Lower House, as to this matter: But they would enter into no particulars, unless they might at the same time offer some other matters, which the Bishops would not admit of.

In these Proceedings the Bishops were unanimous, except the Bishops of *London*, *Rochester*, and *Exeter*: The Bishop of *London* had been twice disappointed of his hopes, of being advanced to the See of *Canterbury*; so for several years he was engaged with the Tory Party, and opposed the Court in every thing, but with little force or authority: The Bishop of *Rochester* had been deeply engaged in the former Reigns, and he stuck firm to the Party, to which, by reason of the liberties of his Life, he brought no sort of honour. These Bishops gave no great reputation to the proceedings of the Lower House, to which they adhered; They likewise enter'd their Dissent to the Resolutions taken in the Upper House. From the fire raised thus in Convocation, a great heat was spread thro' the whole Clergy of the Kingdom: it alienated them from their Bishops, and raised Factions among them every where.

Thus ended the Session of Parliament and Convocation, which had the worst aspect of any, that had fate during this Reign. The new Ministers pressed the King often to dissolve the Commission, that recommended to Ecclesiastical Preferments, and to turn out some of the Whigs, who were in Employments, the Lord *Haversham* in particular, who was in the Admiralty: But the King could not be prevailed on to do any thing, yet he kept himself so much on the reserve, that when he went out of *England*, it was not certainly known, whether he intended to dissolve the Parliament or not. When the King came to the *Hague*, he found the Negotiation with *France* quite at an end: the King of *France* had recalled his Minister; The *States* had encreased their Force, and the *French* were very strong in their Neighbourhood: So that though no War was actually declared, yet it was very near breaking out.

The Emperor's Army was now got into *Italy*: The entrance towards *Verona* was stopt by the *French*; but Prince *Eugene* came in by *Vincenza*; and when the Reinforcements and Artillery.

The King was still reserved.

Prince Eugene marched into Italy.

1701 lery came up to him, he made a feint of passing the *Po* near *Ferrara*; and having thus amused the *French*, he passed the *Adige* near *Carpi*, where a Body of five thousand *French* lay: these he routed, so the *French* retired to the *Mincio*: He followed them, and passed that River in their sight, without any opposition: The *French* Army was commanded by the Duke of *Savoy*, with him were the Marechal *Catinat*, and the Prince of *Vaudemont*, Governor of *Milan*: These differed in opinion, the Duke of *Savoy* was for fighting; *Catinat* and Prince *Vaudemont* were against it: So the Marechal *Villeroy* was sent thither, with Orders to fight. *Catinat*, who was the best General the *French* had left, looking on this as a Disgrace, retired and languished for some time; yet he recovered. There were many small engagements of Parties sent out on both sides, in which the *Germans* had always the better: yet this did not discourage *Villeroy*, from venturing to attack them in their Camp at *Chiari*: but they were so well entrenched, and defended themselves with so much resolution, that the *French* were forced to draw off with great loss: about five thousand of them were killed, whereas the loss of the *Germans* was inconsiderable. Sicknefs likewise broke in upon the *French*, so that their Army was much diminished; and after this, they were not in a condition to undertake any thing. Prince *Eugene* lay for some time in his Camp at *Chiari*, sending out Parties as far as the *Adda*, who meeting oft with Parties of the *French*, had always the advantage, killing some, and taking many Prisoners: For several Months, Prince *Eugene* had no place of defence to retire to; his Camp was all; so that a blow given him there, must have ruined his whole Army: towards the end of the Campaign, he possessed himself of all the *Mantuan* Territory, except *Mantua* and *Goits*: he blockt them both up; and when the Season obliged the *French* to go into Quarters, he took all the Places on the *Oglio*, and continued in motion the whole following Winter. The *French* had no other Enemy to deal with, so they poured in their whole force upon him: He was then but a young man, and had little assistance from those about him, and none at all during the Summer from the Princes and States of *Italy*: For the Pope and the *Venetians* pretended to maintain a Neutrality, tho' upon many occasions, the Pope shewed great partiality to the *French*: The People indeed favoured him, so that he had good and seasonable Intelligence brought him of all the motions of the *French*: and in his whole Conduct, he shewed both a depth of contrivance, and an exactness in execution, with all the courage, but without any of the rashness of youth.

But

But to carry on the series of his motions as far as this period of my History goes, his attempt in *January* following upon *Cremona*, had almost proved a decisive one. Mareschal *Villeroy* lay there with six or seven thousand Men, and commanded a Bridge on the *Po*; Prince *Eugene* had past that River, with a part of his Army, the Princess of *Mirandola* drove out the *French*, and received a Garrison from him: The Duke of *Modena* put his Country in his hand, and gave him *Bersello*, the strongest place of his Dominions: The Duke of *Parma* pretended he was the Pope's Vassal, and so put himself under the Protection of that See: Prince *Eugene* would not provoke the Pope too much, so he only marched thro' the *Parmezan*; here he laid the design of surprising *Cremona*, with so much secrecy, that the *French* had not the least suspicion of it. Prince *Eugene* went to put himself at the head of a Body that he brought from the *Oglio*, and ordered another to come from the *Parmezan* at the same time, to force the Bridge. He marched with all secrecy to *Cremona*; at the same time, thro' the ruins of an old Aqueduct, he sent in some Men, who got thro' and forced one of the Gates, so that he was within the Town, before Mareschal *Villeroy* had any apprehension of an Enemy being near him: He wakened on the sudden with the noise, got out to the Street, and there he was taken Prisoner. But the other Body did not come up critically, at the time appointed: So an *Irish* Regiment secured the Bridge: And thus the Design, that was so well contrived, and so happily executed in one part, did fail. Prince *Eugene* had but four thousand Men with him, so that since the other Body could not join him, he was forced to march back, which he did without any considerable loss, carrying Mareschal *Villeroy* and some other Prisoners with him. In this attempt, tho' he had not an entire Success, yet he gained all the Glory, to which the ambition of a Military Man could aspire, so that he was looked on as the greatest and happiest General of the Age: He went on enlarging his Quarters, securing all his Posts, and straitning the Blockade of *Mantua*, and was in perpetual motion during the whole Winter: The *French* were struck with this ill success; More Troops were sent into *Italy*, and the Duke of *Vendome* went to command the Armies there.

The Duke of *Savoy* was pressed to send his Forces thither: But he grew cold and backward: He had now gained all that he could promise himself from *France*: His Second Daughter was married to King *Philip*, and was sent to him to *Barcelona*, and he came and met her there: *Philip* fell into an ill habit of

1701

His attempt upon Cremona.

King Philip at Barcelona.

1701 of Body, and had some returns of a Feverish Distemper: He had also great disputes with the States of *Catalonia*, who, before they would grant him the Tax that was asked of them, proposed that all their Privileges should be confirmed to them. This took up some time, and occasioned many disputes: all was settled at last: But their Grant was short of what was expected, and did not defray the charges of the King's stay in the place. A great disposition to revolt appeared in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and it broke out in some feeble attempts, that were soon mastered, the Leaders of these were taken and executed: They justified themselves by this Apology, that till the Pope granted the Investiture, they could not be bound to obey the new King: The Duke of *Medina* was a severe Governor, both on his Master's account and on his own: Some of the *Austrian* Party made their escape to *Rome* and to *Vienna*: They represented to the Emperor, that the disposition of the Country was such, in his favour, that a small Force of ten thousand Men, would certainly put that Kingdom wholly into his hands. Orders were upon that sent to Prince *Eugene*, to send a Detachment into the Kingdom of *Naples*: But tho' he believed, a small Force would soon reduce that Kingdom, yet he judged that such a diminution of his own strength, when the *French* were sending so many Troops into the *Milaneze*, would so expose him, that it would not be possible to maintain a defensive, with such an unequal Force: Yet repeated Orders came to him to the same effect; but in opposition to those, he made such representations, that at last it was left to himself, to do what he found safest and most for the Emperor's Service; with that the matter was let fall, and it soon appeared, that he had judged better than the Court of *Vienna*: but this was, by his Enemies, imputed to humour and obstinacy: So that for some time after that, he was neither considered nor supported, as his great Services had deserved. This might flow from envy and malice, which are the ordinary growth of all Courts, chiefly of feeble ones: Or it might be a practice of the *French*, who had corrupted most Courts, and that of *Vienna* in particular; since nothing could more advance their ends, than to alienate the Emperor from Prince *Eugene*; which might so far disgust him, as to make him more remiss in his Service.

The War in
Poland.

Our Fleets lay all this Summer idle in our Seas, on a bare defensive; while the *French* had many Squadrons in the *Spanish* Ports, and in the *West-Indies*. In the North, the War went on still; The King of *Sweden* passed the *Duna*, and fell on an Army of the *Saxons*, that lay on the other side, over
against

against *Riga*, and routed them so entirely, that he was Master of their Camp and Artillery. From thence he marched into *Courland*, where no Resistance was made: *Mittaw*, the chief Town, submitted to him: The King of *Poland* drew his Army into *Lithuania*, which was much divided between the *Saphias* and *Oginskis*: So that all those parts were breaking into much confusion: The Court of *Vienna* pretended, they had made a great discovery of a Conspiracy in *Hungary*: It is certain, the *Germans* play'd the Masters very severely in that Kingdom, so that all places were full of complaints, and the Emperor was so besieged, by the Authors of those Oppressions, and the Proceedings were so summary upon very slight grounds, that it was not to be wondered, if the *Hungarians* were disposed to shake off the yoke, when a proper opportunity should offer itself: and it is not to be doubted, but the *French* had Agents among them, by the way of *Poland* as well as of *Turky*, that so the Emperor might have work enough at home.

This was the state of the Affairs of *Europe* this Summer. Several Negotiations were secretly carried on; The Elector of *Cologne* was entirely gained to the *French* Interest, but was resolved not to declare himself, till his Brother thought fit likewise to do it: All the progress that the *French* made with the two Brothers this Summer, was, that they declared for a Neutrality, and against a War with *France*: The Dukes of *Wolfembuttel* and *Saxe Gotha*, were also engaged in the same design; They made great Levies of Troops, beyond what they themselves could pay, for which it was visible that they were supplied from *France*: Here was a formidable appearance of great distractions in the Empire. An Alliance was also projected with the King of *Portugal*: His Ministers were in the *French* Interests, but he himself inclined to the *Austrian* Family: He for some time affected Retirement, and avoided the giving Audience to Foreign Ministers: He saw no good prospect from *England*; So being pressed to an Alliance with *France*, his Ministers got leave from him to propose one, on terms of such advantage to him, that as it was not expected they could be granted; so it was hoped this would run into a long Negotiation: But the *French* were as liberal in making large promises, as they were perfidious in not observing them: So the King of *France* agreed to all that was proposed, and signed a Treaty pursuant to it, and published it to the World; Yet the King of *Portugal* denied that he had consented to any such Project: and he was so hardly brought to sign the Treaty, that when it was brought to

1701 him, he threw it down, and kickt it about the Room, as our Envoy wrote over: In conclusion however, he was prevailed on to sign it: But it was generally thought, that when he should see a good Fleet come from the Allies, he would observe this Treaty with the *French*, as they have done their Treaties with all the rest of the World. *Spain* grew uneasy and discontented under a *French* Management: The *Grande*s were little considered, and they saw great designs, for the better conduct of the Revenues of the Crown, likely to take place every where, which were very unacceptable to them, who minded nothing so much as to keep up a vast Magnificence, at the King's Cost. They saw themselves much despised by their new Masters, as there was indeed great cause for it; They had too much pride to bear this well, and too little courage to think how they should shake it off.

A Parli-
ment in
Scotland.

But now to return to our Affairs at home, the Duke of *Queensbury* was sent down to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*; where people were in so bad a humour, that much practice was necessary to bring them into any temper. They passed many angry Votes upon the business of *Darien*, but in conclusion the Session ended well. The Army was reduced one half, and the Troops that were ordered to be broke, were sent to the *States*, who were now encreasing their Force: This Session was chiefly managed by the Duke of *Queensbury* and the Earl of *Argyle*, and in reward for it, the one had the Garter, and the other was made a Duke.

Affairs in
Ireland.

In *Ireland*, the Trustees went on to hear the Claims of the *Irish*, and in many cases, they gave judgment in their favour: But now it began to appear, that whereas it had been given out, that the Sale of the confiscated Estates would amount to a Million and a half, it was not like to rise to the third part of that Sum: In the mean while, the Trustees lived in great State there, and were Masters of all the Affairs of that Kingdom: But no propositions were yet made for the purchasing of those Estates: During the King's absence, the Nation was in a great ferment, which was increased by many Books that were wrote, to expose the late Management in the House of Commons, and the new Ministry, the Earl of *Rochester* in particular, who was thought the driver of all violent motions: The few Books that were published, on the other side, were so poorly writ, that it tempted one to think, they were writ by men who personated the being on their side, on design to expose them. The Earl of *Rochester* delayed his going to *Ireland* very

very long: He perceived that the King's heart was not with him, and was very uneasy at that: as on the other hand, the King complained much of his intractable temper and imperious manner, and by his intercourse with him, the King came to see that he was not the man he had taken him for; that he had no great nor clear notions of Affairs abroad, and that, instead of moderating the violence of his Party, he inflamed them; so that he often said, that the year, in which he directed the Councils, was one of the uneasiest of his whole Life. The Earl of *Rochester* finding the King's coldness towards him, expostulated with him upon it, and said, he could serve him no longer, since he saw he did not trust him. The King heard this with his usual flegm, and concluded upon it, that he should see him no more: But *Harley* made him a little more submissive and towardsly. After the King was gone beyond Sea, he also went into *Ireland*, there he used much art in obliging people of all sorts, Dissenters as well as Papists: yet such confidence was put in him by the High Church Party, that they bore every thing at his hands: It was not easy to behave himself towards the Trustees, so as not to give a general distaste to the Nation, for they were much hated, and openly charged with partiality, injustice, and corruption: That which gave the greatest disgust in his Administration there, was, his usage of the reduced Officers, who were upon half pay, a Fund being settled for that by Act of Parliament: They were ordered to live in *Ireland*, and to be ready for Service there: The Earl of *Rochester* called them before him, and required them to express under their hands their readiness to go and serve in the *West-Indies*; They did not comply with this: So he set them a day for their final Answer, and threaten'd, that they should have no more appointments, if they stood out beyond that time. This was represented to the King, as a great hardship put on them, and as done on design to leave *Ireland* destitute of the service, that might be done by so many gallant Officers, who were all known to be well affected to the present Government; So the King ordered a stop to be put to it.

I am now come to the last period of the Life of the unfortunate King *James*: He had led for above ten years, a very unactive life in *France*: After he had, in so poor a manner as was told, abandoned first *England* and then *Ireland*, he had enter'd into two Designs, for recovering the Crowns, which he may be said more truly to have thrown away than lost: The one was broke by the defeat of the *French* Fleet at Sea before *Cher-*

King
James's
Death.

1701 *Cherburg*, in the year 1692: The other seemed to be laid with more depth, as well as with more infamy, when an Army was brought to *Dunkirk*, and the design of the Assassination was thought sure, upon which it was reasonably hoped, that we must have fallen into such convulsions, that we should have been an easy prey to an Army ready to invade us. The reproach, that so black a contrivance cast upon him, brought him under so much contempt, that even the absolute Authority of the *French* Court could hardly prevail so far, as to have common respect paid him after that. He himself seemed to be the least concerned in all his misfortunes; and tho' his Queen could never give over meddling, yet he was the most easy, when he was least troubled with those airy Schemes, upon which she was still employing her thoughts. He went sometimes to the Monastery of *La Trappe*, where the poor Monks were much edified with his humble and pious deportment: Hunting was his chief diversion, and for the most part he led a harmless, innocent Life; being still very zealous about his Religion. In the opening of this year, he had been so near Death, that it was generally thought the decline of it would carry him off: He went to *Bourbon*, but had no benefit by the Waters there: In the beginning of *September*, he fell into such fits, that it was concluded he could not live many days: The King of *France* came to see him, and seemed to be much touched with the sight: He, with some difficulty, recommended his Queen and Son to his care and protection; The *French* King answered, he would reckon their Concerns as his own; and when he left him, he promised those of his Court, that he would, upon King *James's* Death, own the Prince of *Wales* as King of *England*, and that he would take care of them all. King *James* died on the 6th day of *September*. He was a Prince that seemed made for greater things, than will be found in the course of his Life, more particularly of his Reign: He was esteemed in the former parts of his Life, a Man of great Courage, as he was quite thro' it a man of great application to business: He had no vivacity of thought, invention or expression: But he had a good judgment, where his Religion or his Education gave him not a bias, which it did very often: He was bred with strange Notions of the Obedience due to Princes, and came to take up as strange ones, of the Submission due to Priests: He was naturally a man of truth, fidelity, and justice: But his Religion was so infused in him, and he was so managed in it by his Priests, that the Principles which Nature had laid in him, had little power

His Character.

power over him, when the concerns of his Church stood in the way: He was a gentle Master, and was very easy to all who came near him: yet he was not so apt to pardon, as one ought to be, that is the Vicegerent of that God, who is slow to anger, and ready to forgive: He had no personal Vices but of one sort: He was still wandring from one Amour to another, yet he had a real sense of Sin, and was ashamed of it: But Priests know how to engage Princes more entirely into their interests, by making them compound for their Sins, by a great zeal for Holy Church, as they call it. In a word, if it had not been for his Popery, he would have been, if not a great yet a good Prince. By what I once knew of him, and by what I saw him afterwards carried to; I grew more confirmed in the very bad opinion, which I was always apt to have, of the Intrigues of the Popish Clergy, and of the Confessors of Kings: He was undone by them, and was their Martyr, so that they ought to bear the chief load of all the errors of his inglorious Reign, and of its fatal Catastrophe. He had the Funeral which he himself had desired, private, and without any sort of Ceremony: As he was dying, he said nothing concerning the Legitimacy of his Son, on which some made severe remarks: Others thought that, having spoken so oft of it before, he might not reflect on the fitness of saying any thing concerning it, in his last extremity. He recommended to him Firmness in his Religion, and Justice in his Government, if ever he should come to reign. He said, that by his practice, he recommended Christian Forgiveness to him, for he heartily forgave both the Prince of *Orange* and the Emperor: It was believed, that the naming the Emperor was suggested to him by the *French*, to render the Emperor odious to all those of that Religion.

Upon his Death, it was debated in the *French* Council what was fit to be done, with relation to his pretended Son: The Ministry advised the King to be passive, to let him assume what Title he pleased, but that, for some time at least, the King should not declare himself: This might be some restraint on the King of *England*, whereas a present Declaration must precipitate a Rupture: But the *Dauphin* interposed with some heat, for the present owning him King: He thought the King was bound in honour to do it: He was of his Blood, and was driven away on the account of his Religion; So Orders were given to proclaim him at *St. Germans*. The Earl of *Manchester*, then the King's Ambassador at *Paris*, told me, that his own Court was going about it; But a difficulty, proposed by the

The pretended Prince of Wales owned King by the French Court.

1701 Earl of *Middletoun*, put a stop to it: He apprehended, that it would look very strange, and might provoke the Court of *France*, if among his Titles he should be called King of *France*; and it might disgust their Party in *England*, if it was omitted: So that piece of Ceremony was not performed: Soon after this, the King of *Spain* owned him, so did the Pope and the Duke of *Savoy*: And the King of *France* pressed all other Princes to do it, in whose Courts he had Ministers, and prevailed on the Pope, to press the Emperor and other Popish Princes to own him, tho' without effect. The King looked upon this, as an open violation of the Treaty of *Ryswick*, and he ordered the Earl of *Manchester* to leave that Court, without asking an Audience. The *French* pretended, that the bare owning of his Title, since they gave him no assistance to make good his Claim, was not a breach of the Treaty: But this could not pass on the World, since the owning his Right was a plain Declaration, that they would assist him in claiming it, whensoever the state of their affairs should allow of it.

With which
the *English*
Nation was
inflamed.

This gave a universal distaste to the whole *English* Nation: all people seemed possessed with a high indignation upon it, to see a Foreign Power, that was at Peace with us, pretend to declare who ought to be our King: Even those, who were perhaps secretly well pleased with it, were yet, as it were forced, for their own safety, to comply with the general sense of the rest in this matter: The City of *London* began, and all the Nation followed, in a set of Addresses, expressing their abhorrence of what the *French* King had done, in taking upon him to declare who should be their King, and renewing a Vow of Fidelity to the King, and to his Successors, according to the Act of Settlement. A great diversity of Style appeared in these Addresses, some avoided to name the *French* King, the Prince of *Wales*, or the Act of Settlement, and only reflected on the Transaction in *France*, in general and soft words: But others carried the matter farther, encouraging the King, to go on in his Alliances, promising him all faithful assistance in supporting them, and assuring him that, when he should think fit to call a new Parliament, they would choose such Members as should concur in enabling him to maintain his Alliances: This raised the Divisions of the Nation higher. All this Summer the King continued at *Loo*, in a very ill state of health: New methods gave some relief: But when he came to the *Hague*, on his way to *England*, he was for some days in so bad a Condition, that they

they were in great fear of his Life: He recovered, and came over in the beginning of *November*. 1701.

The first thing that fell under Debate, upon his return, was, whether the Parliament should be continued, or dissolved and a new one called; Some of the leading Men of the former Parliament had been secretly askt, how they thought they would proceed, if they should meet again: of these, while some answered doubtfully, others said positively, they would begin where they had left off, and would insist on their Impeachments. The new Ministry struggled hard against a Dissolution, and when they saw the King resolved on it, some of them left his Service. This convinced the Nation, that the King was not in a double game, which had been confidently given out before, and was too easily believed by many: The heats in Elections encreased with every new Summons. This was thought so critical a conjuncture, that both sides exerted their full strength. Most of the great Counties, and the chief Cities, chose Men that were zealous for the King and Government, but the rotten part of our Constitution, the small Burroughs, were in many places wrought on to choose bad men; upon the whole however, it appeared, that a clear Majority was in the King's Interests, yet the activity of the angry side was such, that they had a Majority in choosing the Speaker, and in determining controverted Elections; but in matters of Publick concern, things went on as the King desired, and as the Interest of the Nation required.

The King opened the Parliament with the best Speech that he, or perhaps any other Prince ever made to his People: He laid the state of our Affairs, both at home and abroad, before them in a most pathetic manner; He laid it upon them to consider the dangers they were in, and not to encrease these, by new divisions among themselves; He expressed a readiness to forgive all Offences against himself, and wished they would as readily forgive one another; so that no other division might remain, but that of *English* and *French*, Protestant and Papist; He had enter'd into some Alliances, pursuant to the Addresses of the last Parliament, and was negotiating some others, all which should be laid before them, and this was accordingly done. Both Houses began with Addresses, in which they did very fully renounce the Prince of *Wales*; The House of Lords ordered that all such as were willing to do it, should sign the Address, that was enter'd into their Books. This was without a Precedent, and yet it was promoted by those, who, as was thought,

A new Parliament called.

The King's Speech.

1701

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All were to  
a War.

thought, hoped by so unusual a practice, to prevent any further proceedings on that head. No exception was made to any Article of the Alliances: One addition was only proposed, that no Peace should be made, till a full reparation was offered to the King, for the Indignity done him, by the *French* King's declaring the pretended Prince of *Wales* King of *England*; which was soon after proposed to the Allies, and was agreed to by them all. By the Alliances, the King was obliged to furnish forty thousand Men to serve in the Armies, besides what he was to do by Sea: All was consented to in every particular; angry men shewed much rancour against the King, and tried to cross every thing that was proposed, both as to the Quota's of the Troops we were to furnish, and as to the strength of our Fleet. But the Publick Interest was now so visible, and the concurrent sense of the Nation ran so vehemently for a War, that even those who were most averse to it, found it convenient to put on the appearance of zeal for it. The City of *London* was now more united, than it had been at any time during this Reign, for the two Companies that traded to the *East-Indies*, saw that their Common Interest required they should come to an agreement; and tho' men of ill designs did all they could to obstruct it, yet in conclusion it was happily effected. This made the body of the City, which was formerly much divided between the two Companies, fall now into the same measures. But those, who intended to defeat all this good beginning of the Session, and to raise a new flame, set on Debates that must have embroil'd all again, if they had succeeded in their designs: They began with Complaints of some Petitions and Addresses, that had reflected on the Proceedings of the last House of Commons; but it was carried against them, that it was the Right of the Subjects to petition as they thought themselves aggrieved: yet they were not discouraged by this, but went on to complain, that the Lords had denied Justice in the matter of the Impeachments. This bore a long and hot Debate in a very full House: But it was carried, tho' by a small Majority, that Justice had not been denied them: After this, the Party gave over any farther struggling, and things were carried on with more unanimity.

The pre-  
tended  
Prince of  
*Wales* at-  
tainted.

The House of Commons began a Bill of Attainder of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, this could not be opposed, much less stopt; yet many shewed a coldness in it, and were absent on the days in which it was ordered to be read: It was sent up to the Lords, and it past in that House, with an addition of an  
Attainder



Attainder of the Queen, who acted as Queen Regent for him. 1701  
This was much opposed; for no Evidence could be brought to prove that Allegation, yet the thing was so notorious, that it past, and was sent down again to the Commons. It was expected to there as not regular, since but one Precedent in King Henry the Eighth's time was brought for it, and in that the Commons had added some names, by a clause in a Bill of Attainder, sent down to them by the Lords; yet as this was a single Precedent, so it seemed to be a hard one: Attainders by Bill were the greatest rigours of the Law, so stretches in them ought to be avoided: It was therefore thought more proper to attain her by a Bill apart, than by a Clause in another Bill: To this the Lords agreed, so the Bill against the pretended Prince of *Wales* past. The Lords also past a new Bill, attainting the Queen, but that was let sleep in the House of Commons.

The matter, that occasioned the longest and warmest Debates in both Houses, was an Act for abjuring the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and for swearing to the King, by the Title of *Rightful* and *Lawful* King, and to his Heirs, according to the Act of Settlement: This was begun in the House of Lords, and the first design was, that it should be voluntary, it being only to be tender'd to all persons, and their subscription or refusal to be recorded, without any other penalty. It was vehemently opposed by all the Tory Party, at the head of whom the Earl of *Nottingham* set himself. They who argued against it, said, that this Government was first settled with another Oath, which was like an Original Contract, and it was unjust and unreasonable to offer a new one: There was no need of new Oaths, as there was no new strength got by them: Oaths, relating to mens opinions, had been always looked on as severe Impositions: A voluntary Oath seemed to be by its nature unlawful; for we cannot swear lawfully, unless we are required to do it. To all this it was answered, that in ancient time, the Oath of Allegiance was short and simple, because then it was not thought that Princes had any right, other than what was conveyed to them by Law: But of late, and indeed very lately, new Opinions had been started of a Divine Right, with which former times were not acquainted: So it was necessary to know, who among us adhered to these opinions: The present Government was begun upon a comprehensive foot, it being hoped, that all Parties might have been brought to concur in supporting it: But the effects had not answered expectation: Distinctions had been made between a King *de jure* and a King *de facto*; by

An Act for  
abjuring  
him.



1701 these men plainly declared, with whom they believed the right was lodged: This opinion must, whensoever that Right comes to be claimed, oblige those who hold it, to adhere to such Claimers: It seemed therefore in some sort necessary, that the Government should know, on whom it might depend: The discrimination made, by such a Test, was to be without compulsion or penalty: no hardship was put on any person by it: Those who refused to give this security, would see what just cause of jealousy they gave: and would thereby be obliged, to behave themselves decently and with due caution: When a Government tender'd an Oath, tho' under no penalty, that was a sufficient authority for all to take it, who were satisfied with the substance of it: While therefore, there was so great a power beyond Sea, that did so openly espouse this young man's pretensions, and while there was just grounds to suspect, that many at home favoured him, it seemed very reasonable to offer a method, by which it should appear, who obeyed the present Government from a Principle, believing it *Lawful*, and who submitted only to it, as to a prosperous Usurpation. About twenty Lords persisted in their opposition to this Bill, those who were for it being thrice that number: But, in the House of Commons, when it appeared how the Lords were inclined, they resolved to bring in a Bill, that should oblige all persons to take this Abjuration. It was drawn by Sir *Charles Hedges*; All Employments in Church or State were to be subject to it; Some things were added to the Abjuration, such as an obligation to maintain the Government in King, Lords, and Commons, and to maintain the Church of *England*, together with the Toleration for Dissenters: *Finch* offered an alteration to the Clause, abjuring the Prince of *Wales*, so that it imported only an obligation not to assist him; but tho' he pressed this with unusual vehemence, in a Debate that he resumed seventeen times in one Session, against all rules, he had few to second him in it: The Debate, whether the Oath should be imposed or left free, held longer: it was carried, but by one Vote, to impose it: The Party chose that, rather than to have it left free: for they reckoned the taking an Oath that was imposed, was a part of their submission to the Usurpation; but the taking any Oath, that strengthened the Government, of their own accord, did not suit with their other Principles: But to help the matter with a shew of zeal, they made the Clause that imposed it very extensive, so that it comprehended all Clergymen, Fellows of Colleges, Schoolmasters, and private Tutors: The  
Clause



Clause of maintaining the Government in King, Lords, and Commons, was rejected with great indignation; since the Government was only in the King: The Lords and Commons being indeed a part of the Constitution, and of the Legislative Body, but not of the Government. This was a bare-faced Republican Notion, and was wont to be condemned as such, by the same persons who now pressed it. It was farther said, that if it appeared that our Constitution was in danger, it might be reasonable to secure it by an Act and an Oath apart: but since the single point, that required this Abjuration, was the *French* King's declaring, that the pretended Prince of *Wales* was our King, it was not fit to join matters foreign to that in this Oath: Upon the same reason, the Clause in favour of the Church, and of the Toleration were also laid aside. The design of this Act was to discover to all, both at home and abroad, how unanimously the Nation concurred in abjuring the pretended Prince of *Wales*: But here was a clause, to one part of which (the maintaining the Church) the Dissenters could not swear; and even the more moderate men of the Church, who did well approve of the Toleration, yet might think it too much to swear to maintain it; since it was reasonable, to oblige the Dissenters to use their Liberty modestly, by keeping them under the apprehension of having it taken away, if it was abused by them. One addition was offered, and received without any Debate about it, or the shadow of any opposition: It was declared to be High Treason, to endeavour to prevent or defeat the Princess's Right of Succession: The Tories pretended great zeal for her, and gave it out that there was a design to set her aside, and to have the House of *Hanover* to succeed the King immediately; tho' it could never be made appear, that any motion of this kind had ever been, either made or debated, even in private discourse, by any of the whole Whig Party. Great endeavours were used, and not altogether without effect, to infuse this jealousy into the Princess, and into all about her, not without insinuations, that the King himself was inclined to it. When this Clause was offered, its being without a Precedent, gave handle enough to oppose it, yet there was not one Word said in opposition to it, in either House, all agreeing heartily in it. This ought to have put an end to the suspicion, but surmises of that kind, when raised on design, are not soon parted with.

Soon after the Session was opened, the Earl of *Rochester* wrote to the King, and asked leave to come over: it was soon granted, but when he signified this to the Council of *Ireland*, the whole

1701

1702

The King's  
black and  
fall from his  
horse.

Affairs in  
*Ireland*.



1701 whole Board joined in a request to him, that he would lay before the King the great Grievances, under which the whole Kingdom lay, by the proceedings of the Trustees, who stretched the Authority, that the Law gave them, in many instances, to the oppressing of the Nation: He seemed uneasy at the motion, but promised to lay it before the King, which he did at his coming over. Soon after that, Petitions were sent round all the Counties of *Ireland*, and signed by many, representing both the hardships of the Act, and the severe methods the Trustees took in executing it: All this was believed, to be set on secretly by the Court, in hope that some temper might be found in that matter, so that the King's Grants might again take place in whole or in part. The House of Commons was moved, to proceed severely against the Promoters of these Petitions; yet the complaining of Grievances, had been so often asserted to be a Right of the Subject, that this was let fall: But since no person appeared, to justify the Facts set forth and suggested in those Petitions, they were voted false and scandalous, and this stopt a further progress in that method. The heat with which that Act had been carried was now much qualified, and the Trustees having judged for so many Claims in favour of *Irish* Papists, shewing too manifest a partiality for them, and having now sat two years, in which they had consumed all the Rents that arose out of the confiscated Estates, the House was applied to for their interposition, by many Petitions relating to that matter. This was the more necessary, because, as was formerly told, when that Act was passing, they had past a Vote against receiving any Petition, relating to it: The thing had now lost much of the credit and value that was set upon it at first: tho' the same Party still opposed the receiving any Petitions, yet the current was now so strong the other way, that they were all received, and in a great many cases justice was done: yet with a manifest partiality, in favour of Papists; it being a maxim, among all who favoured King *James's* Interests, to serve Papists, especially those whose Estates were confiscated for adhering to him. One motion was carried, not without difficulty, in favour of those, who had purchased under the Grantees, and had made great improvements, that they should be admitted to purchase, with an abatement of two years value of the Estates; The Earl of *Atblone*, whose case was singular, as was formerly set out, having sold his Grant to men, who had reason to think they had purchased under a secure Title, a special Clause was offered in their favour; but the Party had studied so far to inflame the Nation against the *Dutch*, that in this the Votes were



were equal, and the Speaker's Vote being to turn the matter, he gave it against the Purchasers. Many Bills were brought in relating to *Irish* Forfeitures, which took up the greatest part of the Session. 1701

The Commons, after a long delay, sent up the Bill, abjuring the Prince of *Wales*. In the House of Lords, the Tories opposed it all they possibly could: It was a new Bill, so the Debate was entirely open: They first moved for a Clause, excusing the Peers from it: If this had been received, the Bill would have been certainly lost, for the Commons would never have yielded to it: When this was rejected, they tried to have brought it back to be Voluntary: It was a strange piece of inconsistency in men, to move this, who had argued even against the lawfulness of a voluntary Oath; but it was visible they intended by it only to lose or at least to delay the Bill: When this was over-ruled by the House, not without a mixture of indignation in some against the movers; They next offered all those Clauses, that had been rejected in the House of Commons, with some other very strange additions, by which they discovered both great weakness, and an inveterate rancour against the Government; but all the opposition ended in a Protestation of nineteen or twenty Peers against the Bill.

And now I am arrived at the fatal period of this Reign. The King seemed all this Winter in a very fair way of recovery; He had made the Royal Apartments in *Hampton-Court* very noble, and he was so much pleased with the Place, that he went thither once a week, and rode often about the Park: In the end of *February*, the Horse he rode on stumbled, and he, being then very feeble, fell off and broke his Collar-bone: He seemed to have no other hurt by it, and his strength was then so much impaired, that it was not thought necessary to let him Blood, no Symptom appearing that required it: The Bone was well set, and it was thought there was no danger: so he was brought to *Kensington* that night: He himself had apprehended all this Winter, that he was sinking; he said to the Earl of *Portland*, both before and after this accident, that he was a dead man: It was not in his Legs, nor now in his Collar-Bone, that he felt himself ill, but all was decayed within, so that he believed he should not be able to go thro' the fatigue of another Campaign. During his illness, he sent a Message to the Two Houses, recommending the Union of both Kingdoms to them. The occasion of this was, a Motion that the Earl of *Nottingham* had made, in the House of Lords, when the Act of Abjuration

1702

The King's illness and fall from his Horse.



1702 was agreed to: He said, tho' he had differed from the Majority of the House, in many particulars relating to it, yet he was such a friend to the design of the Act, that in order to the securing a Protestant Succession, he thought an Union of the whole Island was very necessary; and that therefore, they should consider how both Kingdoms might be united; but in order to this, and previous to it, he moved, that an Address should be made to the King, that he would be pleased to dissolve the Parliament now sitting in *Scotland*, and to call a new one: Since the present Parliament was at first a Convention, and then turned to a Parliament, and was continued ever since, so that the Legality of it might be called in question: and it was necessary, that so important a thing, as the Union of both Kingdoms, should be treated in a Parliament, against the Constitution of which no exception could lie. The Motion was warmly opposed; for that Nation was then in such a ferment, that the calling a new Parliament would have been probably attended with bad consequences: So that Project was let fall, and no progress was made upon the King's Message. On the third of *March*, the King had a short fit of an Ague, which he regarded so little, that he said nothing of it: It returned on him next day: I happened to be then near him, and observed such a visible alteration, as gave me a very ill opinion of his condition: After that, he kept his Chamber till *Friday*; every day it was given out that his Fits abated: On *Friday*, things had so melancholy a face, that his being dangerously ill was no longer concealed: There was now such a difficulty of breathing, and his pulse was so sunk, that the alarm was given out every where: He had sent the Earl of *Albemarle* over to *Holland*, to put things in a readiness for an early Campaign. He came back on the 7th of *March* in the morning, with so good an account of every thing, that, if matters of that kind could have wrought on the King, it must have revived him: but the coldness with which he received it, shewed how little hopes were left: Soon after, he said *Je tire vers ma fin*, (*I draw towards my end*.) The Act of Abjuration, and the Money Bill, were now prepared for the Royal Assent: The Council ordered all things to be in a readiness, for the passing of those Bills by a special Commission, which according to form must be signed by the King, in the presence of the Lord Keeper and the Clerks of the Parliament: They came to the King, when his Fit began, and stayed some hours before they were admitted: Some in the House of Commons moved for an Adjournment, tho' the Lords had sent to them not to adjourn for some time: By this means, they hoped the Bill



Bill of Abjuration should be lost; But it was contrary to all rules to adjourn, when such a Message was sent them by the Lords, so they waited till the King had signed the Commission and the Bills, and thus those Acts pass'd in the last day of the King's Life.

The King's strength and pulse was still sinking, as the difficulty of breathing encreased, so that no hope was left. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* and I went to him on *Saturday* morning, and did not stir from him till he died. The Archbishop prayed on *Saturday* some time with him, but he was then so weak, that he could scarce speak, but gave him his hand, as a sign that he firmly believed the Truth of the Christian Religion, and said, he intended to receive the Sacrament: His reason and all his senses were entire to the last minute: About five in the morning he desired the Sacrament, and went thro' the Office with great appearance of seriousness, but could not express himself: When this was done, he called for the Earl of *Albemarle*, and gave him a charge to take care of his Papers. He thanked Mr. *Auverquerque* for his long and faithful services. He took leave of the Duke of *Ormond*, and called for the Earl of *Portland*, but before he came, his Voice quite failed, so he took him by the hand, and carried it to his heart with great tenderness. He was often looking up to Heaven, in many short Ejaculations; between seven and eight a Clock the rattle began, the Commendatory Prayer was said for him, and as it ended, he died, in the fifty second year of his Age, having reigned thirteen years and a few days. When his Body was opened, it appeared that, notwithstanding the swelling of his Legs, he had no Dropsy: His Head and Heart was sound: There was scarce any Blood in his Body: His Lungs stuck to his Side, and by the fall from his Horse, a part of them was torn from it, which occasioned an Inflammation, that was believed to be the immediate cause of his Death, which probably might have been prevented for some time, if he had been then let Blood. His Death would have been a great stroke at any time, but in our circumstances, as they stood at that time, it was a dreadful one. The Earl of *Portland* told me, that when he was once encouraging him, from the good state his affairs were in, both at home and abroad, to take more heart; the King answered him, that he knew Death was that, which he had looked at on all occasions without any terror, sometimes he would have been glad to have been delivered out of all his troubles, but he confessed now he saw another Scene, and could wish to live a little longer. He died with a clear and full presence of mind, and in

And Death.



1702 a wonderful tranquillity: Those who knew it was his Rule all his Life long, to hide the impressions that Religion made on him, as much as possible, did not wonder at his silence in his last minutes, but they lamented it much: They knew what a handle it would give to censure and obloquy.

His Character.

Thus lived and died *William* the Third, King of *Great-Britain*, and Prince of *Orange*; He had a thin and weak Body, was brown haired, and of a clear and delicate Constitution: He had a *Roman* Eagle Nose, bright and sparkling Eyes, a large front, and a Countenance composed to gravity and authority: All his Senses were critical and exquisite. He was always asthmatical, and the dregs of the Small Pox falling on his Lungs, he had a constant deep Cough. His Behaviour was solemn and serious, seldom cheerful, and but with a few: He spoke little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness, which was his Character at all times, except in a day of Battle: for then he was all fire, tho' without passion: He was then every where, and looked to every thing. He had no great advantage from his Education; *De Wit's* Discourses were of great use to him, and he, being apprehensive of the observation of those, who were looking narrowly into every thing he said or did, had brought himself under a habitual caution, that he could never shake off, tho' in another scene it proved as hurtful, as it was then necessary to his affairs: He spoke *Dutch*, *French*, *English* and *German* equally well; and he understood the *Latin*, *Spanish* and *Italian*, so that he was well fitted to command Armies composed of several Nations. He had a Memory that amazed all about him, for it never failed him: He was an exact observer of men and things: His strength lay rather in a true discerning and a sound judgment, than in imagination or invention: His Designs were always great and good: But it was thought he trusted too much to that, and that he did not descend enough to the humours of his people, to make himself and his notions more acceptable to them: This, in a Government that has so much of freedom in it as ours, was more necessary than he was inclined to believe: His reservedness grew on him, so that it disgusted most of those who served him: but he had observed the errors of too much talking, more than those of too cold a silence. He did not like contradiction, nor to have his actions censured: but he loved to imploy and favour those, who had the arts of complacence, yet he did not love Flatterers: His genius lay chiefly to War, in which his courage was more admired than his conduct: Great errors were often committed by him, but his heroic



roical courage set things right, as it inflamed those who were about him: He was too lavish of money on some occasions, both in his Buildings and to his Favourites, but too sparing in rewarding Services, or in encouraging those who brought Intelligence: He was apt to take ill impressions of people, and these stuck long with him; but he never carried them to indecent revenges: He gave too much way to his own humour, almost in every thing, not excepting that which related to his own health: He knew all Foreign Affairs well, and understood the State of every Court in *Europe* very particularly: He instructed his own Ministers himself, but he did not apply enough to Affairs at home: He tried how he could govern us, by ballancing the two Parties one against another, but he came at last to be persuaded, that the Tories were irreconcilable to him, and he was resolved to try and trust them no more. He believed the Truth of the Christian Religion very firmly, and he expressed a horror at Atheism and Blasphemy: and tho' there was much of both in his Court, yet it was always denied to him, and kept out of sight. He was most exemplarily decent and devout, in the publick exercises of the Worship of God, only on week days he came too seldom to them: He was an attentive hearer of Sermons, and was constant in his private Prayers, and in reading the Scriptures: And when he spoke of religious matters, which he did not often, it was with a becoming gravity: He was much possessed with the belief of absolute Decrees: He said to me, he adhered to these, because he did not see how the Belief of Providence could be maintained upon any other Supposition: His indifference as to the Forms of Church-Government, and his being zealous for Toleration, together with his cold Behaviour towards the Clergy, gave them generally very ill impressions of him: In his deportment towards all about him, He seemed to make little distinction between the good and the bad, and those who served well, or those who served him ill: He loved the *Dutch*, and was much beloved among them: but the ill returns he met from the *English* Nation, their jealousies of him, and their perverseness towards him, had too much soured his Mind, and had in a great measure alienated him from them, which he did not take care enough to conceal, tho' he saw the ill effects this had upon his business. He grew, in his last years, too remiss and careless as to all Affairs; till the Treacheries of *France* awakened him, and the dreadful conjunction of the Monarchies gave so loud an Alarm to all *Europe*. For a watching over that Court, and a bestirring himself against their practices, was the prevailing passion of his whole Life:



1702 Few men had the art of concealing and governing Passion more than he had; yet few men had stronger Passions, which were seldom felt but by inferior Servants, to whom he usually made such recompences, for any sudden or indecent vents he might give his anger, that they were glad at every time, that it broke upon them: He was too easy to the faults of those about him, when they did not lie in his own way, or cross any of his designs: and he was so apt to think, that his Ministers might grow insolent, if they should find that they had much credit with him, that he seemed to have made it a Maxim, to let them often feel, how little power they had, even in small matters: His Favourites had a more intire power, but he accustomed them only to inform him of things, but to be sparing in offering Advice, except when it was asked: It was not easy to account for the reasons of the favour that he shewed, in the highest instances, to two persons beyond all others, the Earls of *Portland* and *Albemarle*; they being in all respects men, not only of different, but of opposite Characters: Secrecy and Fidelity were the only qualities, in which it could be said, that they did in any sort agree. I have now run thro' the chief branches of his Character; I had occasion to know him well, having observed him very carefully in a course of Sixteen years: I had a large measure of his favour, and a free access to him all the while, tho' not at all times to the same degree: The freedom, that I used with him, was not always acceptable: but he saw that I served him faithfully, so, after some intervals of coldness, he always returned to a good measure of confidence in me: I was, in many great instances, much obliged by him; but that was not my chief bias to him: I considered him, as a Person raised up by God to resist the Power of *France*, and the progress of Tyranny and Persecution: The Series of the five Princes of *Orange*, that was now ended in him, was the noblest Succession of Heroes that we find in any History: And the thirty years, from the year 1672 to his Death, in which he acted so great a part, carry in them so many amazing steps of a glorious and distinguishing Providence, that in the words of *David*, he may be called, *The man of God's right hand, whom he made strong for himself*: After all the abatements, that may be allowed for his Errors and Faults, he ought still to be reckoned among the greatest Princes that our History, or indeed that any other, can afford. He died in a critical time for his own Glory; since he had formed a great Alliance, and had projected the whole Scheme of the War; so that if it succeeds, a great part of the Honour of it will be ascribed to him: and if



if otherwise, it will be said He was the Soul of the Alliance, 1702 that did both animate and knit it together, and that it was natural for that Body to die and fall afunder, when he who gave it life, was withdrawn. Upon his Death, some moved for a magnificent Funeral; but it seemed not decent to run into unnecessary Expence, when we were entring on a War, that must be maintained at a vast charge: so a private Funeral was resolved on. But for the Honour of his Memory, a noble Monument and an Equestrian Statue were ordered. Some years must shew whether these things were really intended, or if they were only spoke of to excuse the Privacy of his Funeral, which was scarce decent, so far was it from being Magnificent.

HISTORY

OF

My Own Times



Of the Life and

Y one Death of King William perished by the Act 1702 that had settled the Succession of the Crown, devolved on Anne, the youngest daughter of King James, by his first wife; She was then entered on the Thirtieth year of her Age. Upon the King's Death, the Privy Council came in a body, to wait on the new Queen. She received them with a well considered Speech: She expressed great regard to the Memory of the late King, in whose reign she intended to go, both Church and State, in opposition to the growing

THE



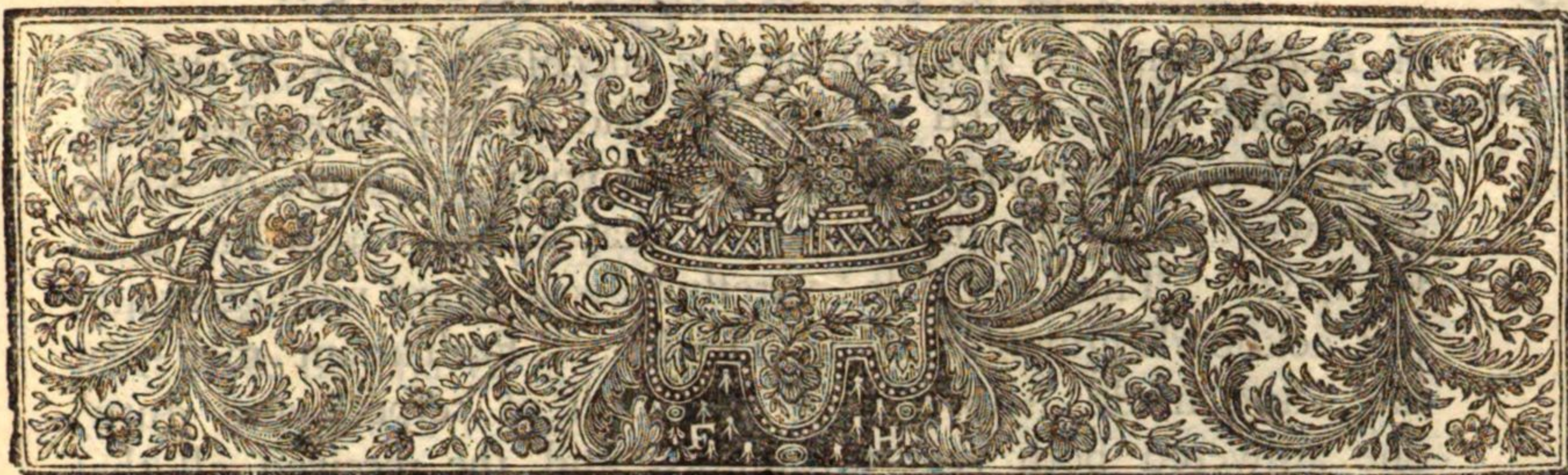
# of King WILLIAM III.

if otherwise it will be said He was the Soul of the Alliance that did both animate and knit it together; and that it was natural for that Body to die and fall asunder; when he who gave it life was withdrawn. Upon his Death, some moved for a magnificent Funeral; but it seemed not decent to run into unnecessary Expence, when we were entering on a War, that must be maintained at a vast charge: so a private Funeral was resolved on. But for the Honour of his Memory, a noble Monument and an Equestrian Statue were ordered. Some years must show whether these things were really intended, or if they were only spoke of to excite the Privacy of his Funeral, which was scarce decent, so far was it from being Magnificent.



THE





THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
My Own Times.

BOOK VII.

*Of the Life and Reign of Queen ANNE.*



Y the Death of King *William*, pursuant to the Act 1702 that had settled the Succession of the Crown, it devolved on *Anne*, the youngest Daughter of *Queen Anne* King *James*, by his first Marriage; She was succeeds.  
then entred on the Thirty eighth year of her Age.  
Upon the King's Death, the Privy Council came in a body, to wait on the new Queen: She received them with a well considered Speech: She expressed great respect to the Memory of the late King, in whose steps she intended to go, for preserving both Church and State, in opposition to the growing Power of  
Her First Speech.



1702 of *France*, and for maintaining the Succession in the Protestant Line: She pronounced this, as she did all her other Speeches, with great weight and authority, and with a softness of Voice and sweetness in the pronunciation, that added much life to all she spoke. These her first Expressions were heard with great and just acknowledgments: Both Houses of Parliament met that day, and made Addresses to her, full of respect and duty: She answered both very favourably, and she received all that came to her in so gracious a manner, that they went from her highly satisfied with her goodness, and her obliging deportment; for she hearkened with attention to every thing that was said to her. Two days after, she went to the Parliament, which, to the great happiness of the Nation, and to the advantage of her Government, was now continued to sit, notwithstanding the King's Demise, by the Act, that was made five years before, upon the discovery of the Assassination Plot. In her Speech she repeated, but more copiously, what she had said to the Council, upon her first Accession to the Throne: There were two passages in this Speech, that were thought not so well considered: She assured them, her Heart was *entirely English*: This was looked on, as a reflection on the late King: she also added, that they might *depend on her word*: Both these Expressions had been in her Father's first Speech, how little soever they were afterwards minded by him. The City of *London*, and all the Counties, Cities, and even the subaltern Bodies of Cities, came up with Addresses: In these, a very great diversity of Style was observed, some mentioned the late King in terms full of respect and gratitude; others named him very coldly: some took no notice of him, nor of his death; and simply congratulated her coming to the Crown: and some insinuated reflections on his Memory, as if the Queen had been ill used by him. The Queen received all civilly, to most she said nothing, to others she expressed herself in general words, and some things were given out in her Name, which she disowned.

She pursues  
the Alliance  
and the War.

Within a week after her coming to the Crown, she sent the Earl of *Marlborough* to *Holland*, to give the *States* full assurances of her maintaining the Alliances, that had been concluded by the late King, and of doing every thing that the common concerns of *Europe* required: She gave notice also of her coming to the Crown to all the Princes and States of *Europe*, except *France* and *Spain*. The Earl of *Marlborough* stay'd some days in *Holland*, to very good purpose: The King's Death had struck them all with such a damp, that they needed the encouragement of such a Message, as he brought them:

When

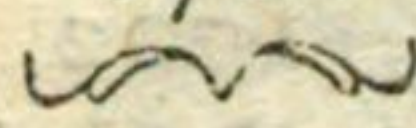


When they had the first news of the King's Death, they assembled together immediately, they looked on one another as men amazed: They embraced one another, and promised they would stick together, and adhere to the interests of their Countrey: They sat up most of the night, and sent out all the Orders that were necessary, upon so extraordinary an emergency. They were now much revived by the Earl of *Marlborough's* presence, and by the temper that both Houses of Parliament were in, with relation to the Alliances, and the War with *France*: and they entered into such Confidence with the Earl of *Marlborough*, that he came back as well satisfied with them, as they were with him. The Queen in her first Speech, had asked of the Commons the continuance of that Revenue, which supported the Civil List, and it was granted to her for Life, very unanimously, tho' many seemed to apprehend, that so great a Revenue might be applied to uses, not so profitable to the Publick, in a Reign that was like to be frugal, and probably would not be subject to great accidents. When the Queen came to pass the Act, and to thank the Parliament for it; she said, she intended to apply one hundred thousand pounds of it, to the publick occasions of the present year: This was received with great applause, and particular notice was taken of it, in all the Addresses that came up afterwards.

At the same time, the Queen passed a Bill for receiving and examining the Publick Accounts; and in her Speech, she expressed a particular approbation of that Bill: a Commission to the same effect had been kept up, for six or seven years, during the former Reign, but it had been let fall for some years; since the Commissioners had never been able to make any discovery whatsoever, and so had put the Publick to a considerable charge, without reaping any sort of fruit from it. Whether this flowed from the weakness or corruption of the Commissioners, or from the integrity or cunning of those, who dealt in the Publick Money, cannot be determined. The Party that had opposed the late King, had made this the chief subject of their Complaints all the Nation over, that the Publick was robbed, and that private men lived high, and yet raised large Estates out of the Publick Treasure: This had a great effect over *England*; for all people naturally hearken to Complaints of this kind, and very easily believe them: It was also said, to excuse the fruitlessness of the former Commissions, that no discoveries could be made, under a Ministry, that would surely favour their under-workmen, tho' they were known to be Guilty. One visible cause of mens raising great Estates, who were concerned

A Bill for  
the Publick  
Accounts.



1702  cerned in the Administration, was this, that for some years the Parliament laid the Taxes upon very remote Funds, so that, besides the distance of the term of Payment, for which Interest was allowed, the danger the Government itself seemed to be often in (upon the continuance of which the continuance and assignment of these Funds was grounded) made that some Tallies were sold at a great discount, even of the one half, to those who would employ their Money that way, by which great advantages were made. The gain that was made, by robbing the Coin, in which many Goldsmiths were believed to be deeply concerned, contributed not a little to the raising those vast Estates, to which some had grown, as suddenly as unaccountably. All these complaints were easily raised, and long kept up, on design to cast the heavier load on the former Ministry: This made that Ministry, who were sensible of the mischief this clamour did them, and of their own innocence, promote the Bill with much zeal, and put the strongest Clauses in it, that could be contrived to make it effectual. The Commissioners named in the Bill, were the hottest men in the House, who had raised as well as kept up the clamour, with the greatest earnestness. One Clause put in the Act, was not very acceptable to the Commissioners; for they were rendered incapable of all Employments, during the Commission: The Act carried a Retrospect quite back to the Revolution: It was given out, that great discoveries would be made by them, and the art and industry with which this was spread over *England*, had a great effect in the Elections to the succeeding Parliament. The Coronation was on the 23<sup>d</sup> of *April*, on St. *George's* day; it was performed with the usual Magnificence; The Archbishop of *York* preached a good and wise Sermon on the occasion: The Queen, immediately after that, gave Orders for naming the Electress of *Brunswick* in the Collect for the Royal Family, as the next Heir of the Crown; and she formed a Ministry.

A Ministry  
formed.

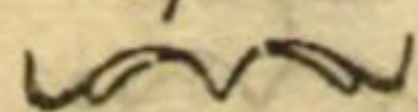
The coldness had continued between the King and her, to such a degree, that tho' there was a reconciliation after the Queen's Death, yet it went not much farther, than what civility and decency required: She was not made acquainted with publick Affairs; She was not encouraged to recommend any to Posts of trust and advantage: Nor had the Ministry Orders to inform her how matters went, nor to oblige those about her: Only pains had been taken to please the Earl of *Marlborough*, with which he was fully satisfied: nothing had contented him better, than the Command he had the former year of the Troops, which were sent to the assistance of the *States*. The Whigs had lived



lived at a great distance with the Queen, all the former Reign: The Tories had made much noise with their zeal for her, chiefly after the death of the Duke of *Glocester*, tho' they came seldom to her: Her Court was then very thin, she lived in a due abstraction from business; so that she neither gave jealousy, nor encouraged faction: Yet these things had made those impressions on her, that had at first ill effects, which were soon observed and remedied. The late King had sent a Message to the Earl of *Rochester*, some weeks before he died, letting him know, that he had put an end to his Commission of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, but that was not executed in form; so the Commission did still subsist in his person: He was upon that now declared Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Lord *Godolphin* was made Lord Treasurer: This was very uneasy to himself, for he resisted the motion long; but the Earl of *Marlborough* pressed it in so positive a manner, that he said he could not go beyond Sea to command our Armies, unless the Treasury was put in his hands; for then he was sure that remittances would be punctually made to him: He was declared Captain General, and the Prince had the Title of Generalissimo of all the Queen's Forces by Sea or Land. It was for some time given out, that the Prince intended to go beyond Sea, to command the Armies of the Alliance, but this report soon fell; and it was said, the *Dutch* were not willing to trust their Armies to the command of a Prince, who might think it below him to be limited by their Instructions, or to be bound to obey their Orders. The late King had dissolved the Commission, for executing the Office of the Lord Admiral, and had committed that great Trust to the Earl of *Pembroke*: The Secrets of that Board were so ill kept, and there was such a Faction in it, that the King resolved to put it in a single person: The Earl of *Pembroke* was not easily brought to submit to it: He saw it would draw a heavy load on him, and he was sensible that by his ignorance of Sea Affairs, he might commit errors: yet he took good Officers to his assistance: He resolved to command the Fleet in person, and he took great pains to put things in such Order, that it might be soon ready. A Land Army was designed to go with the Fleet, to the Command of which the Duke of *Ormond* had been named: But upon new measures, the Earl of *Pembroke* was first sent to, not to go to Sea in person, and soon after he was dismissed from his Post, with the offer of a great Pension, which he very generously refused, tho' the state of his Affairs and Family seemed to require it. The Prince was made Lord High Admiral, which he was to govern by a Council: the Legality of this was much questioned, for it was a new Court, which could not be authorized to act, but by an Act of Parliament: yet the respect paid the Queen made that no pub-



1702



lick question was made of this, so that objections to it never went beyond a secret murmur. The Earl of *Nottingham* and Sir *Charles Hedges* were made Secretaries of State: The Tories would trust none but the Earl of *Nottingham*, and he would serve with none but *Hedges*; The Maxim laid down at Court, was, to put the direction of Affairs in the hands of the Tories. The Earl of *Marlborough* assured me this was done, upon the promises they made to carry on the War, and to maintain the Alliances: if they kept these, then Affairs would go on smoothly in the House of Commons, but if they failed in this, the Queen would put her business in other hands, which at that time few could believe. The Marquis of *Normanby* was, to the admiration of all men, made Lord Privy Seal, and soon after Duke of *Buckingham*: The Earl of *Abington*, Viscount *Weymouth*, Lord *Dartmouth*, *Seimour*, *Musgrave*, *Greenvil*, *How*, *Lucan Gower*, *Harcourt*, with several others, who had, during the last Reign, expressed the most violent and unrelenting aversion to the whole Administration, were now brought to the Council Board, and put in good Posts.

Few refused  
the Abjura-  
tion.

Before the King's death, it was generally thought, that some in both Houses, and many more over the Nation, would refuse the Abjuration: They had opposed it so vehemently, that no less could be expected from them. Some went out of Town when the day came, in which the Houses resolved to try all their Members; but they soon came to other Resolutions, and with them almost the whole Party came and took the Oath, and professed great zeal for the Queen, and an entire satisfaction in her Title. Some suspected this was Treachery, on design to get the Government once into their hands, that so they might deliver it up, or at least that they might carry a Parliament so to their mind, that the Act might be repealed; and they might think, that then the Oath would fall with it. Distinctions were set about among them, which heightened these suspicions; for tho' in the Oath, they declared, that the pretended Prince of *Wales* had not any Right whatsoever to the Crown, yet in a Paper (which I saw) that went about among them, it was said that *Right* was a term of Law, which had only relation to *Legal Rights*, but not to a *Divine Right*, or to *Birth Right*: So since that Right was condemned by Law, they, by abjuring it, did not renounce the *Divine Right*, that he had by his Birth. They also supposed, that this Abjuration could only bind, during the present state of things, but not in case of another Revolution, or of a Conquest: This was too dark a thing, to be enquired after, or seen into, in the state matters were then in. The Queen continued most of the great Officers of the Household, all the Judges except two, and most of the Lords Lieutenants of Counties; nor did she make any change in the Fo-  
reign



reign Ministry. It was generally believed, that the Earl of *Rochester* and his Party were for severe methods, and for a more entire change, to be carried quite thro' all subaltern Employments; But that the Lord *Godolphin* and the Earl of *Marlborough* were for more moderate proceedings: So that tho' no Whigs were put into Employments, yet many were kept in the Posts they had been put into during the former Reign. Repeated assurances were sent to all the Allies, that the Queen would adhere firmly to them.

The Queen in her first Speech to her Parliament, had renewed the Motion, made by the late King, for the Union of both Kingdoms: Many of those, who seemed now to have the greatest share of her favour and confidence, opposed it with much heat, and not without indecent reflexions on the *Scotch* Nation; yet it was carried by a great Majority, that the Queen should be empowered to name Commissioners, for treating of an Union: It was so visibly the Interest of *England*, and of the present Government, to shut that back door against the practices of *France*, and the attempts of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, that the opposition made to this first step towards an Union, and the indecent scorn with which *Seimour* and others treated the *Scots*, were clear indications that the Posts they were brought into, had not changed their tempers: but that instead of healing matters, they intended to irritate them farther, by their reproachful Speeches. The Bill went thro' both Houses, notwithstanding the rough treatment it met with at first.

The Union of both Kingdoms proposed.

Upon the Earl of *Marlborough's* return from *Holland*, and in pursuance of the concert at the *Hague*, the Queen communicated to both Houses her design to proclaim War with *France*; They approving of it, War was proclaimed on the fourth day of *May*: The House of Commons made an Address to thank the Queen, for ordering the Princess *Sophia* to be prayed for: And as the Right, that recommended her, was in her own Blood; She was designed by her Christian Name, and not by her Title: It came to be known that this was opposed in Council by the Marquis of *Normanby*, but that it was promoted by the Lord Treasurer.

The War with *France* proclaimed.

A Report was spread about the Town, and over the Nation, with such a seeming assurance, that many were inclined to believe it, that a Scheme had been found among the King's Papers, for setting aside the Queen; Some added for imprisoning her, and for bringing the House of *Hanover* immediately into the Succession; and that, to support this, a great change was to be made in all the Employments and Offices over the whole Kingdom: This, many of those, who were now in Posts, had talked in so publick a manner, that it appeared they intended to possess the whole

A false report of designs against the Queen.



1702

whole Nation with a belief of it; hoping thereby to alienate the people from those, who had been in the late King's confidence, and disgrace all that side, in order to the carrying all Elections of Parliament for Men of their Party. Five Lords had been ordered by the Queen to visit the late King's Papers, and bring her such of them, as related to the Alliances or other Affairs of the Crown: These were the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Devonshire*, and the Earls of *Marlborough*, *Jersey*, and *Albemarle*: The Whigs saw the design which was driven at, by those false reports; so a Motion was made in the House of Lords, by the Earl of *Carlisle*, and seconded by the Lords *Wharton*, *Halifax*, and others, that an enquiry should be made, into the truth of that Report, and of all other stories of that kind, that so, if there was any truth in them, such as had been concerned in those wicked designs might be punished; and if they were found to be false, that those who spread them about, might be chastised. Upon this, the House desired that those Lords, who had visited the late King's Papers, would let them know, if they had met with any among them, relating to the Queen's Succession, or to the Succession of the House of *Hanover*. Four of them were then in the House, only the Earl of *Marlborough* was ill that day, so the four who were present said, they had found nothing, that did in any sort relate to that matter, and this was confirmed by the Earl of *Marlborough* to some Peers, who were sent by the House, to ask him the same question. Upon which a Vote past, that these Reports were false and scandalous; and an Order was made for prosecuting the spreaders of them. Some Books had been published, charging the late Ministry, and the whole Whig Party with the like designs: These Books were censured, and the Authors of them were ordered to be prosecuted; tho' both the Marquis of *Normanby* and the Earl of *Nottingham*, did all they could to excuse those Writers. When the falshood of those Calumnies was apparent, then it was given out, with an unusual confidence, that no such Reports had been ever set about; tho' the contrary was evident, and the thing was boldly asserted in those Books: So that a peculiar measure of assurance was necessary, to face down a thing, which they had taken such pains to infuse into the minds of the credulous Vulgar, all *England* over. The Earl of *Nottingham*, to divert this Enquiry, moved, that another might be made into those Books, in which the Murder of King *Charles* the First was justified; tho' the provocation given to some of these, was, by a Sermon preached by Dr. *Binks* before the Convocation, on the 30th of *January*, in which he drew a Parallel between King *Charles's* Sufferings and those of our Saviour: and, in some very indecent Expressions, gave the preference to the former. When the



the business of the Session of Parliament was all done, the Queen dismissed them, with thanks for the money they had given, recommending earnestly to them a good agreement among themselves, assuring them, that as on the one hand she would maintain the Toleration, so on the other hand, her own principles would oblige her, to have a particular regard to those, who expressed the truest zeal for the Church of *England*: Thus the Session ended, and the Proclamation dissolving the Parliament, with the Writs for a new one, came out not long after.

1702

The Parliament is dissolved.

During some part of this Parliament, a Convocation fate: The Faction raised, in the Lower House, had still the Majority; Several Books were writ to shew, that by our Constitution, the power of Adjourning was wholly in the Archbishop: The Original Book of the Convocation, that fate in the year 1661, being happily found, it shewed the practice of that Convocation agreed with the Bishops in every particular: But tho' it was communicated to the Lower House, that had no effect on them; for when Parties are once formed, and a resolution is taken up on other considerations, no Evidence can convince those, who have before hand resolved to stick to their point. But the Prolocutor dying, and the King's Death following, the Convocation was by that dissolved: since in the Act, that empowered the Parliament to sit after the King's Death, no provision was made to continue the Convocation. The Earl of *Rochester* moved in the House of Lords, that it might be considered, whether the Convocation was not a part of the Parliament, and whether it was not continued, in consequence of the Act, that continued the Parliament: But that was soon let fall, for the Judges were all of Opinion, that it was dissolved by the King's Death.

A Convocation fate.

Upon the Queen's Accession to the Crown, all these angry men, that had raised this flame in the Church, as they treated the Memory of the late King with much indecent contempt, so they seemed very confident, that for the future, all Preferments should be distributed among them (the Queen having superseded the Commission for Ecclesiastical Preferments) and they thought they were full of merit, and were as full of hopes.

Such an evil spirit as is now spread among the Clergy, would be a sad speculation at any time, but in our present circumstances, when we are near so great a crisis, it is a dreadful thing: But a little to ballance this, I shall give an account of more promising beginnings and appearances, which tho' they are of an elder date, yet of late they have been brought into a more regulated form. In King *James's* Reign, the fear of Popery was so strong, as well as just, that many, in and about *London*, began to meet often together, both for Devotion, and for their further Instruction:

Societies for Reformation.



1702 Things of that kind had been formerly practised, only among the Puritans and the Dissenters: But these were of the Church, and came to their Ministers, to be assisted with Forms of Prayer and other directions: They were chiefly conducted by Dr. *Beveridge* and Dr. *Horneck*. Some disliked this, and were afraid it might be the Original of new Factions and Parties; but wiser and better men thought, it was not fit nor decent to check a spirit of Devotion, at such a time: It might have given scandal, and it seemed a discouraging of piety, and might be a mean to drive well-meaning persons over to the Dissenters. After the Revolution, these Societies grew more numerous, and for a greater encouragement to Devotion, they got such Collections to be made, as maintained many Clergymen to read Prayers in so many places, and at so many different hours, that devout persons might have that comfort, at every hour of the day: There were constant Sacraments every Lord's Day in many Churches: There were both greater numbers and greater appearances of Devotion at Prayers and Sacraments, than had been observed in the memory of Man. These Societies resolved, to inform the Magistrates of Swearers, Drunkards, Profaners of the Lord's Day, and of Lewd Houses; and they threw in the part of the Fine, given by Law to Informers, into a stock of Charity: From this, they were called Societies of Reformation: Some good Magistrates encouraged them; but others treated them roughly. As soon as the late Queen heard of this, she did, by her Letters and Proclamations, encourage these good designs, which were afterwards prosecuted by the late King. Other Societies set themselves to raise Charity Schools, for teaching poor Children, for cloathing them and binding them out to Trades; Many Books were printed, and sent over the Nation by them, to be freely distributed: These were called Societies for propagating Christian Knowledge: By this means, some thousands of Children are now well educated and carefully looked after. In many places of the Nation, the Clergy met often together, to confer about matters of Religion and Learning; and they got Libraries to be raised for their common use. At last a Corporation was created by the late King, for propagating the Gospel among Infidels, for settling Schools in our Plantations, for furnishing the Clergy that were sent thither, and for sending Missionaries among such of our Plantations, as were not able to provide Pastors for themselves. It was a glorious conclusion of a Reign, that was begun with preserving our Religion, thus to create a Corporation, for propagating it to the remoter parts of the Earth, and among Infidels: There were very liberal Subscriptions made to it, by many of the Bishops and Clergy, who set about it with great care and zeal: Upon the Queen's

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Accession to the Crown, they had all possible assurances of her 1702  
favour and protection, of which upon every application, they re-  
ceived very eminent marks.

The Affairs of *Scotland* began to be somewhat embroiled: By Affairs in  
Scotland. an Act made soon after the Revolution, it was provided, that all Princes succeeding to the Crown, should take the Coronation Oath, before they enter'd upon their Regal Dignity; but no direction was given, concerning those who should tender it, or the manner in which it should be taken: So this being left undetermined, the Queen called together all the late King's Ministers for that Kingdom, and in the presence of about twelve of them, she took the Coronation Oath: Men, who were disposed to censure every thing, said, that this ought not to be done, but in the presence of some, deputed for that effect, either by the Parliament, or at least by the Privy Council of that Kingdom. Another point occasioned a more important Debate.

Upon the Assassination Plot, an Act had passed in *Scotland* for continuing the Parliament, that should be then in being, six months after the Death of the King, with two special Clauses in it; the first was, that it should meet twenty days after the Death of the King: But the Queen did, by several Prorogations, continue the Parliament almost three months after the King's Death, before it was opened; Some said the Parliament was by this dissolved, since it did not meet upon the day, limited by the Act to continue it; but there was another Proviso in the Act, that saved to the Crown the full Prerogative of adjourning or dissolving it within that time; yet in opposition to that, it was acknowledged, that as to all subsequent days of Meeting, the Prerogative was entire, but the day that was limited, that is the twenty first after the King's Death, seemed to be fixed for the first opening the Session.

The second Clause was, a limitation on the Power of the Parliament, during their sitting, that it should not extend to the repealing Laws; they were empowered only, to maintain the Protestant Religion, and the publick peace of the Country: It was therefore said, that the Queen was peaceably obeyed, and the Country now in full quiet, so there was no need of assembling the Parliament: The end of the Law being compassed, it was said, the Law fell of it self, and therefore it was necessary to call a new Parliament: for the old one, if assembled, could have no Authority, but to see to the preservation of Religion, and the peace of the Country, their power being limited to those two heads, by the Act that authorized their sitting. In opposition to this, it was said, that the Act which gave them Authority to sit as a Parliament for six months, gave them the full Authority of a Parliament:



1702  ment: the directing them to take care of some more important matters, did not hinder their meddling with other matters, since no Parliament can limit a subsequent one: It was also said, that, since the Queen was now engaged in a War, the publick Peace could not be secured, without such a Force and such Taxes to maintain it, as the present state of Affairs required. The Duke of *Queensbury*, and his Party, were for continuing the Parliament: But Duke *Hamilton*, and the others, who had opposed that Duke in the last Parliament, complained highly of this way of proceeding: They said, they could not acknowledge this to be a legal Parliament, they could not submit to it, but must protest against it: This was ominous; a Reign was to be begun with a Parliament, liable to a dispute; and from such a breach, it was easy to foresee a train of mischief likely to follow. These Lords came up, and represented to the Queen, and those in favour with her, their exceptions to all, that was intended to be done; every thing they said was heard very calmly; but the Queen was a stranger to their Laws, and could not take it upon her to judge of them, so she was determined by the Advice of the Privy Council of that Kingdom. The Lords that came up to oppose the Duke of *Queensbury*, continued to press for a new Parliament, in which they promised to give the Queen all that she could ask of them, and to consent to an Act of Indemnity, for all that was past in the former Reign; But it was thought, that the Nation was then in too great a heat to venture on that; and that some more time was necessary, to prepare matters, as well as mens minds, before a new Parliament should be summoned. Both Parties went down, and both being very sensible that the Presbyterian Interest would, with its weight, turn that scale, into which it should fall; Great pains were taken by both sides to gain that Party. On the one hand, they were made to apprehend, what a madness it would be for them, to provoke the Queen in the beginning of her Reign, who might be enough disposed to entertain prejudices against them: these would be much heightened, if in a point, in which Conscience could not be pretended, they should engage in a Faction against her, especially when they could not say, that any cause of jealousy was given: on the contrary, the Queen had, in all her publick Letters, promised to maintain Presbyterian Government; and tho' that gave great offence, in the late King's time, when those publick Letters were printed, yet now this past without censure. The other Party was as busy to inflame them; They told them the Queen was certainly in her heart against them: All those who were now in her confidence, the Earls of *Rocheſter* and *Nottingham* in particular, were enemies to Presbyterian Government: Good words were now given them,



them, to separate them from a national Interest, knowing well, that if they went off from that, and so lost the hearts of the Nation, they lost that, in which their chief strength lay: The Party that now governed, as soon as they should have carried the present point by their help, and render'd them odious, by their concurring in it, would strengthen themselves at Court, by entering into the Episcopal Interest, and trying to introduce Episcopacy into *Scotland*: which would be soon brought about, if the Presbyterians should once lose their popularity: These were the methods and reasonings that were used on both hands.

The Parliament was brought together on the 9th of *June*; at the opening the Session, Duke *Hamilton* read a Paper, importing, that this was not a legal Parliament, since the only ends, for which they were empowered to meet, were already obtained; The Queen was obeyed, Religion was secured, and the Peace of the Country was settled: so there seemed to be no occasion for their continuance; Upon which he and seventy four more withdrew; but one hundred and twelve Members continued to sit, and voted themselves to be a free and legal Parliament, and declared, that pursuant to their ancient Laws, it was High Treason to impugn their Authority. They ratified all Acts made, in favour of Presbyterian Government, in which they proceeded with such violence, that Sir *Alexander Bruce* moving, that all those Acts might be read, for he believed some of them might be found inconsistent with Monarchy, he was for that expelled the House. They by one Act recognized the Queen's Title; by another, they empowered her to name Commissioners to treat of the Union of the Two Kingdoms; and by a third, they gave a Tax sufficient to keep up the Force, that was then in *Scotland*, for two years longer: and so the Parliament was brought to a quiet conclusion.

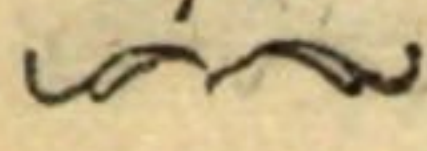
A Session of Parliament there.

*Ireland* was put under Lords Justices, named by the Earl of *Rochester*, and the Trustees continued still in their former Authority.

While our Affairs were in this posture at home; The first step that was made beyond Sea, was by the House of *Hanover*; it had been concerted with the late King before his sickness, and was set on foot the Week he died; The design was well laid, and the execution was managed with great secrecy; The old Duke of *Zell*, and his Nephew the Elector of *Brunswick*, went in person with an Army, that was rather inferior in strength to that of the Dukes of *Wolfembuttel*; They enter'd their Country, while their Troops were dispersed in their Quarters: They surprized some Regiments of Horse, and came and invested both *Wolfembuttel* and *Brunswick* at once, and cut off all Communication between them: Having them at this disadvantage, they required them to

Affairs in Germany.



1702  concur in the Common Councils of the Empire, to furnish their Quota for its defence, and to keep up no more Troops, than were consistent with the safety of their Neighbours; for it was well known, that the greatest part of their Men were subsisted with *French* pay, and that they had engaged themselves to declare for *France*, as soon as it should be required. Duke *Rodolph*, the elder Brother, was a learned and pious Prince; but as he was never married, so he had turned over the Government to the Care of his Brother Duke *Anthony*, who was a Prince of a temper very much different from his Brother's: He could not bear the advancement of the House of *Hanover*; So in opposition to them, he went into the Interests of *France*: But being thus surprised, he went away in discontent, and his Brother broke thro' all those measures, in which he had involved himself: In conjunction with Duke *Anthony*, the Duke of *Saxe Gotha* had enter'd into the same engagements with *France*; but was now forced to fall into the common Interests of the Empire.

The War in  
*Poland*.

Thus all the North of *Germany* was united, and ready to declare against *France*; only the War in *Poland* was so near them, that they were obliged to continue armed, and see the issue of that War: The King of *Sweden* was engaged in it, with such a determined opposition to King *Augustus*, that there was no hope of treating a Peace, tho' it was endeavoured both by *England* and the *States*: The King of *Sweden* seemed to have accustomed himself to fatigue and danger, so that he grew to love both; and tho' the *Muscovites* had fallen upon the Frontiers of *Sweden*, where they had gained some advantages, yet even that could not divert him from carrying on the War in *Poland*. A Diet was summoned there, but it broke up in confusion, without coming to any conclusion, only they sent Ambassadors to the King of *Sweden* to treat of a Peace. The King of *Prussia* was very apprehensive of the consequences of this War, which was now in the neighbourhood of *Prussia*; and the King of *Sweden* threaten'd to invade *Saxony*, with the Troops that he had in *Pomerania*, which could not be done, but thro' his Territories. The King of *Sweden* delay'd giving Audience to the Ambassadors of *Poland*; and march'd on to *Warsaw*; so the King of *Poland* retired to *Cracow*, and summoned those Palatines, who adhered to him, to come about him: When the King of *Sweden* came to *Warsaw*, he sent to the Cardinal to summon a Diet, for choosing a new King: This went further than the resentments of the *Poles* yet carried them: But the rest of this matter will appear hereafter.

A Treaty  
with the  
House of  
*Bavaria*.

All *Germany* was now united, only the two Brothers of *Bavaria*; The Court of *Vienna* set on foot several Negotiations with the Elector of *Bavaria*, but all to no purpose: for that Elector  
seemed



seemed only to hearken to their Propositions, that he might make the better terms with *France*: The Elector of *Cologne* put *Liege*, and all the places that he had on the *Rhine*, except *Bonne*, into the hands of the *French*: It was said, that he kept *Bonne*, hoping to be able to make his peace with the Emperor, by putting that into his possession; but he was prevailed on afterwards to deliver that likewise to the *French*. In this, the Elector acted against the advice of all his Council; and as the Dean of *Liege* was making some opposition to him, he was seized on, and carried away Prisoner in a barbarous manner: The Elector, to excuse his letting the *French* into his Country, pretended, he only desired the assistance of some of the Troops of the Circle of *Burgundy*, to secure his Dominions: For as *France* was not ashamed of the flightest pretences, so she taught her Allies to make excuses unbecoming the Dignity of Princes.

The first step of this War was to be made in the name of the Elector *Palatine*, in the Siege of *Keiserwert*, which, whilst in the Enemies hands, exposed both the Circle of *Westphalia*, and the *States* Dominions: for their places on the *Whall*, being in no good condition, were laid open to the excursions of that Garrison. Negotiations were still carried on in several Courts: *Methuen* was sent to try the Court of *Portugal*; he came quickly back, with full assurances of a Neutrality, and a freedom of Trade in their Ports; Insinuations were given of a disposition to go further, upon a better prospect and better terms; so he was presently sent back, to drive that matter as far as it would go. The Pope pretended he would keep the Neutrality of a common Father, but his partiality to the *French* appeared on many occasions: yet the Court of *Vienna* had that veneration for the See, that they contented themselves with expostulating, without carrying their resentments further. The *Venetians* and the Great Duke followed the example set them by the Pope, tho' the former did not escape so well, for their Country suffer'd on both hands.

The Prince of *Baden* drew together the Troops of the Empire; he began with blocking up *Landaw*, and that was soon turned to a Siege: *Catinat* was sent to Command the *French* Army in *Alsace*, but it was so weak, that he was not able to make head with it. In the end of *April*, the *Dutch* formed three Armies; one under the Prince of *Nassaw*, undertook the Siege of *Keiserwert*; Another was commanded by the Earl of *Athlone*, and lay in the Dutchy of *Cleve*, to cover the Siege; A third commanded by *Coborn*, broke into *Flanders*, and put a great part of that Country under Contribution. Mareschal *Boufflers* drew his Army together, and having laid up great Magazines in *Ruremonde* and *Venlo*, he passed the *Maese* with his whole Army. The Duke of *Burgundy*

The Siege of  
*Keiserwert*.

The Siege of  
*Landaw*.



1702 *dy* came down post from *Paris*, to Command it: The *States* apprehended, that so great a Prince would, at his first appearance, undertake somewhat worthy of him, and thought the Design might be upon *Maestricht*: so they put twelve thousand Men in Garrison there: The Auxiliary Troops from *Germany* did not come so soon as was expected, and cross Winds stopt a great part of our Army: So that the Earl of *Athlone* was not strong enough to enter into action with Marechal *Boufflers*: but he lay about *Cleve*, watching his motions. The Siege of *Keiserwert* went on slowly: the *Rhine* swelling very high, so filled their Trenches, that they could not work in them. Marechal *Tallard* was sent to lie on the other of side the *Rhine*, to cannonade the Besiegers, and to send fresh Men into the Town: The King of *Prussia* came to *Wexel*, from whence he furnished the Besiegers with all that was necessary: There was one vigorous Attack made, in which many were killed on both sides; In conclusion, after a brave defence, the Counterscarp was carried, and then the Town capitulated, and was raised according to agreement. When the Duke of *Burgundy* saw, that the Siege could not be raised, he tried to get between the Earl of *Athlone* and *Nimeguen*: The Design was well laid, and wanted little of being punctually executed: It must have had fatal effects, had it succeeded: for the *French* would either have got into *Nimeguen*, or have forced the Earl of *Athlone* to fight at a great disadvantage. But the Earl of *Athlone* so carefully watched their motions, that he got before them, under the Cannon of *Nimeguen*; yet by this means, he was forced to abandon *Cleve*. The *French* discharged their fury upon that Town, and on the Park, and all the delicious Walks of that charming place, little to the Honour of the Prince who commanded the Army: for upon such occasions, Princes are apt to be civil to one another, and not to make havock of such embellishments as can be of no use to them. The Earl of *Athlone's* conduct on this occasion, raised his credit, as much as it sunk *Boufflers*, who, tho' he had the superior Army, animated by the presence of so great a Prince, yet was able to do nothing; but was unsuccessful in every thing that he designed; and his Parties, that at any time were engaged with those of the Earl of *Athlone*, were beaten almost in every Action.

Keiserwert  
taken.

The Earl of  
*Marlbo-*  
*rough* com-  
mands the  
Army.

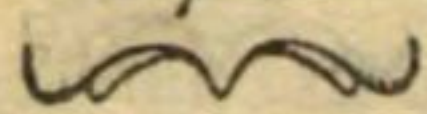
Soon after this, the Earl of *Marlborough* came over, and took the Command of the Army. The Earl of *Athlone* was set on, by the other *Dutch* Generals, to insist on his Quality of *Velt Marshal*, and to demand the Command by turns: He was now in high reputation by his late Conduct, but the *States* obliged him to yield this to the Earl of *Marlborough*, who indeed used him so well, that the Command seemed to be equal between them. The Earl



Earl of *Athlone* was always inclined to cautious and sure, but feeble Counsels: But the Earl of *Marlborough*, when the Army was brought together, finding his Force superior to the Duke of *Burgundy*, passed the *Maese* at the *Grave*, and marched up to the *French*; they retired as he advanced: this made him for venturing on a decisive Action, but the *Dutch* apprehended the putting things to such a hazard, and would not consent to it. The Pensioner, and those who ordered matters at the *Hague*, proceeded the more timorously, because, upon the King's Death, those who had always opposed him, were beginning to form Parties, in several of their Towns, and were designing a change of Government: So that a publick misfortune in their conduct, would have given great advantages to those who were watching for them. The Pensioner was particularly aimed at: this made him more unwilling to run any risque. Good Judges thought, that if the Earl of *Marlborough's* Advices had been followed, matters might have been brought to a happy decision: But as he conducted the Army prudently, so he was careful not to take too much upon him. The Duke of *Burgundy* finding himself obliged to retreat, as the Confederate Army advanced, thought this was not suitable to his dignity; So he left the Army, and ended his first Campaign very ingloriously; and it seems, the King was not satisfied with Mareschal *Boufflers*, for he never commanded their Armies since that time. The Earl of *Marlborough* went on, taking several places, which made little or no resistance; and seeing that Mareschal *Boufflers* kept at a safe distance, so that there was no hope of an engagement with him, he resolved to fall into the *Spanish Guelder*: he began with *Venlo*. There was a Fort on the other side of the River, that commanded it, which was taken by the Lord *Cutts*, in so gallant a manner, that it deserved to be much commended by every body but himself: but he lost the honour, that was due to many brave Actions of his, by talking too much of them: The young Earl of *Huntington* shewed upon this, as upon many other occasions, an extraordinary heat of Courage: He called to the Soldiers, who had got over the pallisadoes, to help him over, and promised them all the money he had about him, which he performed very generously, and led them on with much bravery and success: Upon the Fort's being taken, the Town capitulated. *Ruremonde* and *Stevenzwert* were taken in a few days after; for Mareschal *Boufflers* did not come to their relief. Upon these Successes, that came quicker than was expected, the Earl of *Marlborough* advanced to *Liege*, which was a place of more importance, in which he might put a great part of his Army in Winter Quarters: The Town quickly capitulated; The Cittadel was carried by storm, and another Fort in the Town



1702



likewise surrender'd. Here was a very prosperous Campaign: many places were taken with little resistance, and an inconsiderable loss, either of time or of men. The Earl of *Marlborough's* conduct and deportment gained him the hearts of the Army: The *States* were highly satisfied with every thing he did, and the Earl of *Atblone* did him the justice to own, that he had differed in opinion from him in every thing that was done: and that therefore the Honour of their Success was wholly owing to him.

The Earl of *Marlborough* taken, by a Party of the *French*, got out of their hands.

The Campaign was kept open till *November*, and at the end of it, an accident happened, that had almost lost the advantages and honour got in it. The Earl of *Marlborough* thought the easiest and quickest, as well as the safest way of returning to the *Hague*, was by some of those great Boats, that pass on the *Maese*: There was one Company in the Boat in which he went, and two Companies went in another, that was to be before him: There were also some Troops ordered, to ride along the Banks for their Guard. The great Boat that went before, failed away too quick, and the Horse mistook their way in the night: The *French* had yet the Town of *Guelder* in their hands, which was indeed all they had of the *Spanish Guelder*: A Party from thence was lying on the Banks of the River, waiting for an Adventure, and they seized this Boat, the whole Company being fast asleep: so they had now both the Earl of *Marlborough* and *Opdam*, one of the *Dutch* Generals, and *Gueldermalsen*, one of the *States* Deputies in their hands: They did not know the Earl of *Marlborough*, but they knew the other two. They both had Passes, according to a Civility, usually practised among the Generals of both sides. The Earl of *Marlborough's* Brother had a Pass, but his ill health made him leave the Campaign, so his Pass was left with his Brother's Secretary, and that was now made use of for himself. 'Tis true, the Date of the Pass was out, but they being in haste, and in the night, that was not considered: The Boat was rifled, and they took Presents from those, who they believed were protected by their Passes: So, after a stop of some hours, they were let go, and happily escaped the danger. The news of their being taken got before them to the *Hague*; upon which the *States* immediately met, under no small consternation: They sent Orders to all their Forces, to march immediately to *Guelder*, and to threaten the Garrison with all extremities, unless they should deliver the Prisoners: and never to leave the Place, till they had either taken it, or had the Generals delivered to them. But before these Orders could be dispatched, the Earl of *Marlborough* came to the *Hague*, where he was received with inexpressible joy, not only by the *States*, but by all the Inhabitants: for he was beloved there to a high degree: Soon after his return to *England*, the Queen made him Duke



Duke of *Marlborough*; and both Houses of Parliament sent some of their number to him, with their Thanks for the great services he had done this Campaign. 1702

The Campaign likewise ended happily on the Upper *Rhine*: *Landaw* was taken after a long Siege; The King of the *Romans* came in time to have the honour of taking it: But with so great a train, and so splendid an equipage, that the expence of it put all the Emperor's Affairs in great disorder: the most necessary things being neglected, while a needless piece of Pomp devoured so great a part of their Treasure; The Siege was stopt some weeks for want of Ammunition, but in conclusion, the place was taken.

The necessities of the King of *France's* Affairs, forced him at this time, to grant the Elector of *Bavaria* all his demands: It is not yet known what they were; But the Court of *France* did not agree to what he asked, till *Landaw* was given for lost: and then seeing that the Prince of *Baden* might have over-run all the *Hondruck*, and carried his Winter Quarters into the neighbourhood of *France*; it was necessary to gain this Elector on any terms: If this agreement had been sooner made, probably the Siege, how far soever it was advanced, must have been raised. The Elector made his Declaration, when he possessed himself of *Ulm*, which was a rich free Town of the Empire: It was taken by a stratagem, that, how successful soever it proved to the Elector, was fatal to him who conducted it: for he was killed by an accident, after he was possessed of the Town. This gave a great alarm to the neighbouring Circles and Princes, who called away their Troops from the Prince of *Baden*, to their own defence; by this means, his Army was much diminished; but with the Troops that were left him, he studied to cut off the Communication between *Strasbourg* and *Ulm*. The Emperor with the Diet, proceeded according to their forms against the Elector; But he was now engaged, and continued firm to the Interests of *France*. Mareschal *Villars*, who commanded the *French* Army in *Alsatia*, had Orders to break thro' the Black Forest, and join the *Bavarians*: His Army was much superior to the Prince of *Baden*; but the latter had so posted himself, that after an unsuccessful attempt, *Villars* was forced to return to *Strasbourg*.

In *Italy*, the Duke of *Vendome* began with the Relief of *Mantua*, which was reduced to great extremities by the long Blockade Prince *Eugene* had kept about it: He had so fortified the *Oglio*, that the Duke of *Vendome* apprehending the difficulty of forcing his Posts, marched thro' the *Venetian* Territories (notwithstanding the protestations of the Republick against it) and came to *Goito*, with a great Convoy for *Mantua*. Prince *Eugene* drew his Army all along the *Mantuan Fossa*, down to *Borgofortes*; he

*Landaw* was taken.

The Elector of *Bavaria* declares for *France*.

The War in *Italy*.



1702 he was forced to abandon a great many places, but apprehending that *Bersello* might be besieged, and considering the importance of that place, he put a strong Garrison in it. He complained much, that the Court of *Vienna* seemed to forget him; and did not send him the Reinforcements they had promised: It was thought, that his Enemies at that Court, under colour of supporting the King of the *Romans* in his first Campaign, were willing to neglect every thing that related to him: by this means, the best Army the Emperor ever had, was left to moulder away to nothing.

King Philip went to Italy.

King *Philip* took a very extraordinary resolution of going over to *Italy*, to possess himself of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and to put an end to the War in *Lombardy*; he was received at *Naples* with outward splendor, but he made little progress, in quieting the minds of that unruly Kingdom: He did not obtain the Investiture of it from the Pope, tho' he sent him a Cardinal Legate, with a high Complement: The *Germans* thought this was too much, while the *French* thought it was not enough; yet upon it, the Emperor's Ambassador left *Rome*. King *Philip* was conducted from *Naples* to *Final* by the *French* Fleet, that had carried him from *Barcelona* to *Naples*. As he was going to Command the Duke of *Vendome's* Army, he was met by the Duke of *Savoy*, of whom there was some jealousy, that, having married his two Daughters so greatly, he began now to discern his own distinct interest, which called upon him to hinder the *French* from being Masters of the *Milanese*. King *Philip* wrote to the Duke of *Vendome*, not to fight Prince *Eugene*, till he could join him: He seemed jealous, lest that Prince should be driven out of *Italy*, before he could come to share in the Honour of it; yet when he came, he could do nothing, though Prince *Eugene* was miserably abandoned by the Court of *Vienna*. Count *Mansfield*, President of the Council of War, was much suspected, as corrupted by *France*: The Supplies promised, were not sent into *Italy*: The apprehensions they were under of the Elector of *Bavaria's* declaring, some time before he did it, gave a colour to those, who were jealous of Prince *Eugene's* Glory, to detain the Recruits and Troops that had been promised to him, for the Emperor's own defence: But tho' he was thus forsaken, yet he managed the Force he had about him, with great skill and conduct. When he saw *Luzara* was in danger, he marched up to the King of *Spain*; and as that King very oddly expressed it, in a Letter to the King of *France*, he had the boldness (*Audace*) to attack him, but which was worse, he had the boldness likewise to beat him; and if he had not been shut in by Rivers, and the narrowness of the Ground, very probably he would have carried the advantage, he



he had in that engagement, much further. The ill state of his Affairs forced him upon that desperate action, in which he succeeded beyond expectation; It put the *French* to such a stand, that all they could do after this, was only to take *Luzara*, and some other considerable places; but Prince *Eugene* still kept his Posts. King *Philip* left the Army, and returned, after an inglorious Campaign, into *Spain*; where the *Grande*s were much disgusted, to see themselves so much despised, and their Affairs wholly conducted by *French* Councils. The *French* tried, by all possible methods, to engage the *Turks* into a new War with the Emperor: and it was believed that the *Grand Vizier* was entirely gained, tho' the *Mufti*, and all who had any credit in that Court, were against it: The *Grand Vizier* was strangled, and so this design was prevented.

The Court of *France* was in a management with the Cardinal Primate of *Poland*, to keep that Kingdom still embroiled: The King of *Sweden* marched on to *Cracow*, which was much censured, as a desperate attempt, since a defeat there must have destroyed him and his Army entirely, being so far from home. He attackt the King of *Poland*, and gave him such an Overthrow, that tho' the Army got off, he carried both their Camp and Artillery. He possessed himself of *Cracow*, where he stay'd some Months, till he had raised all the money they could produce: and tho' the *Muscovites* with the *Lithuanians* destroyed *Livonia*, and broke into *Sweden*, yet that could not call him back. The Duke of *Holstein*, who had married his eldest Sister, was thought to be gained by the *French*, to push on this young King, to prosecute the War with such an unrelenting fury, in which he might have a design for himself, since the King of *Sweden's* venturing his own person so freely, might make way for his Dutches to succeed to the Crown. That Duke was killed in the battle of *Cracow*. There was some hopes of Peace this Winter, but the two Princes were so exasperated against one another, that it seemed impossible to compose that animosity: This was very unacceptable to the Allies: for both Kings were well inclined to support the Confederacy, and to engage in the War against *France*, if their own Quarrels could have been made up. The King of *Sweden* continued still so vertuous and pious in his whole deportment, that he seemed to be formed, to be one of the Heroes of the Reformation. This was the state of Affairs on the Continent, during this Campaign.

One unlooked for accident sprung up in *France*: An Insurrection happened in the *Cevennes* in *Languedoc*: of which I can say nothing that is very particular, or well assured. When it first broke out, it was looked on as the effect of Oppression and Despair, which would quickly end in a scene of Blood: but it had a much longer continuance than was expected; and it had a considerable effect on the Affairs of *France*; for an Army of ten or twelve thousand men,

An Insurrection in the *Cevennes*.



1702

who were designed, either for *Italy* or *Spain*, was imployed, without any immediate success in reducing them.

The *English*  
Fleet sent  
to *Cadiz*.

I now change the Element, to give an account of our operations at Sea: *Rook* had the Command; The Fleet put to Sea much later than we hoped for; The *Dutch* Fleet came over, about a month before ours was ready; The whole consisted of fifty Ships of the Line, and a Land Army was put on board, of twelve thousand men, seven thousand *English* and five thousand *Dutch*: *Rook* spoke so coldly of the Design he went upon, before he sailed, that those who conversed with him, were apt to infer, that he intended to do the Enemy as little harm as possible. Advice was sent over from *Holland*, of a Fleet that sailed from *France*, and was ordered to call in at the *Groyn*e. *Munden* was recommended by *Rook*, to be sent against this Fleet; but tho' he came up to them, with a superior Force, yet he behaved himself so ill, and so unsuccessfully, that a Council of War was ordered to sit on him: They indeed acquitted him, some excusing themselves, by saying that if they had condemned him, the punishment was Death: whereas they thought his errors flowed from a want of sense: so that it would have been hard to condemn him, for a defect of that, which Nature had not given him. Those who recommended him to the Imployment, seemed to be more in fault. This acquittal raised such an outcry, that the Queen ordered him to be broke. *Rook*, to divert the design that he himself was to go upon, wrote up from *St. Helen's*, that the *Dutch* Fleet was victualled only to the middle of *September*; So they, being then in *July*, no great design could be undertaken, when so large a part of the Fleet was so ill provided. When the *Dutch* Admiral heard of this, he sent to their Ambassador, to complain to the Queen of this misinformation: for he was victualled till the middle of *December*. They were for some time stopt by contrary Winds, accidents and pretences, many of which were thought to be strained and sought for: but the Wind being turned wholly favourable, after some cross Winds, which had render'd their passage slow and tedious, they came on the 12th of *August*, into the Bay of *Cadiz*. *Rook* had laid no disposition before hand, how to proceed upon his coming thither: Some days were lost on pretence of seeking for intelligence: It is certain, our Court had false accounts of the state the place was in, both with relation to the Garrison and the Fortifications; The Garrison was much stronger, and the Fortifications were in a better case, than was represented. The *French* Men of War, and the Gallies that lay in the Bay, retired within the *Puntals*. In the first surprize, it had been easy to have followed them, and to have taken or burnt them; which *Fairborn* offered to execute, but *Rook* and the rest of his creatures did not approve of this. Some days were lost, before a Council of War was called; In the mean while, the Duke of *Ormond* sent some Engineers and Pilots to sound the South-side of *Cadiz*, near the



the Island of *St. Pedro*: but while this was doing, the Officers, by the taking of some Boats, came to know, that those of *Cadix* had sent over the best of their Goods and other Effects to the Port of *St. Maries*, an open Village over against it, on the Continent of *Spain*; so that here was good plunder to be had easily, whereas the Landing on the Isle of *Cadix* was like to prove dangerous, and, as some made them believe, impracticable. In the Council of War, in which their Instructions were read, it was proposed to consider, how they should put them in execution; *Haro*, one of the General Officers, made a long Speech against Landing: He shewed how desperate an attempt it would prove, and how different they found the state of the place, from the representation made of it in *England*: The greater number agreed with him, and all that the Duke of *Ormond* could say to the contrary was of no effect. *Rook* seemed to be of the same mind with the Duke, but all his Dependants were of another opinion, so this was thought to be a piece of craft in him: In conclusion, the Council of War came to a resolution, not to make a Descent on the Island of *Cadix*: But before they broke up, those, whom the Duke had sent to sound the Landing places on the South-side, came and told them, that as they might Land safely, so the Ships might ride securely on that side; yet they had no regard to this, but adhered to their former resolution, nor were there any Orders given for Bombarding the Town. The Sea was for the most part very high while they lay there, but it was so calm for one day, that the Engineers believed they could have done much mischief; but they had no Orders for it: And indeed it appeared very evidently, that they intended to do nothing but rob *St. Maries*.

A Landing on the Continent was resolved on; and tho' the Sea was high, and the danger great, yet the hope of spoil made them venture on it; they landed at *Rota*; a Party of *Spanish* Horse seemed to threaten some resistance, but they retired, and so our men came to *St. Maries*, which they found deserted, but full of riches: Both Officers and Soldiers set themselves, with great courage, against this tempting but harmless enemy; Some of the General Officers set a very ill example to all the rest; chiefly *Haro* and *Bellasis*. The Duke of *Ormond* tried to hinder it, but did not exert his authority; for if he had made some examples at first, he might have prevented the mischief that was done: But the whole Army, running so violently on the Spoil, he either was not able, or, thro' a gentleness of temper, was not willing to proceed to extremities. He had published a Manifesto, according to his Instructions, by which the *Spaniards* were invited to submit to the Emperor; and he offered his Protection to all that came in to him: But the Spoil of *St. Maries* was thought an ill Commentary on that Text. After some days of unfruitful Trials, on the Forts of that side, it appeared that nothing could be done; so about the middle of *September*, they all re-embarked.

They landed  
and robbed  
*St. Maries*.



1702 embarked. Some of the Ships Crews were so imployed, in bringing and bestowing the Plunder, that they took not the necessary care to furnish themselves with fresh Water. *Rook*, without prosecuting his other instructions, in case the design on *Cadiz* miscarried, gave Orders only for a Squadron to sail to the *West-Indies*, with some Land Forces; and tho' he had a Fleet of Victuallers, that had Provisions to the middle of *December*, he ordered them to sail home; by this means, the Men of War were so scantily furnished, that they were soon forced to be put on short allowance. Nor did *Rook* send Advice-Boats, either to the Ports of *Algarve*, or to *Lisbon*, to see what Orders or Advices might be lying for him, but sailed in a direct course for *England*: But some Ships, not being provided with Water for the Voyage to *England*, touched on the Coast of *Algarve*, to take in Water.

The Gal-  
leons put in  
at *Vigo*.

They met with intelligence there, that the *Spanish* Plate Fleet, with a good Convoy of *French* Men of War, had put in at *Vigo*, a Port in *Galicia*, not far from *Portugal*; where the entrance was narrow, and capable of a good defence. It widened within Land, into a Bay or Mouth of a River, where the Ships lay very conveniently: He who commanded the *French* Fleet, ordered a Boom to be laid cross the entrance, and Forts to be raised on both sides: He had not time to finish what he designed, otherwise the place had been inaccessible: But as it was, the difficulty in forcing this Port was believed to be greater, than any they would have met with, if they had landed on the Isle of *Cadiz*. As soon as this Fleet had put in at *Vigo*; *Methuen*, the Queen's Minister at *Lisbon*, sent Advertisements of it, to all the places, where he thought our Advice-Boats might be ordered to call: *Rook* had given no Orders for any to call, and so held on his course towards Cape *Finisterre*: But one of his Captains, *Hardy*, whilst he water'd in *Algarve*, heard the news there; upon which, he made all the Sail he could after *Rook*, and overtook him. *Rook* upon that, turned his course towards *Vigo*, very unwillingly as was said, and finding the Advice was true, he resolved to force his way in.

But they  
were burnt  
or taken by  
the *English*.

The Duke of *Ormond* landed with a Body of the Army, and attack'd the Forts with great bravery, while the Ships broke the Boom, and forced the Port. When the *French* saw what was done, they left their Ships, and set some of the Men of War and some of the Galleons on fire: Our Men came up with such diligence, that they stopt the progress of the fire, yet fifteen Men of War and eight Galleons were burnt or sunk; but our Men were in time to save five Men of War, and five Galleons, which they took. Here was a great destruction made, and a great Booty taken, with very little loss on our side. One of our Ships was set on fire by a Fire-Ship, but she too was saved, tho' with the loss of some Men; which was all the loss we sustained in this important Action. The Duke of *Ormond* marched into the Country, and took some Forts, and the Town

of



of *Ritondella*, where much Plunder was found; The *French* Sea-  
men and Soldiers escaped, for we having no Horse, were not in a  
condition to pursue them: The *Spaniards* appeared at some di-  
stance, in a great Body: But they did not offer to enter into any  
Action with the Duke of *Ormond*: It appeared, that the resentments  
of that proud Nation, which was now governed by *French* Councils,  
were so high, that they would not put themselves in any danger, or to  
any Trouble, even to save their own Fleet, when it was in such hands.

After this great Success, it came under consultation, whether it  
was not advisable to leave a good Squadron of Ships, with the Land  
Forces, to Winter at *Vigo*: The Neighbourhood of *Portugal* made,  
that they could be well furnished with Provisions, and all other ne-  
cessaries from thence: This might also encourage that King to de-  
clare himself, when there was such a Force and Fleet lying so near  
him: It might likewise encourage such of the *Spaniards*, as favour-  
ed the Emperor, to declare themselves, when they saw a safe place  
of retreat, and a Force to protect them: The Duke of *Ormond*, up-  
on these considerations, offered to stay, if *Rook* would have consent-  
ed; but he excused it; he had sent home the Victuallers with the  
Stores; and so he could not spare what was necessary, for such as  
would stay there: and indeed, he had so ordered the matter, that  
he could not stay long enough to try, whether they could raise and  
search the Men of War and the Galleons that were sunk: He was  
obliged to make all possible haste home; and if the Wind had turn-  
ed to the East, which was ordinary in that Season, a great part of  
our Ships Crews must have died of hunger.

The Wind continued favourable, so they got home safe, but half  
starved. Thus ended this Expedition, which was ill projected, and  
worse executed. The Duke of *Ormond* told me, he had not half  
the Ammunition that was necessary, for the taking *Cadiz*, if they  
had defended themselves well: tho' he believed they would not  
have made any great resistance, if he had landed on his first arri-  
val, and not given them time to recover from the disorder, into  
which the first surprize had put them. A great deal of the Trea-  
sure taken at *Vigo* was embezzled, and fell into private hands: One  
of the Galleons founder'd at Sea. The Publick was not much en-  
riched by this extraordinary Capture, yet the loss our enemies made  
by it was a vast one, and to compleat the ruine of the *Spanish* Mer-  
chants, their King seized on the Plate, that was taken out of the  
Ships, upon their first arrival at *Vigo*. Thus the Campaign ended;  
very happily for the Allies, and most gloriously for the Queen,  
whose first year, being such a continued course of Success, gave a  
hopeful presage, of what might be hereafter expected.

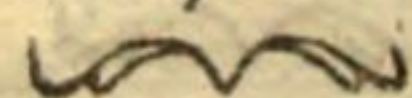
The Session of Parliament comes next to be related: The  
Queen did not openly interpose in the Elections, but her inclina-  
tion to the Tories appearing plainly, all people took it for grant-  
ed,

The English  
Fleet came  
back to  
England.

A new Par-  
liament.



1702



ed, that she wished they might be the Majority: This wrought on the inconstancy and fervility, that is natural to multitudes: and the conceit, which had been infused and propagated with much Industry, that the Whigs had charged the Nation with great Taxes, of which a large share had been devoured by themselves, had so far turned the tide, that the Tories in the House of Commons were at least double the number of the Whigs. They met full of fury against the Memory of the late King, and against those, who had been employ'd by him. The first instance, wherein this appeared, was in their Address to the Queen, congratulating her great Successes; they added, that by her wise and happy Conduct, the Honour of the Kingdom was *Retrieved*. The word *Retrieved* implying that it was formerly lost, all that had a just regard to the King's Memory opposed it: He had carried the Honour of the Nation further, than had been done in any Reign before his: To him they owed their preservation, their safety, and even the Queen's being on the Throne; He had designed and formed that great Confederacy, at the head of which she was now set. In opposition to this, it was now said, that during his Reign, things had been conducted by Strangers, and trusted to them; and that a vast Treasure had been spent in unprofitable Campaigns in *Flanders*. The Partition Treaty, and every thing else, with which the former Reign could be loaded, was brought into the account, and the keeping the word *Retrieved*, in the Address, was carried by a great Majority; All that had favour at Court, or hoped for any, going into it. Controverted Elections were judged in favour of Tories, with such a bare-faced partiality, that it shewed the Party was resolved on every thing, that might serve their ends.

Great partiality in judging Elections.

Of this I shall only give two Instances: The one was of the Borough of *Hindon*, near me at *Salisbury*, where upon a complaint of Bribery, the proof was so full and clear, that they ordered a Bill to disfranchise the Town for that Bribery, and yet, because the Bribes were given by a man of their Party, they would not pass a Vote on him as guilty of it: So that a Borough was voted, to lose its Right of Electing, because many in it were guilty of a Corruption, in which no man appeared to be the Actor. The other was of more importance; and because it may be set up for a Precedent, I will be more particular in the Report: Mr. *John How* had been Vice-Chamberlain to the late Queen, but missing some of those advantages, that he had proposed to himself, he had gone into the highest opposition, that was made in the House of Commons, to the Court, during the last Reign: not without many indecent reflections on the person of the late King; and a most virulent attacking of all his Ministers. He was a man of some wit, but of little judgment, and of small principles of Religion: He stood Knight of the Shire for *Glostershire*; and had drawn a Party in that County to join with



with him in an Address to the Queen, in which, reflections were made on the danger and ill usage she had gone thro' in the former Reign; this Address was received by the Queen, in so particular a manner, that it looked like the owning that the Contents of it were true; but she made such an excuse for this, when the offence it gave was laid before her, that probably, she was not acquainted with the matter of the Address, when she so received it. Upon this, great opposition was made to his Election; When it came to the Poll, it appeared, he had lost it; So the Sheriff was moved for a Scrutiny, to examine, whether all those who had sworn, that they were Freeholders of forty Shillings a year, had sworn true. By the Act of Parliament, the matter was referred to the Parties Oath, and their swearing false was declared Perjury: Therefore such, as had sworn falsely, were liable to a Prosecution: but by all Laws, an Oath is looked upon as an end of Controversy, till he who swore is convicted of Perjury: and the Sheriff, being an Officer named by the Court, if he had a power to review the Poll, this put the Election of Counties, wholly in the power of the Crown: yet upon this occasion, the heat of a Party prevailed so far, that they voted *How* duly elected.

The House of Commons very unanimously, and with great dispatch, agreed to all the demands of the Court, and voted all the Supplies that were necessary for carrying on the War. Upon the Duke of *Marlborough's* coming over, a new demand for an additional Force was made, since the King of *France* had given out Commissions, for a great increase of his Armies: Upon that, the *States* moved the Queen, for ten thousand more men: This was consented to, but with a condition, which how reasonable soever it might be in itself, yet the manner, in which it was managed, shewed a very ill disposition towards the *Dutch*; and in the Debate, they were treated very indecently. It was insisted on, that before the Pay of these new Troops should begin, the *States* should prohibit all Trade with *France*, and break off all Correspondence with that Kingdom. It was indeed true, that *France* could not have supplied their Armies in *Italy* but by the means of this secret Trade; so it was reasonable to break it; but the imposing it on the *Dutch*, in the manner in which this was pressed, carried in it too high a strain of Authority over them. Theirs is a Country, that subsists not by any intrinsic Wealth of their own, but by their Trade; some seemed to hope, that the opposition, which would be raised on this head, might force a Peace, at which many among us were driving so indecently, that they took little care to conceal it. The *States* resolved to comply with *England* in every thing; and tho' they did not like the manner of demanding this, yet they readily consented to it. The ordinary business of a Session of Parliament was soon dispatched, no opposition being made to the Supply, at which, in the former Reign, things stuck longest. When

All the Supply agreed to.



1702

A Bill a-  
gainst occa-  
sional Con-  
formity.

When those matters were settled, a Bill was brought in by the Tories, against Occasional Conformity, which produced great and long Debates: By this Bill, all those who took the Sacrament and Test (which by the Act passed in the year 1673, was made necessary to those, who held Offices of Trust, or were Magistrates in Corporations, but was only to be taken once by them) and did after that, go to the Meetings of Dissenters, or any Meeting for Religious Worship, that was not according to the *Liturgy* or Practice of the Church of *England*, where five persons were present, more than the Family, were disabled from holding their Employments, and were to be fined in an hundred pounds, and in five pounds a day for every day, in which they continued to act in their Employments, after their having been at any such Meeting: They were also made incapable to hold any other Employment, till after one whole year's Conformity to the Church, which was to be proved at the Quarter Session: Upon a relapse, the penalty and the time of incapacity were doubled: no limitation of time was put in the Bill, nor of the way, in which the Offence was to be proved: But whereas, the Act of the Test only included the Magistrates in Corporations, all the inferior Officers or Freemen in Corporations, who were found to have some interest in the Elections, were now comprehended within this Bill. The Preamble of the Bill asserted the Toleration, and condemned all Persecution for Conscience sake, in a high strain: Some thought the Bill was of no consequence, and that, if it should pass into a Law, it would be of no effect: but that the Occasional Conformists would become constant ones. Others thought, that this was such a breaking in upon the Toleration, as would undermine it, and that it would have a great effect on Corporations; as indeed, the intent of it was believed to be, the modelling Elections, and by consequence of the House of Commons.

Great De-  
bates about  
it.

On behalf of the Bill, it was said, the design of the Test Act was, that all in Office should continue in the Communion of the Church; that coming only once to the Sacrament for an Office, and going afterwards to the Meetings of Dissenters, was both an eluding the intent of the Law, and a profanation of the Sacrament, which gave great scandal, and was abhorred by the better sort of Dissenters. Those who were against the Bill, said, the Nation had been quiet ever since the Toleration, the Dissenters had lost more ground and strength by it, than the Church; The Nation was now engaged in a great War; it seemed therefore unreasonable, to raise animosities at home, in matters of Religion, at such a time; and to encourage a tribe of Informers, who were the worst sort of men: The Fines were excessive; higher than any laid on Papists by Law; and since no limitation of Time, nor concurrence of Witnesses, was provided for in the Bill, men would be for ever exposed to the malice of a bold Swearer, or wicked Servant: It was moved, that since the great-  
est

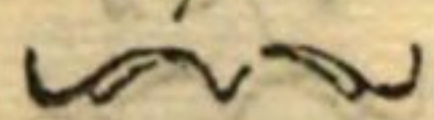


est danger of all was from Atheists and Papists, that all such as received the Sacrament for an Office, should be obliged to receive it three times a year, which all were by Law required to do; and to keep to their Parish Church, at least one Sunday a Month; but this was not admitted. All, who pleaded for the Bill, did in words declare for the continuance of the Toleration, yet the sharpness, with which they treated the Dissenters in all their Speeches, shewed as if they designed their extirpation. The Bill was carried in the House of Commons, by a great Majority. The Debates held longer in the House of Lords: Many were against it, because of the high Penalties: Some remember'd the practice of Informers, in the end of King *Charles's* Reign, and would not consent to the reviving such infamous methods; All believed, that the chief design of this Bill was, to model Corporations, and to cast out of them all those, who would not vote in Elections for Tories: The Toleration itself was visibly aimed at, and this was only a step to break in upon it. Some thought, the design went yet further, to raise such quarrels and distractions among us, as would so embroil us at home, that our Allies might see, they could not depend upon us; and that we, being weaken'd by the disorders, occasioned by those Prosecutions, might be disabled from carrying on the War, which was the chief thing driven at, by the promoters of the Bill. So that many of the Lords, as well as the Bishops, agreed in opposing this Bill, tho' upon different views: yet they consented to some parts of it; chiefly, that such as went to Meetings, after they had received the Sacrament, should be disabled from holding any Employments, and be fined in twenty pounds; many went into this, tho' they were against every part of the Bill, because they thought this the most plausible way of losing it: since the House of Commons had of late set it up for a maxim, that the Lords could not alter the Fines, that they should fix in a Bill, this being a meddling with money, which they thought was so peculiar to them, that they would not let the Lords, on any pretence, break in upon it.

The Lords hereupon appointed a very exact search to be made into all the *Rolls*, that lay in the Clerk of the Parliament's Office, from the middle of King *Henry* the Seventh's Reign, down to the present time: and they found, by some hundreds of Precedents, that in some Bills the Lords began the Clauses, that set the Fines; and that when Fines were set by the Commons, sometimes they altered the Fines, and at other times, they changed the use, to which they were applied: The Report made of this was so full and clear, that there was no possibility of replying to it, and the Lords ordered it to be enter'd in their Books. But the Commons were resolved to maintain their point, without entering into any Debate upon it. The Lords also added Clauses, requiring proof to be made by two Witnesses, and that the Information should be given in within ten days, and the



1702



Prosecution commenced within three months after the Fact. The Commons agreed to this, but would not alter the Penalties that they had set. The thing depended long between the Two Houses; both sides took pains to bring up the Lords that would vote with them, so that there were above an hundred and thirty Lords in the House; the greatest number that had ever been together.

The Court put their whole strength to carry the Bill; Prince George, who had received the Sacrament, as Lord High Admiral, and yet kept his Chapel in the *Lutheran* way, so that he was an occasional Communicant, came and voted for the Bill: After some Conferences, wherein each House had yielded some smaller differences to the other, it came to a free Conference in the Painted Chamber, which was the most crowded upon that occasion, that had ever been known; so much weight was laid on this matter on both sides.

The Two Houses disagreeing, the Bill was lost.

When the Lords retired, and it came to the final Vote of *Adhering*, the Lords were so equally divided, that in three Questions, put on different heads, the *Adhering* was carried but by one voice in every one of them; and it was a different person that gave it in all the three Divisions. The Commons likewise *adhered*, so the Bill was lost. This Bill seemed to favour the Interests of the Church, so hot men were for it: and the greater number of the Bishops being against it, they were censured, as cold and slack in the concerns of the Church: a reproach, that all moderate men must expect, when they oppose violent motions. A great part of this fell on my self: for I bore a large share in the Debates, both in the House of Lords, and at the free Conference. Angry men took occasion from hence, to charge the Bishops as enemies to the Church, and betrayers of its Interests, because we would not run blindfold into the passions and designs of ill tempered men; tho' we can appeal to all the world, and which is more, to God himself, that we did faithfully and zealously pursue the true Interests of the Church, the promoting Religion and Learning, the encouraging of all good men, and good designs: and that we did apply our selves to the duties of our Function, and to the work of the Gospel. Having this quiet within our selves, we must bear the cross, and submit to the will of God: The less of our Reward that we receive from men, we have so much the more to look for from Him.

A Bill for Prince George.

While the Bill, that had raised so much heat, was in agitation: The Queen sent a Message to the Commons, desiring them to make some suitable provision for Prince George, in case he should out-live her. He was many years elder than the Queen, and was troubled with an Asthma, that every year had ill effects on his health; it had brought him into great danger this Winter; yet the Queen thought it became her to provide for all events. How moved, that it should be an hundred thousand pounds a year: This was seconded by those, who knew how acceptable the Motion would be to the Queen; tho' it



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Debates on a  
Clause that  
was in it.

it was the double of what any Queen of *England* ever had in Jointure ; so it passed without any opposition. But while it was passing, a motion was made upon a Clause in the Act, which limited the Succession to the *Hanover* Family ; which provided against strangers, tho' naturalized, being capable to hold any Employments among us. This plainly related only to those, who should be naturalized in a future Reign, and had no retrospect to such as were already naturalized, or should be naturalized during the present Reign. It was however proposed as doubtful, whether when that Family might reign : all who were naturalized before should not be incapacitated by that Clause, from sitting in Parliament, or holding Employments ; and a Clause was offered to except the Prince, from being comprehended in that incapacity. Against this two Objections lay ; One was, that the Lords had resolved by a Vote, to which the greater number had set their hands, that they would never pass any Money Bill, sent up to them by the Commons, to which any Clause was tacked, that was foreign to the Bill. They had done this, to prevent the Commons from fastning matters of a different nature to a Money Bill, and then pretending, that the Lords could not meddle with it ; for this was a method to alter the Government, and bring it entirely into their own hands : By this means, when money was necessary for preserving the Nation, they might force, not only the Lords, but the Crown to consent to every thing they proposed, by tacking it to a Money Bill. It was said, that a capacity for holding Employments, and for sitting in the House of Lords, were things of a different nature from money ; so that this Clause seemed to many to be a Tack ; Whereas others thought it was no Tack, because both parts of the Act related to the same person. The other Objection was, that this Clause seemed to imply, that persons already naturalized, and in possession of the Rights of natural born Subjects, were to be excluded in the next Reign ; tho' all people knew, that no such thing was intended, when the Act of Succession passed. Great opposition was made, for both these reasons, to the passing this Clause ; but the Queen pressed it with the greatest earnestness, she had yet shewed in any thing whatsoever ; She thought it became her, as a good Wife, to have the Act passed ; in which she might be the more earnest, because it was not thought advisable, to move for an Act, that should take Prince *George*, into a Consortship of the Regal Dignity. This matter raised a great heat in the House of Lords : Those, who had been advanced by the late King, and were in his Interests, did not think it became them to consent to this, which seemed to be a prejudice, or at least, a disgrace to those, whom he had raised. The Court managed the matter so dextrously, that the Bill passed, and the Queen was highly displeased with those, who had opposed it, among whom I had my share. The Clause was put in the Bill, by some in the House of Commons, only because they



1702 they believed it would be opposed by those, against whom they intended to irritate the Queen.

A further security to the Protestant Succession.

Soon after this, the Commons sent up a Bill, in favour of those, who had not taken the Oath, abjuring the Prince of *Wales*, by the day that was named; granting them a year longer to consider of it: for it was said, that the whole Party was now come entirely into the Queen's Interests: Tho' on the other hand, it was given out, that Agents were come from *France*, on design to persuade all persons to take the Abjuration, that they might become capable of Employments, and so might in time be a Majority in Parliament, and by that means, the Act of Succession, and the Oath imposed by it, might be repealed. When the Bill, for thus prolonging the time, was brought up to the Lords, a Clause was added, qualifying those persons, who should in the new extent of time take the Oaths, to return to their Benefices or Employments, unless they were already legally filled. When this was agreed, two Clauses of much greater consequence were added to the Bill. One was, declaring it High Treason to endeavour to defeat the Succession to the Crown, as it was now limited by Law, or to set aside the next Successor; This had a Precedent in the former Reign, so it could not be denied now: It seemed the more necessary, because there was another Person, who openly claimed the Crown; so that a further security might well be insisted on. This was a great surprize to many, who were visibly uneasy at the motion, but were not prepared for it, and did not see how it could be resisted. The other Clause was, for sending the Abjuration to *Ireland*, and obliging all there (in the same manner as in *England*) to take it: This seemed the more reasonable, considering the strength of the Popish Interest there. Both Clauses passed in the House of Lords, without any opposition: but it was apprehended, that the House of Commons would not be so easy: yet when it was sent to them, they struggled only against the first Clause, that barred the return of persons, upon their taking the Oaths, into places that were already filled. The Party tried their strength upon this, and upon their success in it, they seemed resolved to dispute the other Clause: but it was carried, tho' only by one voice, to agree with the Lords. When the Clause, relating to the Succession, was read; *Musgrave* try'd if it might not be made a Bill by it self, and not put as a Clause in another Bill: but he saw the House was resolved to receive both Clauses, so he did not insist on his motion. All people were surprized to see a Bill, that was begun in favour of the Jacobites, turned so terribly upon them; since by it, we had a new security given, both in *England* and *Ireland*, for a Protestant Successor.

The Earl of *Rocheſter* laid down his Employments.

At this time, the Earl of *Rocheſter* quitted his place of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*: He was uneasy at the preference which the Duke of *Marlborough* had in the Queen's confidence, and at the Lord Go-

dol-



*dolphin's* being Lord Treasurer. It was generally believed, he was endeavouring to embroil our Affairs, and that he was laying a train of opposition in the House of Commons: The Queen sent a Message to him, ordering him to make ready to go to *Ireland*; for it seemed very strange, especially in a time of War, that a person, in so great a Post, should not attend upon it: but he, after some days advising about it, went to the Queen, and desired to be excused from that Employment: This was readily accepted, and upon that he withdrew from the Councils. It was immediately offered to the Duke of *Ormond*, and he was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Duke of *Ormond*, upon his first arrival from the expedition to *Cadiz*, complained very openly of *Rook's* Conduct, and seemed resolved to carry the matter, to a publick accusation: But the Court found the Party, that prevailed in the House of Commons, determined to justify *Rook*; so to comply with this, the Queen made him a Privy Counsellor, and much pains were taken on the Duke of *Ormond* to stifle his resentments: He was in a great measure softened, yet he had made his complaints to so many Lords, that they moved the House to examine, both his Instructions and the Journals relating to that Expedition. A Committee of the House of Peers sat long upon the matter: They examined all the Admirals and Land Officers, as well as *Rook* himself, upon the whole progress of that Affair. *Rook* was so well supported by the Court, and by his Party in the House of Commons, that he seemed to despise all that the Lords could do. Some, who understood Sea matters, said, that it appeared from every motion that he made during the Expedition, that he intended to do nothing but amuse and make a shew: They also concluded, from the protection that the Ministry gave him, that they intended no other. He took much pains to shew, how improper a thing a Descent on *Cadiz* was, and how fatal the Attempt must have proved: and in doing this, he arraigned his Instructions, and the Design he was sent on, with great boldness, and shewed little regard to the Ministers; who took more pains to bring him off, than to justify themselves. The Lords of the Committee prepared a Report, which was hard upon *Rook*, and laid it before the House; but so strong a party was made, to oppose every thing that reflected on him, that tho' every particular in the Report was well proved, yet it was rejected, and a Vote was carried in his favour, justifying his whole Conduct. The great Employment given to the Duke of *Ormond*, so effectually prevailed on him, that tho' the enquiry was set on by his means, and upon his suggestions, yet he came not to the House, when it was brought to a conclusion: So *Rook*, being but faintly pushed by him, and most zealously supported by his party, was justified by a Vote, though universally condemned by more impartial Judges. The behaviour of the Ministry in this matter heightened the jealousies, with which many were possessed, for it was inferred,

*Rook's* conduct examined and justified.



1702 that they were not in earnest in this whole Expedition; since the conduct, being so contrary to the instructions, their justifying the one, was plainly condemning the other.

The enquiry made into the publick Accounts.

The Report made by the Commissioners, appointed to take the publick Accounts, was another business, that took up much time in this Session, and occasioned many Debates. They pretended, that they had made great discoveries; They began with the Earl of *Ranelagh*, who had been in great Posts; and had all the arts that were necessary to recommend a man in a Court; who stuck at nothing, that could maintain his Interest, with those whom he served: He had been Pay-master of the Army in King *James's* time; and being very fit for the Post, he had been continued all the last Reign: He had lived high, and so it was believed, his appointments could not support so great an expence: He had an Account of one and twenty Millions lay upon him. It was given out, that a great deal of the money, lodged in his Office, for the pay of the Army, was diverted to other uses, distributed among Favourites, or given to corrupt Members of Parliament; and that some Millions had been sent over to *Holland*: It had been often said, that great discoveries would be made, whensoever his Accounts were looked into: and that he, to save himself, would lay open the ill practices of the former Reign. But now, when all was brought under a strict examination, a few inconsiderable Articles, of some hundreds of pounds, was all that could be found to be objected to him: and even to these, he gave clear and full Answers. At last they found, that, upon the breaking of a Regiment, a Sum which he had issued out for its pay, had been returned to his Office, the Regiment being broke sooner, than that pay was exhausted: and that no entry of this was made in his Accounts. To this he answered, that his Officer, who received the money, was within three days after, taken so ill of a confirmed Stone, that he never came again to the Office, but died in great misery: and during those three days, he had not enter'd that Sum in the Books. Lord *Ranelagh* acknowledged, that he was liable to account for all the money that was received by his Under Officers; but here was no crime or fraud designed; yet this was so aggravated, that he saw his good Post was his greatest guilt: So he quitted that, which was divided into two: One was appointed to be Pay-master of the Guards and Garrisons at home; and another, of the Forces that were kept beyond Sea: *How* had the first, as being the more lasting Post. With this, all the clamour raised against the Earl of *Ranelagh* was let fall; yet to make a shew of severity, he was expelled the House; But he appeared, upon all this canvassing, to be much more innocent, than even his friends had believed him.

The Clamour against the former Reign still kept up.

The Clamour that had been long kept up against the former Ministry, as Devourers of the Publick Treasure, was of such use to the Party,



Party, that they resolved to continue it, by all possible methods: So a Committee of the House of Commons prepared a long Address to the Queen, reflecting on the ill management of the Funds, upon which they laid the great Debt of the Nation, and not upon the Deficiencies: This was branched out into many particulars, which were all heavily aggravated. Yet, tho' a great part of the outcry had been formerly made against *Russel*, Treasurer of the Navy, and his Office, they found not so much as a colour to fix a Complaint there: Nor could they charge any thing on the Chancery, the Treasury, or the Administration of Justice. Great Complaints were made of some Accounts, that stood long out, and they insisted on some pretended neglects, 'the old methods of the Exchequer not having been exactly followed: tho' it did not appear, that the Publick suffered in any sort by those failures. They kept up a clamour likewise against the Commissioners of the Prizes, tho' they had past their Accounts, as the Law directed; and no objection was made to them. The Address was full of severe reflections and spiteful insinuations; and thus it was carried to the Queen, and published to the Nation, as the sense of the Commons of *England*.

The Lords, to prevent the ill impressions this might make, appointed a Committee, to examine all the observations, that the Commissioners of Accounts had offered to both Houses: They searched all the Publick Offices, and were amazed to find, that there was not one Article, in all the long Address that the Commons had made to the Queen, or in the Observations then before them, that was of any importance, but what was false in fact. They found the Deficiencies in the former Reign were of two sorts: the one was of Sums, that the Commons had voted, but for which, they had made no sort of provision: The other was, where the Supply that was given came short of the Sum it was estimated at: and between these two, the Deficiencies amounted to fourteen Millions: This was the root of the great Debt that lay on the Nation. They examined into all the pretended mismanagement, and found that what the Commons had stated so invidiously was mistaken. So far had the late King and his Ministers been, from misapplying the money that was given for Publick Occasions, that he applied three Millions to the Publick Service, that by Law was his own Money, of which they made up the account. They also found, that some small omissions, in some of the forms of the Exchequer, were of no consequence, and neither had nor could have any ill effect: and whereas a great clamour was raised against passing of Accounts by Privy Seals, they put an end to that effectually, when it appeared on what ground this was done. By the ancient methods of the Exchequer, every Account was to be carried on, so that the new Officer was to begin his Account with the balance of the former Account; Sir *Edward Seimour*, who had been Treasurer of the Navy, owed by his last account, an hundred and eighty

It was examined by the Lords, and found to be ill-grounded.



1702 eighty thousand pounds, and he had received after that an hundred and forty thousand pounds, for which the Accounts were never made up: Now it was not possible for those who came after him, to be liable for his Accounts: Therefore the Treasurers of the Navy in the last Reign, were forced to take out Privy Seals for making up their Accounts: These imported no more, than that they were to account only for the money that they themselves had received: for in all other respects, their Accounts were to pass, according to the ordinary methods of the Exchequer. Complaints had been also made of the remissness of the Lords of the Treasury, or their Officers, appointed to account with the Receivers of Counties, for the Aids that had been given: but when this was examined, it appeared, that this had been done with such exactness, that of the sum of twenty four Millions, for which they had accounted, there was not owing above sixty thousand pounds, and that was for the most part in *Wales*; where it was not thought advisable to use too much rigour in raising it: and of that sum, there was not above fourteen thousand pounds, that was to be reckoned as lost. The Collectors of the Customs likewise answered all the observations made on their accounts so fully, that the House of Commons was satisfied with their Answers, and dismissed them, without so much as a reprimand. All this was reported to the House of Lords, and they laid it before the Queen in an Address, which was afterwards printed with the Vouchers to every particular: By this means, it was made out to the satisfaction of the whole Nation, how false those Reports were, which had been so industriously spread, and were so easily believed by the greater part: for the bulk of Mankind will be always apt to think, that Courts and Ministers serve their own ends, and study to enrich themselves at the publick cost. This Examination held long, and was followed with great exactness, and had all the effect that could be desired from it: for it silenced that noise, which the late King's enemies had raised, to asperse him and his Ministers. With this the Session of Parliament ended. In it the Lords had rendered themselves very considerable, and had gained an universal Reputation over the whole Nation: It is true, those who had opposed the persons, that had carried matters before them in this Session, were so near them in number, that things of the greatest consequence were carried only by one or two voices; therefore as they intended to have a clear Majority in both Houses, in the next Session, they prevailed with the Queen, soon after the Prorogation, to create four new Peers, who had been the violentest of the whole Party; *Finch, Gower, Granvil*, and young *Seimour*, were made Barons. Great reflections were made upon this Promotion; When some severe things had been thrown out in the House of Commons upon the opposition, that they met with from the Lords, it was insinuated, that it would be easy to find men of Merit and Estate to make a clear Majority in that

Some new  
Peers made.



that House: This was an open declaration of a design, to put every thing in the hands and power of that Party: It was also an encroachment on one of the tenderest points of the Prerogative, to make motions of creating Peers in the House of Commons. *Hervey*, tho' of the other side, was at the same time made a Baron, by private favour. Thus the Session of Parliament was brought to a much better conclusion, than could have been reasonably expected by those, who knew of whom it was constituted, and how it had begun. No harm was done in it: The Succession was fortified by a new security, and the popular clamours of Corruption and Peculate, with which the Nation had been so much possessed, were in a great measure dissipated.

The Proceedings of the Convocation, which sate at the same time, are next to be related: At the first opening of it, there was a Contest between the Two Houses, that lasted some days, concerning an Address to the Queen. The Lower House intended to cast some reflections on the former Reign, in imitation of what the House of Commons had done, and these were worded so invidiously, that most of the Bishops were pointed at by them; but the Upper House, refusing to concur, the Lower House receded, and so they both agreed in a very decent Address. The Queen received it graciously, promising all favour and protection to the Church, and exhorting them all to Peace and Union among themselves. After this, the Lower House made an Address to the Bishops, that they might find an expedient, for putting an end to those Disputes, that had stopt the Proceedings of former Convocations: The Bishops resolved to offer them all that they could, without giving up their Character and Authority: So they made a Proposition, that, in the intervals of Sessions, the Lower House might appoint Committees to prepare Matters, and when business was brought regularly before them, that the Archbishop should so order the Prorogations, that they might have convenient and sufficient time, to sit and deliberate about it. This fully satisfied many of that Body; But the Majority thought, this kept the matter still in the Archbishop's Power, as it was indeed intended it should: So they made another application to the Bishops, desiring them to refer the points in question to the Queen's decision, and to such as she should appoint to hear and settle them. To this the Bishops answered, that they reckoned themselves safe and happy in the Queen's Protection, and would pay all due submission to her Pleasure and Orders: But the Rights, which the Constitution of the Church and the Law had vested in them, were Trusts lodged with them, which they were to convey to their Successors, as they had received them from their Predecessors, and that it was not in their power to refer them. It would have been a strange sight, very acceptable to the enemies of the Church, chiefly to Papists, to see the Two Houses of Convocation, pleading their Authority and Rights

The Proceedings in Convocation.



1702 before a Committee of Council, that was to determine the matter. This failing, the Lower House tried what they could obtain of the House of Commons; but they could not be carried further than a general Vote, which amounted to nothing, that they would stand by them in all their just Rights and Privileges. They next made a separate Address to the Queen, desiring her Protection, praying her to hear and determine the Dispute: She received this favourably; she said, she would consider of it, and send them Her answer. The matter was now brought into the hands of the Ministers; The Earl of *Nottingham* was of their side, but confessed that he understood not the Controversy; The Judges and the Queen's Council were ordered to examine, how the matter stood in point of Law, which was thus stated to them: The constant practice, as far as we had Books or Records, was, that the Archbishop prorogued the Convocation by a *Schedule*; of this the Form was so fixed, that it could not be altered but by Act of Parliament: There was a Clause in the Schedule, that continued all matters before the Convocation, in the state in which they then were, to the day, to which He prorogued them; this made it evident, that there could be no intermediate Session, for a Session of the Lower House could, by passing a Vote in any matter, alter the state in which it was. It was kept a secret, what opinion the Lawyers came to, in this matter. It was not doubted, but they were against the pretensions of the Lower House; The Queen made no Answer to their Address; and it was believed, that the reason of this was, because the Answer must, according to the opinion of Lawyers, have been contrary to what they expected: and therefore the Ministers chose rather, to give no Answer, and that it should seem to be forgot, than that such an one should be given, as would put an end to the Debate, which they intended to cherish and support.

The Lower House finding, that by opposing their Bishops in so rough as well as in so unheard of a manner, they were represented as favourers of Presbytery; to clear themselves of that imputation, came suddenly into a conclusion, that Episcopacy was of Divine and Apostolical Right. The Party that stuck together in their Votes, and kept their intermediate Sessions signed this, and brought it up to the Bishops, desiring them to concur in settling the matter; so that it might be the standing Rule of the Church. This was a plain attempt to make a Canon or Constitution, without obtaining a Royal Licence, which by the Statute confirming the submission of the Clergy in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, made both them, and all who chose them, incur a *Premunire*; So the Bishops resolved not to entertain the Proposition, and a great many of the Lower House apprehending, what the consequence of such proceedings might be, by a Petition to the Bishops, pray'd that it might be enter'd in their Books, that they had not concurred in that Definition, nor in the Address



Address made pursuant to it. The Lower House looked on what they did in this matter, as a Master-piece: for if the Bishops concurred with them, they reckoned they gained their point: and if they refused it, they resolved to make them, who would not come up to such a positive Definition, pass for secret favourers of Presbytery. But the Bishops saw into their designs, and sent them for Answer, That they acquiesced in the Declaration, that was already made on that head, in the Preface to the Book of Ordinations; and that they did not think it safe, either for them or for the Clergy, to go further in that matter, without a Royal Licence. To this, a dark Answer was made, and so all these matters were at a full stand, when the Session came to an end, by the Prorogation of the Parliament; which was become necessary, the Two Houses being fixed in an opposition to one another.

From those Disputes in Convocation, Divisions ran thro' the whole Body of the Clergy, and to fix these, new names were found out: they were distinguished by the names of HIGH CHURCH and LOW CHURCH. All that treated the Dissenters with temper and moderation, and were for residing constantly at their Cures, and for labouring diligently in them; that expressed a zeal against the Prince of *Wales*, and for the Revolution; that wished well to the present War, and to the Alliance against *France*, were represented as secret favourers of Presbytery, and as ill affected to the Church, and were called *Low Churchmen*: it was said, that they were in the Church only, while the Law and Preferments were on its side; but that they were ready to give it up, as soon as they saw a proper time for declaring themselves: With these false and invidious Characters did the High Party endeavour to load all those, who could not be brought into their measures and designs. When the Session was at an end, the Court was wholly taken up with the preparations for the Campaign.

Great distractions among the Clergy

The Duke of *Marlborough* had a great domestick affliction at this time: He lost his only Son, a graceful person, and a very promising youth: He died at *Cambridge* of the Small Pox: This, as may be imagined, went very deep in his Father's heart, and stopt his passing the Seas some days longer than he had intended. Upon his arrival on the other side, the *Dutch* brought their Armies into the Field: The first thing they undertook, was the Siege of *Bonne*. In the mean while, all mens eyes were turned towards *Bavaria*: The Court of *Vienna* had given it out, all the former Winter, that they would bring such a Force upon that Elector, as would quickly put an end to that War, and seize his whole Country. But the slowness of that Court appeared on this, as it had done on many other occasions: For tho they brought two Armies into the Field, yet they were not able to deal with the Elector's Forces;

1703  
Preparations for the Campaign.

*Villars,*



1703 *Villars*, who lay with his Army at *Strasbourg*, had Orders to break thro' and join the Elector: So he was to force his way to him, at all adventures. He passed the *Rhine*, and set down before *Fort Keil*, which lay over against *Strasbourg*, and took it in a few days. Prince *Lewis* was in no condition to raise the Siege; for the best part of his Army was called away to the War in *Bavaria*: He therefore posted himself advantageously at *Stollhoffen*, yet he could not have maintained it, if the *States* had not sent him a good Body of Foot, which came seasonably, a few days before *Mareschal Villars* attack'd him with an Army, that was more than double his number: But his Men, chiefly the *Dutch* Battalions, received them with so much courage, that the *French* were forced to quit the attack, after they had lost about four thousand Men in it. Yet, upon repeated Orders from *France*, *Mareschal Villars* resolved to venture the loss of his whole Army, rather than abandon the Elector; who, tho' he had taken *Newburg*, and had surprized *Ratisbon*, and had several advantages in little engagements with the Imperialists, yet was like to be over-powered by a superior Force, if he was not relieved in time. The Black Forest was thought impracticable in that season, which was a very wet one; This was too much trusted to, so that the Passes were ill looked after: and therefore *Villars* overcame all difficulties, and joined the Elector: but his Troops were so harrassed with the March, that he was obliged to put them, for some time, into Quarters of Refreshment.

Bonnetaken.

The Duke of *Marlborough* carried on the Siege of *Bonne*, with such vigour, that they capitulated within ten days after the Trenches were opened; The *French* reckoned upon a longer resistance, and hoped to have diverted this by an attempt upon *Liege*: The *States* had a small Army about *Mastricht*, which the *French* intended to fall upon, being much superior to it: But they found the *Dutch* in so good order, and so well posted, that they retired within their Lines, as soon as they saw the Duke of *Marlborough*, after the Siege of *Bonne*, was marching towards them. The Winter had produced very little action in *Italy*: The Country was under another heavy Plague, by a continued succession of threatening, and of some very devouring Earthquakes: *Rome* itself had a share in the common Calamity: but it proved to them more dreadful, than it was mischievous. Prince *Eugene* found that his Letters, and the most pressing representations he could send to the Court of *Vienna*, had no effect: so at last he obtained leave to go thither.

Earth-  
quakes in  
*Italy*.

The Battle  
of *Eckeren*.

The Motions of the *Dutch* Army made it believed, there was a design on *Antwerp*: *Coborn* was making Advances in the *Dutch Flanders*, and *Opdam* commanded a small Army on the other side of the *Scheld*, while the Duke of *Marlborough* lay with the main Army, near the Lines in *Brabant*. *Boufflers* was detached from *Villeroy's* Army,



Army, with a Body, double in number to *Opdam's*, to fall on him; he marched so quick, that the *Dutch*, being surprized at *Eckeren*, were put in great disorder, and *Opdam*, apprehending all was lost, fled with a Body of his Men to *Breda*: but the *Dutch* rallied, and maintained their ground with such firmness, that the *French* retired, little to their honour; since tho' they were much superior in number, yet they let the *Dutch* recover out of their first confusion, and keep their ground, although forsaken by their General, who justified himself in the best manner he could, and cast the blame on others.

*Boufflers's* Conduct was so much censured, that it was thought this finished his disgrace; for he was no more put at the head of the *French* Armies: Nor was the Duke of *Marlborough* without some share of censure on this occasion, since it was pretended, that he ought to have sent a force to support *Opdam*, or have made an attempt on *Villeroy's* Army, when it was weakened by the detachment sent with *Boufflers*.

The *French* Lines were judged to be so strong, that the forcing them seemed impracticable, so the Duke of *Marlborough* turned towards *Huy*, which was soon taken; and after that to *Limbourg*, which he took with no loss, but that of so much time, as was necessary to bring up a train of Artillery: and as soon as that was done, the Garrison were made Prisoners of War, for they were in no condition to maintain a Siege. *Guelder* was also blockt up, so that before the end of the Campaign, it was brought to capitulate. Thus the *Low Rhine* was secured, and all that Country, called the *Coudras*, was intirely reduced: This was all that our Troops, in conjunction with the *Dutch*, could do in *Flanders*: We had the superior Army, but what by reason of the cautious maxims of the *States*, what by reason of the Factions among them, which were rising very high, between those, who had been of the late King's Party, and were now for having a Captain General, and those of the *Lovestein* Party, who were for governing all by a deputation from the *States*, no great design could be undertaken by an Army so much distracted.

In the *Upper Rhine*, matters went much worse; *Villars* lay, for some time on the *Danube*, while the Elector of *Bavaria* marched into *Tirol*, and possessed himself of *Inspruck*: The Emperor's Force was so broken into many small Armies, in different places, that he had not one good one any where: he had none at all in *Tirol*: and all that the Prince of *Baden* could do, was to watch *Villars's* motions: but he did not venture on attacking him, during this separation. Many blamed his conduct: some called his courage, and others his fidelity in question; while many excused him, since his Army was both weak, and ill furnished in all respects. The Duke of *Vendome* had Orders to march from the *Milanexe* to *Tirol*, there to join the Elector of *Bavaria*: upon which junction, the ruin of the House of *Austria* would have probably followed: But the Boors

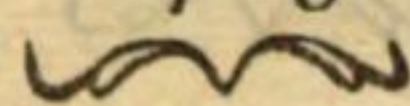
1703

*Huy, Limbourg, and Guelder, with all the Coudras taken.*

*The success of the French on the Danube.*



1703



in *Tirol* rose, and attack'd the Elector with so much resolution, that he was forced to retire out of the Country, with considerable loss, and was driven out before the Duke of *Vendome* could join him, so that he came too late: He seemed to have a design on *Trent*, but the Boors were now so animated with their successes, and were so conducted and supported by Officers and Troops sent them by the Emperor, that *Vendome* was forced to return back, without being able to effect any thing.

Little done  
in *Italy*.

Nothing passed this Summer in *Italy*: The Imperialists were too weak, and too ill supplied from *Germany*, to be able to act offensively: and the miscarriage of the design upon *Tirol*, lost the *French* so much time, that they undertook nothing, unless it were the Siege of *Ostiglia*, in which they failed. *Bersello*, after a long Blockade, was forced to capitulate, and by that means, the *French* possessed themselves of the Duke of *Modena's* Country: The Duke of *Burgundy* came to *Alsace*, and fate down before *Brisack*, of which he was soon Master, by the cowardice or treachery of those who commanded, for which they were condemned by a Council of War.

A War begun in *Hungary*.

The Emperor's misfortunes grew upon him; Cardinal *Calonitz* and *Esterhasi* had the Government of *Hungary*, trusted chiefly to them: The former was so cruel, and the other so ravenous, that the *Hungarians* took advantage from this distraction in the Emperor's Affairs, to run together in great bodies, and in many places, setting Prince *Ragotzki* at their head. They demanded, that their Grievances should be redressed, and that their Privileges should be restored: They were much animated in this, by the practices of the *French*, and the Elector of *Bavaria's* Agents: Some small assistance was sent them by the way of *Poland*; They were encouraged to enter upon no Treaty, but to unite and fortify themselves; assurances being given them, that no Peace should be concluded, unless they were fully restored to all their antient Liberties.

Disorders in  
the Emperor's Court.

The Court of *Vienna* was much alarmed at this; fearing it might be secretly set on by the *Turks*: tho' that Court gave all possible assurances, that they would maintain the Peace of *Carlowitz* most religiously, and that they would in no sort encourage or assist the Malecontents. A Revolution happening in that Empire, in which a new Sultan was set up, raised new apprehensions of a breach on that side: But the Sultan renewed the assurances of maintaining the Peace so solemnly, that all those fears were soon dissipated. There was a great Faction in the Emperor's Court, and among his Ministers; and it did not appear, that he had strength of Genius enough to govern them. Count *Mansfield* was much suspected of being in the Interests of *France*; The Prince of *Baden*, and Prince *Eugene*, both agreed in charging his Conduct, tho' they differed almost in every thing else: yet he was so possessed of the Emperor's favour and confidence, that it was not easy to get him set aside: In conclusion, he

was



was advanced to a high Post in the Emperor's Household, and Prince Eugene was made President of the Council of War.

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But what effect soever this might have in succeeding Campaigns, it was then too late in the year to find remedies for the present disorders: and all Affairs on the South of the *Danube* were falling into great confusion. Things went a little better on the North side of that River: The Upper Palatinate was entirely conquered; but near the end of the year, *Augsbourg* was forced to submit to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and *Landaw* was besieged by the *French*: *Tallard*, who commanded the Siege, took it in fewer Weeks, than it had cost the *Germans* Months, to take it the former year: Nor was this all, an Army of the Confederates was brought together to raise the Siege: The young Prince of *Hesse* commanded, but the Prince of *Nassau Welburg*, as a man of more experience in War, was chiefly depended on; tho' his conduct shewed how little he deserved it. The Emperor's Birth-day, was a day of diversion, and the *German* Generals, then at *Spire*, allowed themselves all the idle liberties, used in Courts on such days, without the ordinary precaution, of having Scouts or Parties abroad, in the same careless state, as if no Enemy had been near them. *Tallard*, having intelligence of this, left a Party of his Army to make a shew, and maintain the Works before *Landaw*; and marched with his best Troops against the *Germans*: He surprized and routed them: upon which *Landaw* capitulated: with this the warlike operations of this Campaign ended, very gloriously, and with great advantage to the *French*.

*Augsbourg*  
and *Landaw*  
taken  
by the  
*French*.

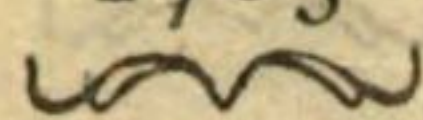
But two great Negotiations, then brought to a conclusion, very much changed the face of Affairs: All the Confederates pressed the King of *Portugal* to come into the Alliance, as his own interest led him to it; since it was visible, that as soon as *Spain* was once united to the Crown of *France*, he could not hope to continue long in *Portugal*. The *Almirante* of *Castile* was believed to be in the Interests of the House of *Austria*; therefore to send him out of the way, he was appointed to go Ambassador to *France*; He seemed to undertake it, and made the necessary preparations; He saw this Embassy was intended for an Exile, and that it put him in the power of his enemies; So, after he had raised what was necessary to defray his expence, he secretly changed his course, and escaped with the Wealth he had in his hands to *Lisbon*: where he entered into secret Negotiations with the King of *Portugal*, and the Emperor: He gave great assurances of the good dispositions, in which both the People and Grandees of *Spain* were, who were grown sick of their new Masters. The risque, he himself ran, seemed a very full credential; He assured them, the new King was despised, and that the *French* about him were universally hated; The *Spaniards* could not bear the being made a Province, either to *France* or to the Emperor.

A Treaty  
with the  
King of  
*Portugal*.

He



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He therefore proposed that the Emperor and the King of the *Romans* should renounce all their pretensions, and transfer them to the Archduke, and declare him King of *Spain*; and that he should be immediately sent thither; for he assured them, the *Spaniards* would not revolt from a King that was in possession, till they saw another King, who claimed his Right: and in that case, they would think they had a right to adhere to the King they liked best: The King of *Portugal* likewise demanded an enlargement of his Frontiers, and some new accessions to his Crown, which were reasonable, but could not be stipulated, but by a King of *Spain*.

In the Treaty, that the Emperor had made with the late King, and with the *States*, one Article was, that they should be at liberty to possess themselves of the Dominions, which the Crown of *Spain* had in the *West-Indies*, and he vested in them the right, that their Arms should give them, in these Acquisitions; upon which the King had designed to send a great Fleet, with a Land Army, into the Bay of *Mexico*, to seize some important places there, with a design of restoring them to the Crown of *Spain*, upon advantageous Articles for a free Trade, as soon as the *Spaniards* should receive a King of the House of *Austria*. This design was now laid aside, and the reason that the Ministers gave for it, was, that the *Almirante* had assured them, that if we possessed our selves of any of their places in the *West-Indies*, the whole Nation would by that means become entirely *French*; they would never believe our promises of restoring them; and seeing they had no Naval Power of their own to recover them, they would go into the *French* Interest very cordially, as the only way left to recover these Places.

An entire credit was given to the *Almirante*; So the Queen and the *States* agreed to send over a great Fleet, with a Land Army of twelve thousand Men, together with a great supply of Money and Arms to *Portugal*; that King undertaking to have an Army of twenty eight thousand Men ready to join ours. In this Treaty, an incident happened, that had almost spoiled the whole; The King of *Portugal* insisted, on demanding the Flag, and the other Respects to be paid by our Admiral, when he was in his Ports; The Earl of *Nottingham* insisted, it was a dishonour to *England* to strike, even in another King's Ports; This was not demanded of the Fleet, that was sent to bring over Queen *Katharine*, so, tho' *Methuen* our Ambassador, had agreed to this Article, he pressed the Queen not to ratify it.

*Methuen*, in his own justification, said, he consented to the Article, because he saw it was insisted on so much, that no Treaty could be concluded, unless that Point were yielded: The low state of their affairs, in the year 1662, when the Protection of *England* was all they had in view, for their preservation, made  
such



such a difference between that and the present time, that the one was not to be set up for a Precedent to govern the other: besides, even then the matter was much contested in their Councils, tho' the extremities, to which they were reduced, made them yield it. The Lord *Godolphin* looked on this, as too inconsiderable to be insisted on, the whole affairs of *Europe* seemed to turn upon this Treaty, and so important a matter ought not to be retarded a day for such Punctilio's, as a salute or striking the Flag: and it seemed reasonable, that every Sovereign Prince should claim this acknowledgment, unless where it was otherwise stipulated by express Treaties. The laying so much weight on such Matters, very much heightened jealousies; and it was said, that the Earl of *Nottingham* and the Tories seemed to lay hold on every thing that could obstruct the progress of the War; while the round proceeding of the Lord *Godolphin* reconciled many to him. The Queen confirmed the Treaty; upon which, the Court of *Vienna* was desired to do their part. But that Court proceeded with its ordinary slowness; The mildest Censure past on these delays was, that they proceeded from an unreasonable affectation of Magnificence in the Ceremonial, which could not be performed soon nor easily, in a poor but a haughty Court: It was done at last, but so late in the year, that the new declared King of *Spain* could not reach *Holland*, before the end of *October*. A Squadron of our Fleet was lying there, to bring him over; such as was wont to convoy the late King, when he crossed the Seas. But the Ministers of the King of *Spain* thought it was not strong enough; They pretended, they had advertisements, that the *French* had a stronger Squadron in *Dunkirk*, which might be sent out to intercept him: so an additional strength was sent; this lost some time, and a fair wind.

It had like to have been more fatal; for about the end of *November* the Weather grew very boisterous, and broke out on the 27th of *November*, in the most violent Storm, both by Sea and Land, that had been known in the memory of man: The City of *London* was so shaken with it, that people were generally afraid of being buried in the ruins of their houses: Some houses fell and crushed their Masters to death: great hurt was done in the Southern parts of *England*; little happening in the North, where the Storm was not so violent. There was a great fall of Trees, chiefly of Elms, that were blown down by the wind. We had, at that time, the best part of our Naval Force upon the Sea: which filled all people with great apprehensions of an irreparable loss; and indeed, if the Storm had not been at its height at full Flood, and in a Spring tide, the loss might have proved fatal to the Nation. It was so considerable, that fourteen or fifteen Men of War were cast away, in which 1500 Seamen perished; Few Merchant-

The great Wind in November.



1703 men were lost; such as were driven to Sea were safe: some few only were over-set. Thus the most threatening danger, to which the Nation could be exposed, went off with little damage: we all saw our hazard, since the loss of our Fleet must have been the loss of the Nation. If this great Hurricane had come at Low water, or in a quarter tide, our Ships must have been driven out upon the Banks of Sand, that lie before the Coast, and have stuck and perished there, as some of the Men of War did: but the Sea being so full of water, all but some heavy Ships got over these safe: Our Squadron, which was then in the *Maese*, suffered but little, and the Ships were soon refitted, and ready to sail.

The new  
King of  
Spain came  
to England.

About the end of *December* the King of *Spain* landed at *Portsmouth*; The Duke of *Somerſet* was sent by the Queen to receive him, and to bring him to an Interview, which was to be at *Windsor*; Prince *George* went and met him on the way, and he was treated with great Magnificence: The Court was very splendid, and much thronged; The Queen's Behaviour towards him was very noble and obliging; The young King charmed all that were there; he had a gravity beyond his Age, tempered with much modesty; His behaviour was in all points so exact, that there was not a circumstance, in his whole deportment, that was liable to censure; He paid an extraordinary Respect to the Queen, and yet maintained a due greatness in it; He had an art of seeming well pleased with every thing, without so much as smiling once all the while he was at Court, which was only three days; He spoke but little, and all he said was judicious and obliging; All possible haste was made, in fitting out the Fleet, so that he set sail in the beginning of *January*, and for five days he had a fair wind with good weather, but then the wind changed, and he was driven back to *Portsmouth*; He lay there above three weeks, and then he had a very prosperous Navigation. The Forces, that were ordered to go over to his assistance, were by this time got ready to attend on him, so he sailed with a great Fleet, both of Men of War and Transport Ships: He arrived happily at *Lisbon*, where he was received with all the outward expressions of joy and welcome, and at an expence, in a vain magnificence, which that Court could not well bear: but a National Vanity prevailed to carry this too far, by which other things, that were more necessary, were neglected: That Court was then very melancholy; for the young *Infanta*, whom the King of *Spain* was to have married, as had been agreed, died a few days before his arrival.

He landed  
at *Lisbon*.

While this Negotiation with *Portugal* was carried on, the Duke of *Savoy* began to see his own danger, if the two Crowns should come to be united; and he saw, that if the King of *France* drove the Imperialists out of *Italy*, and became Master of the *Milanese*, he must lie exposed, and at mercy; He had married his two Daugh-



Daughters to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and to King *Philip* of *Spain*; but as he wrote to the Emperor, he was now to take care of himself and his Son: His Alliance with *France* was only for one year, which he had renewed from year to year, so he offered, at the end of the year, to enter into the great Alliance; and he demanded for his share, the *Novarize* and the *Montferrat*. His leaving the Allies, as he had done in the former War, shewed that he maintained the character of his Family, of changing sides, as oft as he could expect better terms, by a new turn: yet his interest lay so visibly now on the side of the Alliance, that it was very reasonable to believe, he was resolved to adhere firmly to it. So when the demands he made were laid before the Court of *Vienna*, and from thence transmitted to *England* and *Holland*, all the assistance, that he proposed, was promised him: The Court of *Vienna* had no money to spare, but *England* and the *States* were to pay him twenty thousand pounds a month, of which *England* was to pay him two thirds, and the *States* the rest.

1703  
The Duke of Savoy came into the Alliance.

Since I am to relate the rest of this Transaction, I must look back, and give some account of his departing from the Alliance in the former War, which I had from Monsieur *Herval*, who was then the King's Envoy in *Switzerland*, a *French* Refugee, but originally of a *German* Family of *Augsbourg*, settled but lately in *France*. In *January* 1696, when the Plot for assassinating the King and invading the Nation, was thought so surely laid, that it could not miscarry; The King of *France* sent Mr. *Chanley* very secretly to the Duke of *Savoy*, with a full credence to the Propositions he was to make, demanding a positive answer within six hours: with that the Duke of *Orleans* wrote very warmly to him; he said, he had employed all his Interest with the King his Brother, to get these Offers made to him, which he conjur'd him to accept of, otherwise he must look for utter ruin, without remedy or recovery. *Chanley* told him, that at that present time, he was to reckon that King *James* was repossessed of the Throne of *England*, and that the Prince of *Orange* was either dead, or in his hands: so he offered to restore *Cazal* and *Pigneroll*, and all that was afterwards agreed to by the Treaty, if he would depart from the Alliance. The Duke of *Savoy* being thus alarmed with a Revolution in *England*, and being so straitned in time, thought the extreme necessity, to which he would be reduced, in case that was true, must justify his submitting, when otherwise his ruin was unavoidable. The worst part of this was, that he got leave to pretend to continue in the Alliance, till he had drawn all the Supplies, he was to expect for that year from *England* and the *States*, and then the whole matter was owned, as has been related in the Transactions of that year. I leave this upon the credit of him from whom I had it, who assured me he was well informed concerning it.

The secret reasons of his former departure from it.

The



1703

The French  
discover his  
intentions,  
and make  
all his  
Troops with  
them Prison-  
ers of War.

Count Sta-  
remberg  
joined him.

The Insur-  
rection in the  
Cevennes.

The Duke of *Savoy*, having now secretly agreed to enter into the Alliance, did not declare it, but continued still denying it to the *French*, that so when the Duke of *Vendome* sent back his Troops to him, at the end of the Campaign, he might more safely own it. The *French* had reason to suspect a secret Negotiation, but could not penetrate into it, so they took an effectual, though a very fraudulent method to discover it, which was told me soon after by the Earl of *Pembroke*. They got the Elector of *Bavaria* to write to him, with all seeming sincerity, and with great secrecy, for he sent it to him by a Subject of his own, so well disguised and directed, that the Duke of *Savoy* was imposed on by this management: In this Letter, the Elector complained bitterly of the insolence and perfidiousness of the *French*, into whose hands he had put himself: He said, he saw his Error now, when it was too late to see how he could correct it; yet if the Duke of *Savoy*, who was almost in as bad a state as himself, would join with him, so that they might act by concert, they might yet not only recover themselves, but procure a happy Peace to all the rest of *Europe*. The Duke of *Savoy*, mistrusting nothing, wrote him a frank answer, in which he owned his own designs, and encouraged the Elector to go on, and offered all offices of friendship on his behalf, with the rest of the Allies: The *French*, who knew by what ways the *Savoyard* was to return, seized him, without so much as acquainting the Elector with the discovery, that they had made: they saw now into this Secret; so when the time came, in which the Duke of *Vendome* ought to have sent back his Troops to him, they were made Prisoners of War, contrary to all Treaties: and with this the War began in those parts. It was much apprehended that, considering the weak and naked state in which the Duke of *Savoy* then was, the *French* would have quickly mastered him; but Count *Staremburg* ventured on a March, which Military men said was the best laid, and the best executed of any in the whole War: He marched from the *Modonese*, in the worst Season of the year, thro' ways that, by reason of the rains that had fallen, seemed impracticable, having in many places the *French* both before and behind him: He broke thro' all, and in conclusion joined the Duke of *Savoy*, with a good body of Horse. By this, he was render'd safe in *Piedmont*: It is true the *French* made themselves quickly masters of all *Savoy*, except *Montmelian*; where some small Actions happen'd, much to the Duke's advantage. The *Switzers* interposed, to obtain a Neutrality for *Savoy*, though without effect.

The Rising in the *Cevennes* had not been yet subdued, though Mareschal *Montrevel* was sent, with an Army to reduce or destroy them; He committed great barbarities, not only on those he found in Arms, but on whole Villages, because they, as he was informed, favoured them; They came often down out of their Hills in Parties, ravaging



ravaging the Country, and they engaged the King's Troops with much resolution, and sometimes with great advantage; They seemed resolved to accept of nothing less, than the restoring their Edicts to them; for a connivance at their own way of Worship was offered them; They had many among them, who seemed qualified in a very singular manner, to be the Teachers of the rest; they had a great measure of Zeal without any Learning; they scarce had any Education at all; I spoke with the person who, by the Queen's order, sent one among them to know the state of their Affairs; I read some of the Letters, which he brought from them, full of a sublime zeal and piety, expressing a courage and confidence that could not be daunted; One instance of this was, that they all agreed, that if any of them was so wounded, in an Engagement with the enemy, that he could not be brought off, he should be shot dead, rather than be left alive to fall into the enemies hands; It was not possible then, to form a judgment of that Insurrection, the reports about it were so various and uncertain, it being as much magnified by some, as it was undervalued by others; The whole number, that they could reckon on, was four thousand men, but they had not Arms and Clothes for half that number, so they used these by turns, while the rest were left at home, to follow their labour; They put the Country all about them in a great fright, and to a vast expence; while no intelligence could be had of their designs, and they broke out in so many different places, that all who lay within their reach were in a perpetual agitation; It was a lamentable thing, that they lay so far within the Country, that it was not possible to send Supplies to them, unless the Duke of *Savoy* should be in a condition to break into *Dauphiny*; and therefore Advices were sent them, to accept of such Terms as could be had, and to reserve themselves for better times.

In *Poland* the scene was more embroiled than ever; There was some appearance of Peace this Summer, but it went off in Winter; The old fierce Cardinal drew a Diet to *Warsaw*; there it was declared, that their King had broken all their Laws: upon that they, by a formal Sentence, deposed him, and declared the Throne vacant. This was done, in concert with the King of *Sweden*, who lay with his Army at some distance from them, in the neighbourhood of *Dantzick*, which alarmed the Citizens very much; It was believed, that they designed to choose *Sobieski*, the eldest Son of the late King, who then lived at *Breslaw* in *Silesia*, and being in the Emperor's Dominions, he thought himself safer than he proved to be; The King of *Poland* retired into *Saxony* in some haste, which made many conclude, that he resolved to abandon *Poland*; but he laid another design, which was executed to his mind, tho' in the sequel it proved not much to his advantage; *Sobieski* and his Brother were in a correspondence with the Party in *Poland*, that opposed the King, upon which they ought to have looked to their own security with more

The Affairs  
of *Poland*.



1703  
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precaution: They, it seems, apprehended nothing where they then were, and so diverted themselves at hunting, and otherwise in their usual manner; upon this some, sent by the King of *Poland*, took them both Prisoners, and brought them to *Dresden*, where they were safely kept; and all the Remonstrances that the Emperor could make, upon such an act of Hostility, had no effect. This for a while broke their measures at *Warsaw*; many forsook them, while the King of *Sweden* seemed implacable in his opposition to *Augustus*; whose chief confidence was in the *Czar*: It was suspected, that the *French* had a management in this matter; since it was certain that, by the War in *Poland*, a great part of that Force was diverted, which might otherwise have been engaged in the common Cause of the great Alliance. All the Advices that we had from thence agreed in this, that the King of *Sweden* himself was in no understanding with the *French*, but it was visible, that what he did, contributed not a little to serve their Ends. This was the state of Affairs at Land.

Affairs at
Sea.

I turn next to another Element; and to give an account of the Operations at Sea, where things were ill designed, and worse executed; The making Prince *George* our Lord High Admiral, proved in many instances very unhappy to the Nation: Men of bad designs imposed on him, he understood those matters very little, and they shelter'd themselves under his Name, to which a great Submission was paid; but the Complaints rose the higher for that: Our main Fleet was ready to go out in *May*, but the *Dutch* Fleet was not yet come over; so *Rook* was sent out, to alarm the Coast of *France*; He linger'd long in Port, pretending ill health; upon that *Churchill* was sent to command the Fleet; but *Rook's* health returned happily for him, or he thought fit to lay aside that pretence, and went to Sea, where he continued a month; but in such a Station, as if his design had been to keep far from meeting the *French* Fleet, which sailed out at that time; and to do the Enemy no harm, not so much as to disturb their quiet, by coming near their Coast: at last he returned, without having attempted any thing.

A Fleet sent
into the Me-
diterra-
nean.

It was after this resolved, to send a strong Fleet into the *Mediterranean*; It was near the End of *June*, before they were ready to sail, and they had Orders to come out of the *Streights*, by the end of *September*: Every thing was so ill laid in this Expedition, as if it had been intended, that nothing should be done by it, besides the conveying our Merchant Ships; which did not require the fourth part of such a Force. *Shovel* was sent to command; when he saw his Instructions, he represented to the Ministry, that nothing could be expected from this Voyage; He was ordered to go, and he obeyed his Orders; He got to *Leghorn* by the beginning of *September*. His arrival seemed to be of great consequence, and the Allies began to take courage from it; but they were soon disappointed of their hopes, when they understood, that by his Orders he could only stay a few days

days there: Nor was it easy to imagine, what the design of so great an Expedition could be, or why so much Money was thrown away on such a Project, which made us despised by our Enemies, while it provoked our Friends; who might justly think, they could not depend upon such an Ally, who managed so great a Force with so poor a conduct, as neither to hurt their Enemies, nor protect their Friends by it.

1703

A Squadron was sent to the *West-Indies*, commanded by *Graydon*; a man brutal in his way, and not well affected to the present state of Affairs: The design was, to gather all the Forces that we had, scattered up and down the Plantations, and with that strength to go and take *Placentia*, and so to drive the *French* out of the *Newfoundland* Trade: but the Secret of this was so ill kept, that it was commonly talked of, before he sailed: The *French* had timely notice of it, and sent a greater Force to defend the Place, than he could bring together to attack it. His Orders were pressing, in particular, that he should not go out of his way, to pursue any of the Enemy's Ships, whom he might see: These he observed so punctually, that when he saw a Squadron of four *French* Men of War sailing towards *Brest*, that were visibly foul, and in no condition to make any resistance, he sent indeed one of his Ships to view them, who engaged them, but *Graydon* gave the Signal to call him off, upon which they got safe into *Brest*. This was afterwards known to be *Du Cassé's* Squadron, who was bringing Treasure home from *Cartagena*, and other Ports of the *West-Indies*, reported to be four Millions of pieces of Eight: But tho' here was a good prey lost, yet so careful was the Prince's Council to excuse every thing, done by such a man, that they ordered an Advertisement to be put in the *Gazette*, to justify *Graydon*; in which it was said, that pursuant to his Orders, he had not engaged that Fleet. The Orders were indeed strangely given, yet our Admirals had never thought themselves so bound down to them, but that, upon great occasions, they might make stretches; especially where the advantage was visible, as it was in this case: for since they were out of the way of new Orders, and new occasions might happen, which could not be known, when their Orders were given, the nature of the Service seemed to give them a greater liberty, than was fit to be allowed in the Land Service. When he came to the Plantations, he acted in so savage a manner, as if he had been sent rather to terrify, than to protect them: When he had drawn the Forces together, that were in the Plantations, he went to attack *Placentia*: but he found it to be so well defended, that he did not think fit so much as to make any attempt upon it: So this Expedition ended very ingloriously, and many Complaints of *Graydon's* Conduct was sent after him.

Another to the *West-Indies*.

They returned without success.

There was also a great Complaint thro' the whole Fleet of their Victualling; we lost many of our Seamen, who, as was said, were

Our Fleets were ill victualled.

poison-

1703

poisoned by ill food; and tho' great complaints were made of the Victuallers, before the Fleet went out, yet there was not such care taken to look into it, as a matter of that consequence deserved: The Merchants did also complain, that they were ill served with Convoys, and so little care had been taken of the *Newcastle* Fleet, that the price of Coals rose very high: It was also said, that there was not a due care had of our Seamen, that were taken by the Privateers, many of them died by reason of their ill usage, while others, to deliver themselves from that, went into the *French* Service. Thus all our Marine Affairs were much out of order, and these disorders were charged on those, who had the conduct of them; every thing was unprosperous, and that will always be laid heavily on those, who are in the management of Affairs: It is certain that, in the beginning of this Reign, all those who hated the late King and his Government, or had been dismissed the Service by him, were sought out, and invited into Employments: so it was not to be expected, that they could be faithful or cordial in the War against *France*.

The Affairs
of Scotland.

The Affairs of *Scotland* come next to be related: A new Parliament was called, and many were chosen to serve in it, who were believed to be in secret Engagements with the Court at *St. Germain's*; The Lords, who had hitherto kept out of Parliament, and were known to be Jacobites, came and qualified themselves, by taking the Oaths, to vote in Parliament: It was set up for a Maxim, by the new Ministry, that all the Jacobites were to be invited home: so a Proclamation was issued out, of a very great extent, indemnifying all persons, for all Treasons committed before *April* last; without any limitation of Time for their coming home, to accept of this Grace, and without demanding any Security of them for the future. The Duke of *Queensbury* was sent down the Queen's Commissioner to the Parliament: This inflamed all those who had formerly opposed him; They resolved to oppose him still in every thing, and the greater part of the Jacobites joined with them, but some of them were bought off, as was said, by him: He, seeing so strong an opposition formed against him, studied to engage the Presbyterian Party to stick to him: and even the Party that united against him, were so apprehensive of the strength of that Interest, that they likewise studied to court them, and were very careful not to give them any umbrage. By this, all the hopes of the Episcopal Party were lost; and every thing relating to the Church did not only continue in the same state, in which it was during the former Reign, but the Presbyterians got a new Law in their favour, which gave them as firm a Settlement, and as full a Security, as Law could give; for an Act passed, not only confirming the Claim of Rights, upon which the Crown had been offered to the late King, one of its Articles being against Prelacy, and for a Parity in the Church, but

Presbytery
was confirmed.

but it was declared High Treason to endeavour any Alteration of it. 1703.
 It had been often proposed to the late King, to pass this into an Act, but he would never consent to it: He said, he had taken the Crown on the Terms in that Claim, and that therefore he would never make a breach on any part of it; but he would not bind his Successors, by making it a perpetual Law. Thus a Ministry, that carried all Matters relating to the Church to so great a height, yet, with other views, gave a fatal Stroke to the Episcopal Interest in *Scotland*, to which the late King would never give way. The great Debates in this Session were concerning the Succession of the Crown, in case the Queen should die without Issue. They resolved to give the Preference to that Debate, before they would consider the Supplies; it was soon resolved that the Successor to the Crown after the Queen, should not be the same Person that was King or Queen of *England*, unless the just Rights of the Nation should be declared in Parliament, and fully settled in an Independance upon *English* Interests and Councils. After this, they went to name Particulars, which by some were carried so far, that those Expedients were indeed the setting up a Commonwealth, with the empty Name of a King: for it was proposed, that the whole Administration should be committed to a Council, named by Parliament, and that the Legislature should be entirely in the Parliament, by which no shadow of Power was left with the Crown, and it was merely a Nominal Thing: But the further entring upon Expedients was laid aside for that Time, only one Act pass'd, that went a great way towards them: It was declared, that no succeeding King should have the Power to engage the Nation in a War, without consent of Parliament. Another Act of a strange Nature pass'd, allowing the Importation of *French* Goods, which, as was pretended, were to be imported, in the Ships of a neutral State. The truth was, the Revenue was so exhausted, that they had not enough to support the Government, without such help: Those who desired to drink good Wine, and all who were concerned in Trade, ran into it; so it was carried, though with great Opposition: The *Jacobites* also went into it, since it opened a free Correspondence with *France*: It was certainly against the publick Interest of the Government, in opposition to which private Interest does often prevail. The Court of *St. Germans*, perceiving such a Disjointing in *Scotland*, and so great an Opposition made in Parliament, was from thence encouraged to set all their Emissaries in that Kingdom at work, to engage both the chief of the Nobility, and the several Tribes in the Highlands, to be ready to appear for them. One *Frazier* had gone thro' the Highlands the former Year, and from thence he went to *France*, where he pretended, he had Authority from the Highlanders, to undertake to bring together a Body of 12000 Men, if they might be assisted

1703. ^{Practices from France.} fisted by some Force, together with Officers, Arms, Ammunition, and Money from *France*. After he had delivered this Message, to the Queen at *St. Germains*, she recommended him to the *French* Ministers; so he had some Audiences of them. He proposed that 5000 Men should be sent from *Dunkirk*, to land near *Dundee*, with Arms for 20000 Men; and that 500 should be sent from *Brest*, to seize on *Fort William*, which commanded the great Pass in the Highlands. The *French* hearkened to all this, but would not venture much upon slight Grounds, so they sent him back with some others, in whom they confided more, to see how much they might depend on, and what the Strength of the Highlanders was: They were also ordered, to try whether any of the great Nobility of that Kingdom would engage in the Design.

A Discovery made of these.

When these came over, *Frazier* got himself secretly introduced to the Duke of *Queensbury*, to whom he discovered all that had been already transacted: And he undertook to discover the whole Correspondence, between *St. Germains* and the *Jacobites*: He also named many of the Lords, who opposed him most in Parliament, and said, they were already deeply engaged. The Duke of *Queensbury* hearkened very willingly to all this, and he gave him a Pass to go thro' the Highlands again, where he found some were still very forward, but others were more reserved. At his return, he resolved to go back to *France*, and promised to make a more entire Discovery: He put one Letter in the Duke of *Queensbury*'s hands, from the Queen at *St. Germains*, directed on the Back (but by another hand) to the Marquis of *Athol*: The Letter was writ, in such general Terms, that it might have been directed to any of the great Nobility: And probably he, who was trusted with it, had power given him to direct it to any, to whom he found it would be most acceptable: For there was nothing in the Letter, that was particular to any one Person or Family; it only mentioned the Promises and Assurances sent to her by that Lord. This *Frazier* had been accused of a Rape, committed on a Sister of the Lord *Athol*'s, for which he was convicted and outlawed: So it might be supposed, that he, to be revenged of the Lord *Athol*, who had prosecuted him for that Crime, might put his Name on the back of that Letter. It is certain, that the others who were more trusted, and were sent over with him, avoided his Company, so that he was not made acquainted with that Proceeding. *Frazier* came up to *London* in Winter, and had some Meetings with the practising *Jacobites* about the Town, to whom he discovered his Negotiation: He continued still to persuade the Duke of *Queensbury* of his Fidelity to him: His Name was not told the Queen, for when the Duke of *Queensbury* wrote to her an Account of the Discovery, he added, that unless she commanded it, he had promised not to name the

the Person, for he was to go back to *St. Germans*, to compleat the ^{1703.} Discovery. The Queen did not ask his Name, but had more regard to what he said, because in the main it agreed with the Intelligence, that her Ministers had from their Spies at *Paris*. The Duke of *Queensbury* procured a Pass for him to go to *Holland*, but by another name: For he opened no part of this Matter to the Earl of *Nottingham*, who gave the Pass. The *Jacobites* in *London* suspected *Frazier's* Correspondence with the Duke of *Queensbury*, and gave advertisement to the Lord *Athol*, and by this means the whole Matter broke out, as shall be told afterwards. What Influence soever this, or any other Practice might have in *Scotland*, it is certain the Opposition in Parliament grew still greater; and since the Duke of *Queensbury* would not suffer them to proceed, in those strange Limitations upon the Crown, that had been proposed, tho' the Queen ordered him to pass the other Bills, they would give no Supply; so that the Pay of the Army, with the Charge of the Government, was to run upon Credit, and by this means Matters there were like to come to extremities. A national Humour of rendring themselves a free and independent Kingdom did so inflame them, that as they had a Majority of seventy in Parliament; they seemed capable of the most extravagant things, that could be suggested to them: The greatest part of the Ministry forsook the Duke of *Queensbury* in Parliament; both the Earl of *Seafield*, Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of *Athol*, the Lord Privy-Seal, and Lord *Tarbet*, the Secretary of State, with all that depended on them, broke off from him: Yet upon the Conclusion of the Session, *Athol* was made a Duke, and *Tarbet* was made Earl of *Cromarty*, which looked like rewarding them for their Opposition. Soon after that, the Queen resolved to revive the Order of the Thistle, that had been raised by her Father, but was let fall by the late King: It was to be carried in a green Ribbon, as the *George* is in a blue, and the Glory was in the Form of a *St. Andrew's Cross*, with a Thistle in the middle. *Argyle*, *Athol*, *Annandale*, *Orkney*, and *Seafield* were the first that had it, the number being limited to Twelve. And to such a heighth did the Disorders in that Kingdom rise, that great Skill and much secret Practice seemed necessary to set Matters right there: The Aversion and Jealousy towards those, who had been most active in the last Reign, and the Favour shewed to those, who were in King *James's* Interests, had an appearance of bringing Matters out of an Excess, to a Temper: And it was much magnified by those, who intended to flatter the Queen, on design to ruin her. Tho' the same Measures were taken in *England*, yet there was less danger in following them here than there: Errors might be sooner observed, and easier corrected, where Persons are in view, and are watched in all their Motions:

Reflections
on the Con-
duct of Af-
airs there.

1703. Motions: but this might prove fatal at a greater distance, where it was more easy to deny or palliate Things, with great Assurance. The Duke of *Queensbury's* engrossing all things to himself, increased the Disgust, at the Credit he was in: He had begun a Practice of drawing out the Sessions of Parliament, to an unusual length; by which his Appointments exhausted so much of the Revenue, that the rest of the Ministers were not paid, and that will always create discontent: He trusted entirely to a few Persons, and his Conduct was liable to just Exceptions: Some of those, who had the greatest Credit with him, were believed to be engaged in a Foreign Interest, and his passing, or rather promoting the Act, that opened a Correspondence with *France*, was considered as a Design, to settle a Commerce there: And upon that, his Fidelity or his Capacity were much questioned.

The Affairs
of Ireland.

There were still high Discontents in *Ireland*, occasioned by the behaviour of the Trustees there. The Duke of *Ormond* was the better received, when he went to that Government, because he came after the Earl of *Rocheſter*; till it appeared, that he was in all things governed by him; and that he pursued the Measures, which he had begun to take, of raising new Divisions in that Kingdom: For, before that Time, the only Division in *Ireland* was, that of *English* and *Irish*, Protestants and Papists: But of late an Animosity came to be raised there, like that we labour under in *England*, between Whig and Tory. The wiser sort of the *English* resolved to oppose this all they could, and to proceed with Temper and Moderation: The Parliament there was opened with Speeches and Addresses, that carried the Complements to the Duke of *Ormond* so far, as if no other Person besides himself, could have given them that Settlement, which they expected from his Government. The Trustees had raised a Scandal upon that Nation, as if they designed to set up an Independance upon *England*: so they began the Session with a Vote, disclaiming that, as false and injurious. They expressed on all Occasions their hatred of the Trustees and of their Proceedings, yet they would not presume to meddle with any thing they had done, pursuant to the Act, that had pass'd in *England*, which vested the Trust in them. They offered the necessary Supplies, but took Exceptions to the Accounts, that were laid before them, and observed some Errors in them. This begat an Uneasiness in the Duke of *Ormond*; for tho' he was generous, and above all sordid Practices, yet being a Man of Pleasure, he was much in the power of those, who acted under him, and whose Integrity was not so clear. One great Design of the wiser among them was, to break the Power of Popery, and the Interest, that the Heads of the *Irish* Families had among them: They

They enacted the Succession of the Crown, to follow the Pattern ^{1703.} set them by *England*, in every particular: They also passed an Act concerning Papists, somewhat like that which had passed in *England* three Years before; but with some more effectual Clauses, for the want of which, we have not yet had any Fruit from that Act: The main Difference was that, which made it look less invidious, and yet was more effectual, for breaking the Dependance on the Heads of Families: For it was provided, that all Estates should be equally divided among the Children of Papists, notwithstanding any Settlements to the contrary, unless the Persons, on whom they were settled, qualified themselves by taking the Oaths, and coming to the Communion of the Church: This seemed to carry no Hardship to the Family in general, and yet gave hopes of weakning that Interest so considerably, that the Bill was offered to the Duke of *Ormond*, pressing him, with more than usual Vehemence, to interceed so effectually, that it might be returned back under the Great Seal of *England*. They understood, that the Papists of *Ireland* had raised a considerable Sum, to be sent over to *England*, to support their Practices, in order to the stopping this Bill: It came over, warmly recommended by the Duke of *Ormond*: But it was as warmly opposed by those, who had a mind to have a share in the Presents, that were ready to be made. The Pretence for opposing it was, that while the Queen was so deeply engaged with the Emperor, and was interceeding for Favour to the Protestants in his Dominions; it seemed not seasonable, and was scarce decent, to pass so severe a Law against those of his Religion: Tho' this had the less Strength, since it was very evident, that all the *Irish* Papists were in the *French* Interest, so there was no reason to apprehend that the Emperor could be much concerned for them. The Parliament of *England* was sitting when this Bill came over, and Mens Eyes were much set on the Issue of it: So that the Ministers judged, it was not safe to deny it: But a Clause was added, which they hoped would hinder its being accepted in *Ireland*. That Matter was carried on so secretly, that it was known to none, but those who were at the Council, till the News of it came from *Ireland*, upon its being sent thither: The Clause was to this purpose, that none in *Ireland* should be capable of any Employment, or of being in the Magistracy in any City, who did not qualify themselves by receiving the Sacrament, according to the Test-Act passed in *England*; which before this time had never been offered to the *Irish* Nation. It was hoped by those, who got this Clause to be added to the Bill, that those in *Ireland* who promoted it most, would now be the less fond of it, when it had such a Weight hung to it: The greatest part of *Ulster* was possessed by the *Scotch*, who adhered stiffly to their first Education in *Scotland*: And they were so united

An Act
passed there
against Po-
pery.

1703. in that way, that it was believed they could not find such a number of Men, who would qualify themselves, as was necessary by this Clause, to maintain the Order and Justice of the Country. Yet upon this occasion the *Irish* Parliament proceeded with great Caution and Wisdom: They reckoned that this Act, so far as it related to Papists, would have a certain and great effect, for their common Security: And that when it was once pass'd, it would never be repealed: Whereas if great Inconveniencies did arise upon this new Clause, it would be an easier thing to obtain a Repeal of it, in a subsequent Parliament, either of *England* or *Ireland*. So the Act was passed, and those who thought they had managed the Matter with a Master-piece of Cunning, were outwitted by an *Irish* Parliament. However this Artifice, and some other things in the Duke of *Ormond*'s Conduct, put them into such an ill humour, that the Supply Bill was clogged and lessened by many Clauses added to it. The Session ended in so much Heat, that it was thought that Parliament would meet no more, if the Duke of *Ormond* was continued in the Government.

Jealousies of
the Ministry.

Thus the Parts of the Government that were thought the most easily managed, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, had of late been put into so much disorder, that it might prove no easy Work to set them again in order: The Government was every where going, as it were, out of joint: Its Nerves and Strength seemed to be much slackened: The trusting and imploying, not only violent Tories, but even known *Jacobites*, as it brought a Weakness on the Management, so it raised a Jealousy, that could not be easily cured. Stories were confidently vented, and by some easily believed, that the Queen was convinced of the Wrong done her pretended Brother, and that she was willing to put Affairs in the hands of Persons, who favoured his Succession: It was also observed, that our Court kept to cold Civilities with the House of *Hanover*, and did nothing that was tender or cordial looking that way: Nor were any imployed, who had expressed a particular Zeal for their Interests. These things gave great Jealousy: All that was said in excuse for trusting such Persons, was, that it was fit once to try if good Usage could soften them, and bring them entirely into the Queen's Interests: And Assurances were given, that, if upon a trial, the effect hoped for did not follow, they should be again dismiss'd.

This was the State of our Affairs when a new Session of Parliament was opened in *November*: The Queen, in her Speech expressed a great Zeal, for carrying on the War, and with relation to the Affairs of *Europe*: She recommended Union and good Agreement to all her People; she said she wanted Words to express, how earnestly she desired this. This was understood, as an Intimation of her Desire, that there should be no further Proceeding in the Bill

Bill against Occasional Conformity: Addressees full of Respect were made to the Queen, in return to her Speech; and the Lords, in theirs, promised to avoid every thing, that should occasion Dis-union or Contention: But nothing could lay the Heat of a Party, which was wrought on by some, who had Designs, that were to be denied or disguised, till a proper time for owning them should appear. A Motion was made in the House of Commons, for bringing in the Bill against Occasional Conformity: Great Opposition was made to it; the Court was against it, but it was carried by a great Majority, that such a Bill should be brought in. So a new Draught was formed: In it the Preamble, that was in the former Bill, was left out. The Number besides the Family, that made a Conventicle, was enlarged from Five to Twelve: And the Fine set on those, who went to Conventicles, after they had received the Sacrament, besides the loss of their Employment, was brought down to Fifty Pound: These were Artifices, by which it was hoped, upon such Softnings, once to carry the Bill on any Terms: And when that point was gained, it would be easy afterwards to carry other Bills of greater Severity. There was now such a Division upon this Matter, that it was fairly debated in the House of Commons: Whereas before, it went there with such a Torrent, that no Opposition to it could be hearkened to. Those who opposed the Bill went chiefly upon this ground, that this Bill put the Dissenters in a worse Condition, than they were before: So it was a Breach made upon the Toleration, which ought not to be done, since they had not deserved it by any ill Behaviour of theirs, by which it could be pretended that they had forfeited any of the Benefits, designed by that Act: Things of this kind could have no effect, but to imbroider us with new Distractions, and to disgust Persons well affected to the Queen and her Government: It was necessary to continue the happy Quiet, that we were now in, especially in this time of War, in which even the severest of Persecutors made their Stops, for fear of irritating ill Humours too much. The old Topicks of Hypocrisy, and of the Danger the Church was in, were brought up again on behalf of the Bill, and the Bill passed in the House of Commons by a great Majority: And so it was sent up to the Lords, where it occasioned one Debate of many Hours, whether the Bill should be entertained and read a second time, or be thrown out: The Prince appeared no more for it, nor did he come to the House upon this occasion: Some who had voted for it, in the former Session, kept out of the House, and others owned they saw farther into the Design of the Bill, and so voted against it. Upon a Division it was carried, by a Majority of Twelve, not to give it a second Reading, but to reject it.

1703.

A Bill against Occasional Conformity.

Pass'd by the Commons.

But rejected by the Lords,

The Bishops were almost equally divided: There were two more against it, than for it: Among these, I had the largest share of Censure

1703. Censure on me, because I spoke much against the Bill: I knew how the Act of Test was carried, as has been already shewn in its proper place: I related that in the House, and the many Practices of the Papists, of setting us of the Church against the Dissenters, and the Dissenters against us by turns, as it might serve their ends: I ventured to say, that a Man might lawfully communicate with a Church, that he thought had a Worship and a Doctrine uncorrupted, and yet communicate more frequently with a Church, that he thought more perfect: I myself had communicated with the Churches of *Geneva* and *Holland*; and yet at the same time communicated with the Church of *England*: So, tho' the Dissenters were in a Mistake, as to their Opinion, which was the more perfect Church, yet allowing them a Toleration in that Error, this Practice might be justified. I was desired to print what I said upon that occasion, which drew many virulent Pamphlets upon me, but I answered none of them: I saw the *Jacobites* designed to raise such a Flame among us, as might make it scarce possible to carry on the War; those who went not so deep, yet designed to make a Breach on the Toleration by gaining this Point: And I was resolved never to be silent, when that should be brought into debate: For I have long looked on Liberty of Conscience, as one of the Rights of Human Nature, antecedent to Society, which no Man could give up, because it was not in his own power: And our Saviour's Rule, of doing as we would be done by, seemed to be a very express Decision to all Men, who would lay the Matter home to their own Conscience, and judge as they would willingly be judged by others.

The Clergy
out of hu-
mour.

The Clergy over *England*, who were generally inflamed with this Matter, could hardly forgive the Queen and the Prince, the Coldness that they expressed on this occasion: The Lord *Godolphin* did so positively declare, that he thought the Bill unseasonable, and that he had done all he could, to hinder its being brought in, that tho' he voted to give the Bill a second Reading, that did not reconcile the Party to him: They set up the Earl of *Rochester*, as the only Man to be depended on, who deserved to be the chief Minister.

The Com-
mons vote
all the ne-
cessary Sup-
plies.

The House of Commons gave all the Supplies, that were necessary, for carrying on the War: Some tried to tack the Bill against Occasional Conformity to the Bill of Supply, but they had not Strength to carry it: The Commons shewed a very unusual Neglect of all that related to the Fleet, which was wont to be one of their chief Cares: It was surmized, that they saw, that if they opened that Door, Discoveries would be made of Errors that could neither be justified nor palliated, and that these must come home chiefly to their greatest Favourites; so they avoided all Examinations, that would probably draw some Censure on them.

The

The Lords were not so tender: They found great Fault with the Counsels, chiefly with the sending *Shovell* to the Mediterranean, and *Graydon* to the *West-Indies*: And laid all the Discoveries, that were made to them, with their own Observations on them, before the Queen, in Addresses that were very plain, tho' full of all due Respect: They went on likewise, in their Examinations of the outcry made of the Waste of the publick Treasure in the last Reign; they examined the Earl of *Orford's* Accounts, which amounted to seventeen Millions, and upon which some Observations had been made by the Commissioners, for examining the publick Accounts; they found them all to be false in Fact, or ill grounded, and of no Importance.

1703.
Enquiries
into the
Conduct of
the Fleet.

The only Particular, that seemed to give a just Colour to Exception, was very strictly examined: He had victualled the Fleet, while they lay all Winter at *Cadiz*: the Purfers Receipts for the Quantity, that was laid into every Ship, were produced, but they had no Receipts of the *Spaniards*, from whom they had bought the Provisions; but they had entred the Prices of them in their own Books, and these were given in upon Oath. This Matter had been much canvassed in the late King's Time, and it stood thus: *Russel*, now Earl of *Orford*, when he had been ordered to lie at *Cadiz*, wrote to the Board of Victualling, to send one over to provide the Fleet; they answered, that their Credit was then so low, that they could not undertake it: so he was desired to do it upon his own Credit. It appeared, that no Fleet nor single Ship had ever been victualled so cheap, as the Fleet was then by him: It was not the custom in *Spain* to give Receipts; but if any Fraud had been intended, it would have been easy to have got the *Spaniards*, after they had their Money, to have signed any Receipts, that could have been offered them, for swelling up the Accounts; for the Practices of swelling Accounts, in their dealings with their own Court, were well known there. Upon these Reasons, the Lords of the Treasury had pass'd his Accounts, and were of opinion that he had done a great Service to the Government, in that whole Transaction. The House of Lords did now confirm this; and ordered an Account of that whole matter to be printed.

The Earl of
Orford's
Accounts
justified.

The Commons made no progress in any Discoveries of ill Practices in the Earl of *Ranelagh's* Office, but concluded that matter with an Address to the Queen, that she would order a Prosecution. This was an Artifice to make the Nation still think, that great Discoveries of Corruption might be made, if carefully look'd after: It was expected, after such an Outcry as they had made, and after the expence the Nation was put to, for this Commission, and the extraordinary Powers that were lodged with the Commissioners, that at least some important Discoveries should have been made by them.

1704.

A Bill for
examining
the publick
Accounts
lost between
the two
Houses.

The Commons sent up a Bill to the Lords, for continuing the Commission another Year: It was observed that an Alteration was made of the Persons; some who expected better Places, got their Names to be left out. The Lords excepted to one *Bierly*, who was named to be one of the Commissioners; because he had been a Colonel, and had not yet cleared the Accounts of his own Regiment: so they struck out his Name, and named another; and they added two more, who were not Members of the House of Commons. The reason of this was, because the Members of that House would not appear before them, to explain some Particulars; they only sent their Clerk, to inform them, and when the Lords sent a Message to the House of Commons, to desire them to order their Members to attend on their Committee, all the return they had was, that they would send an answer, by Messengers of their own: but this was illusory, for they sent no such Message. So the Lords thought it necessary, in order to their being better informed, to put some in the Commission for the future, who should be bound to attend upon them, as oft as they should be called for. The Commons rejected these Amendments; and pretended that this was of the Nature of a Money-Bill, and that therefore the Lords could make no Alterations in it. The Message, that the Commons sent the Lords upon this Head, came so near the End of the Session, that the Lords could not return an Answer to it, with the Reasons for which they insisted on their Amendments; so that Bill fell.

The Charge of this Commission amounted to Eight Thousand Pounds a-year; the Commissioners made much noise, and brought many Persons before them to be examined, and gave great disturbance to all the Publick Offices, what by their Attendance on them, what by copying out all their Books for their Perusal; and yet in a Course of many Years, they had not made any one Discovery: so a full stop was put to this way of proceeding.

A Dispute
concerning
Injustice in
the Elections
of Members
of Parlia-
ment.

An Incident happened during this Session, which may have great Consequences, tho' in it self it might seem inconsiderable: There have been great Complaints long made, and these have increased much within these few Years, of great Partiality and Injustice in the Elections of Parliament-Men, both by Sheriffs in Counties, and by the returning Officers in Burroughs. In *Aylesbury*, the Return was made by four Constables, and it was believed, that they made a bargain with some of the Candidates, and then managed the Matter, so as to be sure, that the Majority should be for the Person, to whom they had engaged themselves; they canvassed about the Town, to know how the Voters were set, and they resolved to find some Pretence for disabling those, who were engaged to vote for other Persons than their Friends, that they might be sure to have the Majority in their own hands. And when this Matter came to be

be examined by the House of Commons, they gave the Election al-^{1704.} ways for him who was reckoned of the Party of the Majority, in a manner so barefaced, that they were scarce out of countenance, when they were charged for Injustices in judging Elections. It was not easy to find a Remedy, to such a crying Abuse, of which all sides in their turns, as they happened to be depressed, had made great Complaints; but when they came to be the Majority, seemed to have forgot all, that they had formerly cried out on. Some few excused this, on the Topick of Retaliation; they said, they dealt with others as they had dealt with them, or their Friends. At last an Action was brought against the Constables of *Aylesbury*, at the Suit of one, who had been always admitted to vote in former Elections, but was denied it in the last Election. This was tried at the *Affizes*, and it was found there by the Jury, that the Constables had denied him a Right, of which he was undoubtedly in possession, so they were to be cast in Damages; but it was moved in the Queen's Bench, to quash all the Proceedings in that Matter, since no Action did lie or had ever been brought upon that account. *Powel, Gould* and *Powis* were of opinion, that no Hurt was done the Man; that the judging of Elections belonged to the House of Commons; that as this Action was the first of its kind, so if it was allowed, it would bring on an Infinity of Suits, and put all the Officers, concerned in that Matter, upon great Difficulties: Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, tho' alone, yet differed from the rest; he thought this was a Matter of the greatest Importance, both to the whole Nation in general, and to every Man in his own particular; he made a great Difference between an Election of a Member, and a Right to vote in it; the House of Commons were the only Judges of the former, whether it was rightly managed or not, without Bribery, Fraud or Violence; but the Right of voting in an Election, was an original Right founded either on a Freehold of Forty Shillings a-year in the County; or on Burgageland, or upon a Prescription, or by Charter, in a Burrough: These were all legal Titles, and as such were triable in a Court of Law. Acts of Parliament were made concerning them, and by reason of these, every thing relating to those Acts, was triable in a Court of Law; he spoke long and learnedly, and with some Vehemence upon the Subject; but he was one against three, so the Order of the Court went, in favour of the Constables. The Matter was upon that brought before the House of Lords, by a Writ of Error; the Case was very fully argued at the Bar, and the Judges were ordered to deliver their Opinions upon it, which they did very copiously.

Chief Justice *Trevor* insisted much, on the Authority that the House of Commons had, to judge of all those Elections; from that he inferred, that they only could judge who were the Electors: Petitions were often grounded on this, that in the Poll some were admitted

1704. admitted to a Vote, who had no Right to it, and that others were denied it, who had a Right; so that in some Cases they were the proper Judges of this Right: And if they had it in some Cases, they must have it in all. From this he inferred, that every thing relating to this Matter was triable by them, and by them only; if two independent Jurisdictions might have the same Case brought before them, they might give contrary Judgments in it; and this must breed great Distraction, in the Execution of those Judgments.

To all this it was answered, that a single Man, who was wronged in this Matter, had no other Remedy but by bringing it into a Court of Law; for the House of Commons could not examine the Right of every Voter; if the Man, for whom he would have voted, was returned, he could not be heard to complain to the House of Commons, tho' in his own Particular he was denied a Vote, since he could not make any Exceptions to the Return; so he must bear his Wrong, without a Remedy, if he could not bring it into a Court of Law. A Right of voting in an Election was the greatest of all the Rights of an *Englishman*, since by that he was represented in Parliament; the House of Commons could give no Relief to a Man wronged in this, nor any Damages; they could only set aside one, and admit of another Return; but this was no Redress to him, that suffered the Wrong; it made him to be the less considered in his Burrough, and that might be a real Damage to him in his Trade: since this was a Right, inherent in a Man, it seemed reasonable that it should be brought, where all other Rights were tried, into a Court of Law; the Abuse was new, and was daily growing, and it was already swelled to a great height; when new Disorders happen, new Actions must lie, otherwise there is a Failure in Justice, which all Laws abhor; Practices of this sort were enormous and crying; and if the Rule made in the Queen's Bench was affirmed, it would very much encrease these Disorders, by this Indemnity, that seemed to be given to the Officers, who took the Poll.

The Lords judge that the Right of electing was triable at Law.

After a long Debate, it was carried by a great Majority to set aside the Order in the Queen's Bench, and to give Judgment according to the Verdict given at the Assizes. This gave great Offence to the House of Commons, who passed very high Votes upon it, against the Man of *Aylesbury*, as guilty of a Breach of their Privileges, and against all others who should for the future bring any such Suits into Courts of Law; and likewise against all Council, Attorneys and others, who should assist in any such Suits; and they affirmed, that the whole Matter relating to Elections belonged only to them: yet they did not think fit to send for the Man, who had sued, or rather in whose Name the Suit was carried on; so they let the Matter as to him fall, under a shew of Moderation and Pity, and let it rest upon those general Votes. The Lords on their part ordered the whole State of the Case to be drawn up and printed, which

which was done with much Learning and Judgment; they also asserted the Right, that all the People of *England* had, to seek for Justice in Courts of Law, upon all such Occasions; and that the House of Commons, by their Votes, struck at the Liberties of the People, at the Law of *England*, and at the Judicature of the House of Lords; and they ordered the Lord Keeper to send a Copy of the Case, and of their Votes to all the Sheriffs of *England*, to be communicated to all the Boroughs in their Counties. The House of Commons was much provoked with this, but they could not hinder it; the Thing was popular, and the Lords got great Credit, by the Judgment they gave, which let the People of *England* see, how they might be redressed for the future, if they should meet with the Injustice, the Partiality and other ill Practices, that had appeared of late in Elections, even beyond the Examples of former Times. This may prove a Restraint on the Officers, now that they see they are liable to be sued, and that a Vote of the House of Commons cannot cover them.

During the Session and on her own Birth-day, which was the sixth of *February*, the Queen sent a Message to the House of Commons, signifying her Purpose, to apply that Branch of the Revenue, that was raised out of the First-Fruits and Tenths, payed by the Clergy, to the encrease of all the small Benefices in the Nation: This Branch was an Imposition, begun by the Popes, in the Time of the Holy Wars, and it was raised as a Fund to support those Expeditions: But when Taxes are once raised by such an Arbitrary Power, as the Popes then assumed, and after there has been a Submission, and the Payments have been settled into a Custom, they are always continued, even after the Pretence, upon which they were at first raised, subsists no more: So this became a standing Branch of the Papal Revenue, 'till *Henry* the Eighth seemed resolved to take it away: It was first abolished for a Year, probably to draw in the Clergy, to consent the more willingly to a Change, that delivered them from such heavy Impositions: But in the succeeding Session of Parliament, this Revenue was again settled as Part of the Income of the Crown for ever. It is true, it was the more easily born, because the Rates were still at the old Value, which in some Places was not the tenth, and in most not above the fifth Part of the true Value: And the Clergy had been often threatened with a new Valuation, in which the Rates should be rigorously set to their full Extent.

The Queen gave the Tenths and First-fruits for the Benefit of the poor Clergy.

The Tenths amounted to about 11000 *l.* a-year, and the First-Fruits, which were more casual, rose one Year with another, to 5000 *l.* so the whole amounted to between Sixteen and Seventeen Thousand Pounds a-year: This was not brought into the Treasury, as the other Branches of the Revenue; but the Bishops, who had been the Pope's Collectors, were now the King's, so Persons in fa-

1704. your obtained Assignations on them, for Life or for a Term of Years: This had never been applied to any good use, but was still obtained by Favourites, for themselves and their Friends: And in King *Charles* the Second's Time, it went chiefly among his Women and his Natural Children. It seemed strange, that while the Clergy had much Credit at Court, they had never represented this, as Sacrilege, unless it was applied to some Religious Purpose, and that during Archbishop *Laud*'s Favour with King *Charles* the First, or at the Restauration of King *Charles* the Second, no Endeavours had been used to appropriate this to better Uses: Sacrilege was charged on other things, on very slight Grounds; but this, which was more visible, was always forgot.

When I wrote the History of the Reformation, I considered this Matter so particularly, that I saw here was a proper Fund, for providing better Subsistence to the poor Clergy; we having among us some Hundreds of Cures, that have not of certain Provision Twenty Pounds a-year; and some Thousands, that have not Fifty: Where the Encouragement is so small, what can it be expected, Clergymen should be? It is a crying Scandal, that at the Restauration of King *Charles* the Second, the Bishops and other Dignitaries, who raised much above a Million in Fines, yet did so little this way: I had possessed the late Queen with this, so that she was fully resolved, if ever she had lived to see Peace and Settlement, to have cleared this Branch of the Revenue, of all the Assignations, that were upon it, and to have applied it to the Augmentation of small Benefices. This is plainly insinuated, in the Essay that I wrote on her Memory, some time after her Death. I laid the Matter before the late King, when there was a Prospect of Peace, as a proper Expression both of his Thankfulness to Almighty God, and of his Care of the Church; I hoped that this might have gained the Hearts of the Clergy: It might at least have put a stop to a groundless Clamour raised against him, that he was an Enemy to the Clergy, which began then to have a very ill effect on all his Affairs. He entertained this so well, that he ordered me to speak to his Ministers about it: They all approved it, the Lord *Somers* and the Lord *Halifax* did it, in a most particular manner: But the Earl of *Sunderland* obtained an Assignment, upon two Dioceses, for Two Thousand Pound a-year for two Lives; so nothing was to be hoped for after that. I laid this Matter very fully before the present Queen, in the King's time, and had spoken often of it to the Lord *Godolphin*.

This Time was perhaps chosen, to pacify the angry Clergy, who were dissatisfied with the Court, and began now to talk of the Danger the Church was in, as much as they had done during the former Reign: This extraordinary Mark of the Queen's Piety and Zeal for the Church, produced many Addresses, full of Complements, but it has not yet had any great effect, in softening the Tempers of peevish

peevish Men. When the Queen's Message was brought to the House of Commons, some of the Whigs, particularly Sir *John Holland* and Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, moved that the Clergy might be entirely freed from that Tax, since they bore as heavy a Share of other Taxes; and that another Fund might be raised of the same Value, out of which small Benefices might be augmented: But this was violently opposed by *Musgrave*, and other Tories, who said the Clergy ought to be kept still in a Dependance on the Crown. 1704.

Upon the Queen's Message, a Bill was brought in, enabling her to alienate this Branch of the Revenue, and to create a Corporation by Charter, to apply it to the use for which she now gave it: They added to this a Repeal of the Statute of *Mortmain*, so far as that it might be free to all Men, either by Deed or by their last Wills, to give what they thought fit towards the augmenting of Benefices: It was suggested, how truly I cannot tell, that this Addition was made in hope that it would be rejected by the Lords, and that the Scandal of losing the Bill might lie on them. It occasioned a great Debate in the House of Lords: It was said, that this Law was made and kept up even during the Times of Popery, and it seemed not reasonable to open a Door to Practices upon dying Men. It was answered, that we had not the Arts of affrighting Men by the Terrors of Purgatory, or by Fables of Apparitions: Where these were practised, it was very reasonable to restrain Priests from those Artifices, by which they had so enriched their Church, that without some such effectual Checks they would have swallowed up the whole Wealth of the World, as they had indeed in *England*, during Popery, made themselves Masters of a full third part of the Nation. The Bishops were so zealous and unanimous for the Bill, that it was carried and passed into a Law. The Queen was pleased to let it be known, that the first Motion of this Matter came from me: Such a Project would have been much magnified at another time; and those, who had promoted it, would have been looked on as the truest Friends of the Church: But this did not seem to make any great Impression at that time; only it produced a Set of Addresses, from all the Clergy of *England*, full of Thanks and just Acknowledgments. An Act passed about it.

I come now, in the last place, to give the Relation of the Discoveries made of a Plot, which took up much of the Lords Time, and gave occasion to many sharp Reflections, that pass'd between the two Houses in their Addresses to the Queen. About the same time that the Story of *Frazier's* Pass and Negotiations began to break out, Sir *John Macclean* a Papist, and the Head of that Tribe or Clan in the Highlands and Western Isles of *Scotland*, came over from *France* in a little Boat, and landed secretly at *Folkston* in *Kent*: He brought his Lady with him, tho' she had been delivered of a Child, but eleven Days before. He was taken, and sent up to *London*; and it A Plot discovered.

1704. it seemed, by all Circumstances, that he came over upon some important Design: He pretended at first, that he came only to go thro' *England* and *Scotland*, to take the Benefit of the Queen's general Pardon there: But when he was told, that the Pardon in *Scotland* was not a good Warrant to come into *England*, and that it was High-Treason to come from *France*, without a Pass, he was not willing to expose himself to the Severity of the Law: So he was prevailed on to give an account of all that he knew, concerning the Negotiations between *France* and *Scotland*. Some others were at the same time taken up upon his Information, and some upon Suspicion: Among these there was one *Keith*, whose Uncle was one of those, who was most trusted by the Court of *St. Germans*, and whom they had sent over with *Frazier*, to bring them an account of the Temper the *Scotch* were in, upon which they might depend. *Keith* had been long at that Court, he had free Access both to that Queen and Prince, and hoped they would have made him Under Secretary for *Scotland*; for some time, he denied that he knew any thing, but afterwards he confessed he was made acquainted with *Frazier's* Transactions, and he undertook to deal with his Uncle to come and discover all he knew, and pretended there was no other Design among them, but to lay Matters so, that the Prince of *Wales* should reign after the Queen. *Ferguson* offered himself to make great Discoveries: He said *Frazier* was employed by the Duke of *Queensbury*, to decoy some into a Plot, which he had framed and intended to discover, as soon as he had drawn many into the Guilt: He affirmed that there was no Plot among the *Jacobites*, who were glad to see one of the Race of the *Stuarts* on the Throne: And they designed, when the State of the War might dispose the Queen to a Treaty with *France*, to get such Terms given her, as King *Stephen* and King *Henry* the Sixth had, to reign during her Life. When I heard this, I could not but remember what the Duke of *Athol* had said to myself, soon after the Queen's coming to the Crown: I said, I hoped none in *Scotland* thought of the Prince of *Wales*: He answered, he knew none that thought of him as long as the Queen lived: I replied, that if any thought of him after that, I was sure the Queen would live no longer, than till they thought their Designs for him were well laid: But he seemed to have no Apprehensions of that. I presently told the Queen this, without naming the Person, and she answered me very quick, there was no manner of doubt of that: But tho' I could not but reflect often on that Discourse, yet since it was said to me in Confidence, I never spoke of it to any one Person, during all the Enquiry, that was now on foot: But I think it too material not to set it down here. *Ferguson* was a Man of a particular Character: Upon the Revolution he had a very good Place given him, but his Spirit was so turned to Plotting, that within a few Months after he turned about, and he has been ever since the boldest

boldest and most active Man of the *Jacobite* Party: He pretended he was now for High Church, but many believed him a Papist: There was Matter of Treason sworn both against him and *Keith*, but there was only one Witness to it. 1704.

At the same time *Lindsey* was taken up; he had been Under-Secretary first to the Earl of *Melfort*, and then to the Earl of *Middletoun*; he had carried over from *France* the Letters and Orders, that gave rise to the Earl of *Dundee*'s breaking out, the Year after the Revolution; and he had been much trusted at *St. Germain's*; he had a small Estate in *Scotland*, and he pretended, that he took the Benefit of the Queen's Pardon, and had gone to *Scotland* to save that; and being secured by this Pardon, he thought he might come from *Scotland* to *England*; but he could pretend no colour for his coming to *England*; so it was not doubted, but that he came hither to manage their Correspondence and Intrigues. He pretended he knew of no Designs against the Queen and her Government; and that the Court of *St. Germain's*, and the Earl of *Middletoun* in particular, had no Design against the Queen; but when he was shewed *Frazier*'s Commission to be a Colonel, signed by the pretended King, and countersigned *Middletoun*, he seemed amazed at it; he did not pretend it was a Forgery, but he said that things of that kind were never communicated to him.

At the same time, that these were taken up, others were taken on the Coast of *Sussex*; one of these, *Boucher*, was a chief Officer in the Duke of *Berwick*'s Family, who was then going to *Spain*, but it was suspected that this was a Blind to cover his going to *Scotland*; the House of Lords apprehended, that this Man was sent on great Designs, and suspecting a Remissness in the Ministry, in looking after and examining those, who came from *France*, they made an Address to the Queen, that *Boucher* might be well look'd to; they did also order Sir *John Maclean* to be brought before them; but the Queen, sent them a Message, that *Maclean*'s Business was then in a Method of Examination, and that she did not think fit to alter that, for some time: But as for *Boucher*, and those who were taken with him, the Earl of *Nottingham* told the House, that they were brought up, and that they might do with them as they pleased; upon that the House sent back *Maclean*, and ordered the Usher of the Black Rod to take the other Prisoners into his Custody, and they named a Committee of seven Lords to examine them. At this time, the Queen came to the Parliament, and acquainted both Houses, that she had unquestionable Proofs of a Correspondence between *France* and *Scotland*, with which she would acquaint them, when the Examinations were taken.

The Commons were in an ill humour against the Lords, and so they were glad to find Occasions to vent it: They thought the Lords ought not to have entred upon this Examination; they complained

Disputes between the two Houses in Addresses to the Queen.

1704.

of it as of a new and unheard-of thing, in an Address to the Queen; they said it was an Invasion of her Prerogative, which they desired her to exert. This was a Proceeding without a Precedent; the Parliamentary Method was, when one House was offended with any thing done in the other, Conferences were demanded, in which Matters were freely debated; to begin an Appeal to the Throne was new, and might be managed, by an ill-designing Prince, so as to end in the Subversion of the whole Constitution; and it was an amazing thing, to see a House of Commons affirm, in so publick a manner and so positively, that the Lords taking Criminals into their own Custody, in order to an Examination, was without Warrant or Precedent; when there were so many Instances, fresh in every Man's Memory, especially since the Time of the Popish Plot, of Precedents in both Houses, that went much further; of which a full Search has been made, and a long List of them was read in the House of Lords. That did not a little confound those among them, who were believed to be in a secret Correspondence with the House of Commons; they were forced to confess, that they saw the Lords had clear Precedents to justify them, in what they had done, of which they were in great doubt before.

The Lords upon this made a very long Address to the Queen, in which they complained of the ill Usage they had met with from the House of Commons; they used none of those hard Words, that were in the Address made against them by the House of Commons, yet they justified every Step they had taken, as founded on the Law and Practice of Parliament, and no way contrary to the Duty and Respect they owed the Queen: The Behaviour of the House of Commons was such, on this occasion, as if they had no mind that Plots should be narrowly looked into; no House of Parliament, and indeed no Court of Judicature, did examine any Person, without taking him into their own Custody, during such Examination; and if a Person's being in Custody must restrain a House of Parliament from examining him, here was a Maxim laid down, by which bad Ministers might cover themselves from any Enquiry into their ill Practices, only by taking the Persons, who could make Discoveries, into Custody: The Lords also set forth the ill Consequences that might follow, upon one House of Parliament carrying their Complaints of another to the Throne, without taking first the proper Method of Conferences: This Address was drawn with the utmost Force, as well as Beauty and Decency of Style; and was reckoned one of the best Pieces of its kind, that were in all the Records of Parliament. The Queen, in her Answer, expressed a great Concern to see such a Dispute, between the two Houses.

Boucher, when he was examined, would confess nothing; he said, he was weary of living so long out of his Country, and that having made some Attempt to obtain a Pass, when that was denied him,

him, he chose, rather than to live always abroad, to come and cast himself upon the Queen's Mercy; it did not seem reasonable to believe this; so the Lords made an Address to the Queen, that he might have no hopes of Pardon, till he was more sincere in his Discoveries; and they prayed that he might be prosecuted on the Statute: He confessed his Crime, and was condemned, but continued still denying, that he knew any thing; few could believe this; yet there being no special Matter laid against him, his Case was to be pitied; he proved, that he had saved the Lives of many Prisoners, during the War of *Ireland*, and that during the War in *Flanders*, he had been very careful of all *English* Prisoners: When all this was laid before the Lords, they did not think fit to carry the Matter farther, so he was reprieved, and that Matter slept.

About the end of *January*, the Queen sent the Examinations of the Prisoners to the two Houses; the House of Commons heard them read, but pass'd no Judgment upon them, nor did they offer any Advice to the Queen, upon this occasion; they only sent them back to the Queen, with Thanks for communicating them, and for her Wisdom and Care of the Nation: It was thought strange, to see a Business of this nature treated so slightly, by a Body that had looked, in former times, more carefully to things of this kind; especially since it had appeared, in many Instances, how dextrous the *French* were in raising Distractions in their Enemies Country: It was evident, that a Negotiation was begun, and had been now carried on for some time, for an Army that was to be sent from *France* to *Scotland*; upon this, which was the main of the Discovery, it was very amazing to see, that the Commons neither offered the Queen any Advice, nor gave her a Vote of Credit, for any extraordinary Expence, in which the Progress of that Matter might engage her; a Credit so given might have had a great effect, towards defeating the Design, when it appeared how well the Queen was furnished to resist it: This Coldness, in the House of Commons, gave great and just ground of Suspicion, that those, who had the chief Credit there, did not act heartily, in order to the defeating all such Plots, but were willing to let them go on, without Check or Opposition.

The Lords resolved to examine the whole Matter narrowly; the Earl of *Nottingham* laid before them, an Abstract of all the Examinations, the Council had taken; but some took great Exceptions to it, as drawn on design to make it appear more inconsiderable, than they believed it to be: The Substance of the whole was, that there went many Messages between the Courts of *St. Germain*s and *Versailles*, with relation to the Affairs of *Scotland*; the Court of *Versailles* was willing to send an Army to *Scotland*, but they desired to be well assured of the Assistance they might expect there; in order to which, some were sent over, according to what *Frazier* had told the Duke of *Queensbury*; some of the Papers were writ

The Lords ordered a secret Examination of all who were suspected to be in this Plot.

in

1704. in Gibberish, so the Lords moved that a Reward should be offered, to any who should decypher these. When the Lords asked the Earl of *Nottingham*, if every thing was laid before them, he answered, that there was only one Particular kept from them; because they were in hopes of a Discovery, that was like to be of more Consequence than all the rest: so after the delay of a few Days, to see the Issue of it, which was *Keith's* endeavouring to persuade his Uncle (who knew every Step that had been made, in the whole Progress of this Affair) to come in and discover it, when they were told there was no more hope of that, the Lords ordered the Committee, which had examined *Boucher*, to examine into all these Discoveries. Upon this the Commons, who expressed a great uneasiness, at every Step the Lords made in the Matter, went with a new Address to the Queen, insisting on their former Complaints, against the Proceedings of the Lords, as a wresting the Matter out of the Queen's Hands, and the taking it wholly into their own; and they prayed the Queen to resume her Prerogative, thus violated by the Lords, whose Proceedings they affirmed to be without a Precedent.

The seven Lords went on with their Examinations, and after some Days they made a Report to the House; *Macclean's* Confession was the main thing; it was full and particular; he named the Persons that sat in the Council at *St. Germain's*; he said, the Command was offered to the Duke of *Berwick*, which he declined to accept, till trial was made whether Duke *Hamilton* would accept of it, who he thought was the proper Person; he told likewise, what Directions had been sent to hinder the settling the Succession in *Scotland*; none of which Particulars were in the Paper, that the Earl of *Nottingham* had brought to the House of his Confession. It was farther observed, that all the rest, whose examinations amounted to little, were obliged to write their own Confessions, or at least to sign them: But *Macclean* had not done this; for after he had delivered his Confession by Word of Mouth to the Earl of *Nottingham*, that Lord wrote it all from his Report, and read it to him the next Day; upon which he acknowledged, it contained a full Account of all he had said. *Macclean's* Discovery to the Lords was a clear Series of all the Counsels and Messages, and it gave a full View of the Debates and Opinions in the Council at *St. Germain's*, all which was omitted in that, which was taken by the Earl of *Nottingham*, and his Paper concerning it was both short and dark; there was an Appearance of Truth, in all that *Macclean* told, and a regular Progress was set forth in it.

Upon these Observations those Lords, who were not satisfied with the Earl of *Nottingham's* Paper, intended to have passed a Censure upon it, as imperfect: It was said, in the Debate that followed upon this Motion, either *Macclean* was asked, who was to command

mand the Army to be sent into *Scotland*, or he was not; if he was asked the Question, and had answered it, then the Earl of *Nottingham* had not served the Queen or used the Parliament well, since he had not put it in the Paper; if it was not asked, here was great Remissness in a Minister, when it was confessed, that the sending over an Army was in consultation, not to ask who was to command that Army. Upon this Occasion, the Earl of *Torrington* made some Reflections, that had too deep a Venom in them: He said, the Earl of *Nottingham* did prove, that he had often read over the Paper, in which he had set down *Macclean's* Confession, in his hearing; and had asked him, if all he had confessed to him was not fully set down in that Paper; to which he always answered, that every thing he had said was contained in it. Upon this, that Earl observed, that *Macclean*, having perhaps told his whole Story to the Earl of *Nottingham*, and finding afterwards, that he had writ such a defective Account of it, he had reason to conclude, (for he believed, had he been in his condition, he should have concluded so himself,) that the Earl of *Nottingham* had no mind, that he should mention any thing, but what he had writ down, and that he desired that the rest might be suppressed: He could not judge of others but by himself; if his Life had been in danger, and if he were interrogated by a Minister of State, who could do him either much Good or much Hurt, and if he had made a full Discovery to him, but had observed that this Minister, in taking his Confession in Writing, had omitted many things, he should have understood that, as an Intimation that he was to speak of these things no more; and so he believed he should have said it was all, tho' at the same time he knew it was not all, that he had said. It was hereupon moved, that *Macclean* might be sent for and interrogated, but the Party was not strong enough to carry any thing of that kind; and by a previous Vote it was carried, to put no question concerning the Earl of *Nottingham's* Paper.

The Lords were highly offended with *Ferguson's* Paper, and pass'd a severe Vote against those Lords, who had received such a scandalous Paper from him, and had not ordered him to be prosecuted upon it; which they directed the Attorney-General to do. It was apparent, there was a Train of dangerous Negotiations, that passed between *Scotland* and *St. Germans*, tho' they could not penetrate into the Bottom and Depth of it: And the Design of *Keith's* bringing in his Uncle, was managed so remissly, that it was generally concluded that it was not in earnest desired it should succeed. During these Debates, one very extraordinary thing happened: The Earl of *Nottingham* did, upon three or four occasions, affirm, that some things had been ordered in the Cabinet Council, which the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Devonshire*, who were likewise of that Council, did not agree with him in.

1704.

The Lords
Opinion up
on the whole
Matter.

After all these Examinations and Debates, the Lords concluded the whole Matter, with voting that there had been dangerous Plots between some in *Scotland* and the Court of *France* and *St. Germain's*; and that the Encouragement of this Plotting came, from the not settling the Succession to the Crown of *Scotland*, in the House of *Hanover*: These Votes they laid before the Queen; and promised, that when this was done, they would endeavour to promote the Union of the two Kingdoms, upon just and reasonable Terms.

An Address
justifying
the Pro-
ceeding of
the Lords.

This being ended, they made a long and vigorous Address, in answer to that which the Commons had made against them: They observed how uneasy the Commons had been at the whole Progress of their Inquiry into this Matter, and had taken Methods to obstruct it all they could; which did not shew that Zeal for the Queen's Safety, and the Preservation of the Nation, to which all Men pretended: They annexed to their Address, a List of many Precedents, to shew what good Warrants they had for every Step they had made: They took not the Examination to themselves, so as to exclude others who had the same Right, and might have done it as well as they, if they had pleased: Their Proceedings had been Regular and Parliamentary, as well as full of Zeal and Duty to the Queen: They made severe Observations on some of the Proceedings in the House of Commons, particularly on their not ordering Writs to be issued out for some Burroughs, to proceed to new Elections, when they, upon pretence of Corruption, had voted an Election void; which had been practised of late, when it was visible that the Election would not fall on the Person they favoured. They charged this as a Denial of Justice, and of the Right that such Burroughs had to be represented in Parliament, and as an arbitrary and illegal way of proceeding: This Address was penned with great Care and much Force. These Addresses were drawn by the Lord *Somers*, and were read over and considered and corrected very critically, by a few Lords, among whom I had the honour to be called for one. This, with the other Papers that were published by the Lords, made a great Impression on the Body of the Nation: For the difference that was between these, and those published by the House of Commons, was indeed so visible, that it did not admit of any Comparison, and was confessed even by those who were the most partial to them.

An Act for
Recruits.

An Act passed in this Session, which may be of great advantage to the Nation, if well executed; otherwise, since it is only enacted for one Year, it will not be of much use: It impowers the Justices of Peace, or any three of them, to take up such idle Persons, as have no Callings nor Means of Subsistence, and to deliver them to the Officers of the Army, upon paying them the Levy Money, that is allowed for making Recruits: The Methods of raising

raising these hitherto, by drinking and other bad Practices, as they were justly odious, so they were now so well known, that they were no more of any effect: So that the Army could not be recruited, but by the help of this Act. And if this is well managed, it will prove of great advantage to the Nation; since by this means, they will be delivered from many vicious and idle Persons, who are become a Burthen to their Country: And indeed there was of late Years so great an Encrease of the Poor, that their Maintenance was become in most Places a very heavy Load, and amounted to the full half of the publick Taxes. The Party in both Houses, that had been all along cold and backward in the War, opposed this Act with unusual Vehemence; they pretended Zeal for the publick Liberty, and the Freedom of the Person, to which, by the Constitution, they said every *Englishman* had a Right; which they thought could not be given away, but by a legal Judgment, and for some Crime. They thought this put a Power in the hands of Justices of Peace, which might be stretched and abused, to serve bad Ends: Thus Men, that seemed engaged to an Interest, that was destructive to all Liberty, could yet make use of that specious Pretence, to serve their Purpose. The Act pass'd, and has been continued from Year to Year, with a very good effect: Only a visible Remissness appears in some Justices, who are secretly influenced by Men of ill Designs.

The chief Objection made to it in the House of Lords was, that the Justices of Peace had been put in and put out, in so strange a manner, ever since *Wright* had the Great Seal, that they did not deserve so great a Power should be committed to them: Many Gentlemen, of good Estates, and ancient Families, had been of late put out of the Commission, for no other visible reason, but because they had gone in heartily to the Revolution, and had continued zealous for the late King. This seemed done on design to mark them, and to lessen the Interest they had in the Elections of Members of Parliament: And at the same time, Men of no Worth nor Estate, and known to be ill-affected to the Queen's Title, and to the Protestant Succession, were put in, to the great Encouragement of ill-designing Men: All was managed by secret Accusations, and Characters that were very partially given. *Wright* was a Zealot to the Party, and was become very exceptionable in all Respects: Money, as was said, did every thing with him; only in his Court, I never heard him charged, for any thing but great Slowness, by which the Chancery was become one of the heaviest Grievances of the Nation. An Address was made to the Queen, complaining of the Commissions of the Peace, in which the Lords delivered their Opinion, that such as would not serve, or act under the late King, were not fit to serve her Majesty.

With this the Session of Parliament was brought to a quiet Conclusion, after much Heat and a great deal of Contention between the

An Address concerning the Justices of Peace.

The ill Temper of many, especially of the Clergy.

1704. the two Houses: The Queen, as she thanked them for the Supplies, so she again recommended Union and Moderation to them. These Words, which had hitherto carried so good a Sound, that all sides pretended to them, were now become so odious to violent Men, that even in Sermons, chiefly at *Oxford*, they were arraigned as importing somewhat, that was unkind to the Church, and that favoured the Dissenters: The House of Commons had, during this Session, lost much of their Reputation, not only with fair and impartial Judges, but even with those, who were most inclined to favour them. It is true, the Body of the Freeholders began to be uneasy under the Taxes, and to cry out for a Peace: And most of the capital Gentry of *England*, who had the most to lose, seemed to be ill-turned, and not to apprehend the Dangers we were in, if we should fall under the Power of *France*, and into the hands of the pretended Prince of *Wales*; or else they were so fatally blinded, as not to see that these must be the Consequences of those Measures, into which they were engaged.

The Universities, *Oxford* especially, have been very unhappily successful in corrupting the Principles of those, who were sent to be bred among them: So that few of them escaped the Taint of it, and the Generality of the Clergy were not only ill-principled, but ill-tempered; they exclaimed against all Moderation as endangering the Church, tho' it is visible, that the Church is in no sort of Danger, from either the Numbers or the Interest that the Dissenters have among us, which by reason of the Toleration is now so quieted, that nothing can keep up any Heat in those Matters, but the Folly and bad Humour, that the Clergy are possessed with, and which they infuse into all those, with whom they have Credit: But at the same time, tho' the great and visible Danger, that hangs over us, is from Popery, which a Miscarriage in the present War must let in upon us, with an Inundation, not to be either resisted or recovered, they seem to be blind on that side, and to apprehend and fear nothing from that Quarter.

The Convocation did little this Winter, they continued their former ill Practices, but little Opposition was made to them, as very little regard was had to them: They drew up a Representation of some Abuses in the Ecclesiastical Discipline, and in the Consistorial Courts: But took care to mention none of those greater ones, of which many among themselves were eminently guilty; such as Pluralities, Non-residence, the Neglect of their Cures, and the Irregularities in the Lives of the Clergy, which were too visible.

The Duke of Marlborough went to Holland in Winter.

Soon after the Session was ended, the Duke of *Marlborough* went over to *Holland*. He had gone over for some Weeks, at the desire of the *States*, in *January*, and then there was a Scheme form'd for the Operations of the next Campaign. It was resolved that, instead of

of a fruitless one in the *Netherlands*, they would have a small Army ^{1704.} there, to lie only on the defensive, which was to be commanded by *M. Auverquerque*; but that, since the *Rhine* was open, by the taking of *Bonne*, all up to the *Mozelle*, their main Army, that was to be commanded by the Duke of *Marlborough*, should act there: More was not understood to be designed, except by those who were taken into the Confidence. Upon this, all the Preparations for the Campaign were ordered to be carried up to the *Rhine*; and so every thing was in a readiness, when he returned back to them in *April*: The true Secret was in few hands, and the *French* had no hint of it, and seemed to have no Apprehensions about it.

The Earl of *Nottingham* was animated by the Party, to press the Queen, to dismiss the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Devonshire* from the Cabinet Council, at least that they might be called thither no more: He moved it often, but finding no Inclination in the Queen to comply with his Motion, he carried the Signet to her, and told her, he could not serve any longer in Councils, to which these Lords were admitted: But the Queen desired him to consider better of it. He returned next day, fixed in his first Resolution, to which he adhered the more steadily, because the Queen had sent to the Earl of *Jersey*, for the Lord Chamberlain's Staff, and to Sir *Edward Seymour* for the Comptroller's. The Earl of *Jersey* was a weak Man, but crafty and well practised in the Arts of a Court: His Lady was a Papist, and it was believed, that while he was Ambassador in *France*, he was secretly reconciled to the Court of *St. Germain*s: For after that, he seemed in their Interests. It was one of the Reproaches of the last Reign, that he had so much Credit with the late King; who was so sensible of it, that if he had lived a little while longer, he would have dismissed him: He was considered as the Person, that was now in the closest Correspondence with the Court of *France*; and tho' he was in himself a very inconsiderable Man, yet he was applied to, by all those who wished well to the Court of *St. Germain*s. The Earl of *Kent* had the Staff; he was the first Earl of *England*, and had a great Estate: *Mansell*, the Heir of a great Family in *Wales*, was made Comptroller; and after a Month's Delay, *Harley*, the Speaker, was made Secretary of State.

But now I turn to give an Account of the Affairs abroad, the Emperor was reduced to the last Extremities; the Elector of *Bavaria* was Master of the *Danube* all down to *Passau*; and the Malecontents in *Hungary* were making a formidable Progress: The Emperor was not in a condition to maintain a Defensive War long, on both hands; so that when these should come to act by concert, no Opposition could be made to them. Thus his Affairs had a very black Appearance, and utter Ruin was to be apprehended; *Vienna* would be probably besieged on both sides; and it was not in a condition to make

The Earl of Nottingham quitted his Place.

The Earl of Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour turned out.

The Duke of Marlborough conducted his Design with great Secrecy.

1704. a long Defence: So the House of *Austria* seemed lost. Prince *Eugene* proposed that the Emperor should implore the Queen's Protection; this was agreed to, and Count *Wratislaw* managed the Matter at our Court, with great Application and Secrecy; the Duke of *Marlborough* saw the necessity of undertaking it, and resolved to try, if it was possible, to put it in execution. When he went into *Holland* in the Winter, he proposed it to the Pensioner and other Persons of the greatest Confidence; they approved of it, but it was not adviseable to propose it to the *States*; at that time, many of them would not have thought their Country safe, if their Army should be sent so far from them; nothing could be long a Secret, that was proposed to such an Assembly, and the main hope of succeeding in this Design lay in the Secrecy, with which it was conducted. Under the Blind of the Project of carrying the War to the *Mozelle*, every thing was prepared, that was necessary for executing the true Design. When the Duke went over the second time, that which was proposed in publick, related only to the Motions towards the *Mozelle*; so he drew his Army together in *May*: he marched towards the *Mozelle*; but he went farther, and after he had gained the Advance of some Days of the *French* Troops, he wrote to the *States* from *Ladenburg* to let them know, that he had the Queen's Order, to march to the Relief of the Empire, with which he hoped they would agree, and allow of his carrying their Troops, to share in the Honour of that Expedition; he had their Answer, as quick as the Courier could carry it, by which they approved of the Design, and of his carrying their Troops with him.

He marched
to the *Danube*.

The Battle
of *Schellenberg*.

So he marched with all possible Expedition from the *Rhine* to the *Danube*; which was a great Surprize to the Court of *France*, as well as to the Elector of *Bavaria*. The King of *France* sent Orders to *Mareschal Tallard*, to march in all haste, with the best Troops they had, to support the Elector; he apprehended, that the Duke of *Marlborough* would endeavour to pass the *Danube* at *Donawert*, and so to break into *Bavaria*: To prevent that, he posted about 16000 of his best Troops at *Schellenberg* near *Donawert*; which was looked on as a very strong and tenable Post. The Duke of *Marlborough* joined the Prince of *Baden*, with the Imperial Army, in the beginning of *July*; and after a long March, continued from three in the Morning, they came up to the *Bavarian* Troops towards the Evening; they were so well posted, that our Men were repulsed in the three first Attacks with great Loss; at last the Enemy were beat from their Posts, which was followed with a total Rout, and we became Masters of their Camp, their Artillery and their Baggage. Their General *Arco*, with many others, swam over the *Danube*: Others got into *Donawert*, which they abandoned next Morning, with that precipitation, that they were not able to execute the Elector's cruel Orders, which were to set fire to the Town, if they should be

be forced to abandon it: Great Quantities of Straw were laid in many places, as a Preparation for that, in case of a Misfortune. 1704.

The best half of the *Bavarian* Forces were now entirely routed, about 5000 of them were killed: We lost as many, for the Action was very hot, and our Men were much exposed; yet they went still on, and continued the Attack with such Resolution, that it let the Generals see, how much they might depend on the Courage of their Soldiers. Now we were Masters of *Donawert*, and thereby of a Passage over the *Danube*, which laid all *Bavaria* open to our Army: Upon that the Elector, with Mareschal *Marfin*, drew the rest of his Army under the Cannon of *Augsbourg*, where he lay so well posted, that it was not possible to attack him, nor to force him out of it; the Duke of *Marlborough* followed him, and got between him and his Country; so that it was wholly in his power. When he had him at this disadvantage, he entred upon a Treaty with him, and offered him what Terms he could desire, either for himself or his Brother, even to the paying him the whole Charge of the War, upon condition that he would immediately break with the *French*, and send his Army into *Italy*, to join with the *Imperialists* there: His Subjects, who were now at mercy, pressed him vehemently to accept of those Terms; he seemed inclined to hearken to them, and Messengers went often between the two Armies: but this was done only to gain time, for he sent Courier after Courier, with most pressing Instances to hasten the Advance of the *French* Army. When he saw, he could gain no more time, the Matter went so far, that the Articles were ordered to be made ready for signing: In conclusion, he refused to sign them; and then severe Orders were given for Military Execution on his Country: Every thing that was within the reach of the Army, that was worth taking, was brought away; and the rest was burnt and destroyed.

The two Generals did after that resolve on further Action, and since the Elector's Camp could not be forced, the Siege of *Ingolstadt* was to be carried on: It was the most important Place he had, in which his great Magazines were laid up. The Prince of *Baden* went to besiege it; and the Duke of *Marlborough* was to cover the Siege, in conjunction with Prince *Eugene*, who commanded a Body of the Imperial Army, which was now drawn out of the Posts, in which they had been put, in order to hinder the March of the *French*: But they were not able to maintain them, against so great a Force as was now coming up; these formed a great Army. Prince *Eugene*, having Intelligence of the quick Motions of the *French*, posted his Troops, that were about 18000, as advantageously as he could: And went to concert Matters with the Duke of *Marlborough*, who lay at some distance: He upon that marched towards the Prince's Army with all possible haste, and so the two Armies joined; it was now in the beginning of *August*. The Elector hearing how

near

1704. near M. *Tallard* was, marched with M. *Marfin*, and joined him. Their Armies advanced very near ours, and were well posted; having the *Danube* on one side, and a Rivulet on the other, whose Banks were high, and in some places formed a Morass before them. The two Armies were now in view one of another: The *French* were superior to us in Foot, by about 10000; but we had 3000 Horse more than they: The Post, of which they were possessed, was capable of being, in a very little time, put out of all danger of future Attacks; so the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* saw how important it was, to lose no time, and resolved to attack them the next Morning: They saw the Danger of being forced otherwise to lie idle in their Camp, 'till their Forage should be consumed, and their Provisions spent. They had also intercepted Letters from Mareschal *Villeroy* to the Elector, by which it appeared, that he had Orders to march into *Wirtemberg*, to destroy that Country, and to cut off the Communication with the *Rhine*, which must have been fatal to us: So the necessary Dispositions were made for the next Morning's Action. Many of the General Officers came and represented to the Duke of *Marlborough* the Difficulties of the Design; he said he saw these well, but the Thing was absolutely necessary: so they were sent to give Orders every where, which was received all over the Army with an Alacrity, that gave a happy Pre-
 sage of the Success that followed.

I will not venture on a particular Relation of that great Day; I have seen a copious Account of it, prepared by the Duke of *Marlborough's* Orders, that will be printed some time or other: But there are some Passages in it, which make him not think it fit to be published presently. He told me, he never saw more evident Characters of a special Providence, than appeared that Day; a signal one related to his own Person; a Cannon-Ball went into the Ground so near him, that he was some time quite covered with the Cloud of Dust and Earth that it raised about him. I will sum up the Action in a few Words.

The Battle
 of Hocksted.

Our Men quickly passed the Brook, the *French* making no Opposition: This was a fatal Errour, and was laid wholly to *Tallard's* Charge; the Action that followed, was for some time very hot, many fell on both sides; ten Battalions of the *French* stood their ground, but were in a manner mowed down in their Ranks; upon that, the Horse ran, many of them into the *Danube*, most of these perished; *Tallard* himself was taken Prisoner. The rest of his Troops were posted in the Village of *Blenheim*: These, seeing all lost, and that some Bodies were advancing upon them, which seemed to them to be thicker than indeed they were, and apprehending that it was impossible to break thro', they did not attempt it, tho' brave Men might have made their way. Instead of that, when our Men came up to set fire to the Village; the Earl of *Orkney*
 first

first beating a Parley, they hearkened to it very easily, and were all made Prisoners of War: There were about 1300 Officers and 12000 common Soldiers, who laid down their Arms, and were now in our hands. Thus all *Tallard's* Army was either killed in the Action, drowned in the *Danube*, or become Prisoners by Capitulation: Things went not so easily on Prince *Eugene's* side, where the Elector and *Marfin* commanded; he was repulsed in three Attacks, but carried the fourth, and broke in; and so he was Master of their Camp, Cannon, and Baggage. The Enemy retired in some order, and he pursued them as far as Men, wearied with an Action of about six Hours, in an extreme hot Day, could go; thus we gained an entire Victory. In this Action there was on our side about 12000 killed and wounded; but the *French* and the Elector lost about 40000 killed, wounded and taken.

The Elector marched with all the haste he could to *Ulm*, where he left some Troops, and then with a small Body got to *Villeroy's* Army. Now all *Bavaria* was at mercy; the Electress received the Civilities due to her Sex, but she was forced to submit to such Terms, as were imposed on her: *Ingolstadt* and all the fortified Places in the Electorate, with the Magazines that were in them, were soon delivered up: *Augsbourg*, *Ulm* and *Memming* quickly recovered their Liberty; so now our Army, having put a speedy Conclusion to the War, that was got so far into the Bowels of the Empire, marched quickly back to the *Rhine*. The Emperor made great Acknowledgements of this signal Service, which the Duke of *Marlborough* had done him, and upon it offered to make him a Prince of the Empire; he very decently said, he could not accept of this, till he knew the Queen's Pleasure; and upon her consenting to it, he was created a Prince of the Empire, and about a Year after, *Mindleheim* was assigned him for his Principality.

Upon this great Success in *Germany*, the Duke of *Savoy* sent a very pressing Message for a present Supply; the Duke of *Vendome* was in *Piedmont*, and after a long Siege had taken *Verceil*, and was like to make a further Progress: The few Remains of the Imperial Army, that lay in the *Modoneze*, gave but a small Diversion; the Grand Prior had so shut them up, that they lay on a feeble Defensive; Baron *Leiningen* was sent, with another small Army into the *Brescian*; but he was so ill supplied, that he could do nothing, but eat up the Country; and the *Venetians* were so feeble and so fearful, that they suffered their Country to be eat up by both sides, without declaring for or against either. The Prince of *Baden* insisted on undertaking the Siege of *Landau*, as necessary to secure the Circles, *Suabia* in particular, from the Excursions of that Garrison: This was popular in *Germany*, and tho' the Duke of *Marlborough* did not approve it, he did not oppose it, with all the Authority that his great Success gave him: So the Prince of *Baden* undertook it, while the Duke

1704. with his Army cover'd the Siege. This was universally blamed, for while *France* was in the Consternation, which the late great Loss brought them under, a more vigorous Proceeding was like to have greater Effects; besides that the Imperial Army was ill provided, the great Charge of a Siege was above their Strength: The Prince of *Baden* suffered much in his Reputation for this Undertaking; it was that, which the *French* wished for, and so it was suspected, that some secret Practice had prevailed on that Prince to propose it. It is certain, that he was jealous of the Glory the Duke had got, in which he had no share; and it was believed, that if he had not gone to besiege *Ingolstat*, the Battle had never been fought: He was indeed so fierce a Bigot in his Religion, that he could not bear the Successes of those, he called Hereticks, and the Exaltation which he thought Heresy might have upon it.

While the Duke of *Marlborough* lay covering the Siege, *Villeroy* with his Army came and looked on him; but as our Soldiers were exalted with their Success, so the *French* were too much dispirited with their Losses, to make any Attack, or to put any thing to hazard, in order to raise the Siege: They retired back, and went into Quarters, and trusted to the bad State of the Imperial Army, who were ill provided and ill supplied; the Garrison made as vigorous a Defence, and drew out the Siege to as great a Length, as could be expected: The Prince of *Baden* had neither Engineers nor Ammunition, and wanted Money to provide them; so that if the Duke had not supplied him, he must have been forced to give it over. The King of the *Romans* came again, to have the honour of taking the Place; his Behaviour there did not serve to raise his Character; he was not often in the Places of Danger, and was content to look on at a great and safe Distance; he was always beset with Priests, and such a face of Superstition and Bigotry appeared about him, that it very much damped the Hopes, that were given of him.

The Duke
of *Marlborough*
advanced to
Triers.

When it appeared, that there was no need of an Army to cover the Siege, and that the Place could not hold out many Days: The Duke of *Marlborough* resolved to possess himself of *Triers*, as a good Winter Quarter, that brought him near the Confines of *France*; from whence he might open the Campaign next Year, with great Advantage: And he reckoned that the taking of *Traerback*, even in that advanced Season, would be soon done: And then the Communication with *Holland*, by Water, was all clear: So that during the Winter, every thing that was necessary could be brought up thither from *Holland* safe and cheap. This he executed with that Diligence, that the *French* abandoned every Place as he advanced, with such precipitation, that they had not time given them, to burn the Places they forsook, according to the barbarous Method, which they had long practised. The Duke got to *Triers*, and that being a large Place, he posted a great Part of his Army in and about it, and left

a sufficient Force with the Prince of *Hesse* for the taking of *Traerback*, which held out some Weeks, but capitulated at last. *Landau* ¹⁷⁰⁴ was not taken before the middle of *November*.

Thus ended this glorious Campaign; in which *England* and *Holland* gained a very unusual Glory: for as they had never sent their Armies so far by Land, so their triumphant Return helped not a little to animate and unite their Counsels. Prince *Eugene* had a just Share, in the Honour of this great Expedition, which he had chiefly promoted by his Counsels, and did so nobly support by his Conduct. The Prince of *Baden* had no share in the publick Joy: His Conduct was as bad as could be, and the Fret he was possessed with, upon the Glory that the other Generals carried from him, threw him, as was believed, into a Languishing, of which he never quite recovered, and of which he died two Years after.

At the Conclusion of the Campaign, the Duke of *Marlborough* went to *Berlin*, where he concerted the Measures for the next Campaign, and agreed with the King of *Prussia*, for 8000 of his Troops, which were to be sent to *Italy* upon the Queen's Pay: He had settled Matters with the Emperor's Ministers, so that they undertook to send Prince *Eugene*, with an Army of 20000 Men, who should begin their March into *Italy*, as soon as it was possible to pass the Mountains: Of these the Queen and the *States* were to pay 16000. He returned, by the Court of *Hanover*, where he was treated with all the Honour, that the Success of the Campaign well deserved: He met with the same Reception in *Holland*, and was as much considered and submitted to, as if he had been their *Stadtholder*: The Credit he was in among them was very happy to them, and was indeed necessary at that time, for keeping down their Factions and Animosities, which were rising in every Province, and in most of their Towns. Only *Amsterdam*, as it was the most sensible of the common Danger, so it was not only quiet within itself, but it contributed not a little to keep all the rest so, which was chiefly maintained by the Duke of *Marlborough's* prudent Management. *England* was full of Joy, and Addresses of Congratulation were sent up from all Parts of the Nation; but it was very visible that, in many Places, the Tories went into these very coldly, and perhaps that made the Whigs the more zealous and affectionate.

I now turn to the other Element, where our Affairs were carried on more doubtfully. *Rook* sailed into the *Straits* where he reckoned he was strong enough for the *Toulon* Squadron, which was then abroad in the *Mediterranean*. Soon after that, a strong Squadron from *Brest* passed by *Lisbon* into the *Straits*. *Methuen*, our Ambassador there, apprehending, that if these two Squadrons should join to attack *Rook*, it would not be possible for him to fight against so great a Force, sent a Man-of-War, that *Rook* had left at *Lisbon*, with some particular Orders, which made him very unwilling to carry

Affairs at
Sea.

1704. carry the Message, but *Methuen* promised to save him harmless. He upon that failed thro' the *French* Fleet, and brought this important Advertisement to *Rook*; who told him, that on this occasion he would pass by his not observing his Orders, but that for the future, he would find the safest Course was to obey Orders. Upon this, *Rook* stood out of the way of the *French*, towards the Mouth of the *Straits*, and there he met *Shovel*, with a Squadron of our best Ships; so being thus reinforced, he failed up the *Straits*, being now in a Condition, if need were, to engage the *French*. He came before *Barcelona*, where the Prince of *Hesse Darmstat* assured him, there was a strong Party ready to declare for King *Charles*, as it was certain, that there was a great Disposition in many to it. But *Rook* would not stay above three Days before it: So that the Motions within the Town, and the Discoveries that many made of their Inclinations, had almost proved fatal to them: He answered, when pressed to stay a few Days more, that his Orders were positive: He must make towards *Nice*: which it was believed the *French* intended to besiege.

But as he was sailing that way, he had Advice, that the *French* had made no Advances in that Design: So he turned his Course Westward, and came in sight of the *French* Fleet, sailing from *Brest* to *Toulon*: The Advantage he had was so visible, that it was expected he would have made towards them; he did it not: What Orders he had was not known, for the Matter never came under Examination: They got to *Toulon*, and he steered another way. The whole *French* Fleet was then together in that Harbour, for tho' the *Toulon* Squadron had been out before, it was then in Port.

A very happy Accident had preserved a rich Fleet of Merchant Ships from *Scanderoon*, under the Convoy of three or four Frigates, from falling into their hands: The *French* Fleet lay in their way in the Bay of *Tunis*, and nothing could have saved them from being taken, but that which happened in the critical Minute, in which they needed it: A thick Fog covered them all the while, that they were sailing by that Bay, so that they had no Apprehension of the Danger they were in, till they had pass'd it. I know it is not possible to determine, when such Accidents rise from a Chain of second Causes in the Course of Nature, and when they are directed by a special Providence: But my Mind has always carried me so strongly to acknowledge the latter, that I love to set these Reflections in the way of others, that they may consider them with the same serious Attention, that I feel in myself.

Gibraltar
was taken.

Rook, as he failed back, fell in upon *Gibraltar*; where he spent much Powder, bombarding it to very little purpose, that he might seem to attempt somewhat; though there was no reason to hope that he could succeed: Some bold Men ventured to go a-shore, in a Place where it was not thought possible to climb up the Rocks; yet

yet they succeeded in it: When they got up, they saw all the Women of the Town were come out, according to their Superstition, to a Chapel there, to implore the Virgin's Protection; they seized on them, and that contributed not a little to dispose those in the Town to surrender; they had leave to stay or go as they pleased; and in case they staid, they were assured of Protection in their Religion, and in every thing else; for the Prince of *Hesse*, who was to be their Governour, was a Papist: But they all went away, with the small Garrison that had defended the Place. The Prince of *Hesse*, with the *Marines* that were on board the Fleet, possessed himself of the Place, and they were furnished out of the Stores, that went with the Fleet, with every thing that was necessary for their Subsistence or Defence; and a regular Method was laid down, of supplying them constantly from *Lisbon*.

It has been much questioned, by Men who understand these Matters well, whether our possessing ourselves of *Gibraltar*, and our maintaining ourselves in it so long, was to our Advantage or not; it has certainly put us to a great Charge, and we have lost many Men in it; but it seems the *Spaniards*, who should know the Importance of the Place best, think it so valuable, that they have been at a much greater Charge, and have lost many more Men, while they have endeavoured to recover it, than the taking or keeping it has cost us: And it is certain that in War, whatsoever Loss on one side occasions a greater Loss of Men or of Treasure to the other, must be reckoned a Loss only to the side that suffers most.

Our Expedition in *Portugal*, and our Armies there, which cost us so dear, and from which we expected so much, had not hitherto had any great Effects: The King of *Portugal* expressed the best Intentions possible; but he was much governed by his Ministers, who were all in the *French* Interests; they had a great Army, but they had made no Preparations for taking the Field; nor could they bring their Troops together, for want of Provisions and Carriages; the Forms of their Government made them very slow, and not easily accessible: They were too proud to confess that they wanted any thing, when they had nothing; and too lazy to bestir themselves, to execute what was in their power to do; and the King's ill Health furnished them with an Excuse, for every thing that was defective, and out of order. The Priests both in *Spain* and *Portugal* were so universally in the *French* Interest, that even the House of *Austria*, that had been formerly so much in their favour, was now in disgrace with them: Their Alliance with Hereticks, and their bringing over an Army of them, to maintain their Pretensions, had made all their former Services be forgotten: The governing Body at *Rome* did certainly engage all their Zealots every where to support that Interest, which is now so set on the Destruction of Heresy. King *Philip* advanced towards the Frontiers of *Portugal*,

The Affairs
of Portugal.

1704. his Army being commanded by the Duke of *Berwick*, who began to shine there, tho' he had pass'd elsewhere for a Man of no very great Character. They had several Advantages of the *Portuguese*; some of the *English* and *Dutch* Battalions, which were so posted, that they could not be relieved, and in Places that were not tenable, fell into the Enemies hands, and were made Prisoners of War. Some of the General Officers, who came over, said to me, that if the Duke of *Berwick* had followed his Advantages, nothing could have hindered his coming to *Lisbon*. The Duke of *Schomberg* was a better Officer in the Field, than in the Cabinet; he did not enough know how to prepare for a Campaign; he was both too unactive and too haughty; so it was thought necessary to send another to command: The Earl of *Galway* was judged the fittest Person for that Service; he undertook it, more in submission to the Queen's Commands, than out of any great Prospect or Hopes of Success; things went on very heavily there; the Distraction that the taking *Gibraltar* put the *Spaniards* in, as it occasioned a Diversion of some of the *Spanish* Forces, that lay on their Frontier, so it furnished them with Advantages, which they took no care to improve.

A Fight at
Sea.

Rook, after he had supplied *Gibraltar*, sailed again into the *Mediterranean*: And there he met the Count of *Thoulouse*, with the whole *French* Fleet: They were superiour to the *English* in number, and had many Gallies with them, that were of great use. *Rook* called a Council of War, in which it was resolved to engage them; there was not due Care taken, to furnish all the Ships with a sufficient quantity of Powder, for some had wasted a great part of their Stock of Ammunition before *Gibraltar*, yet they had generally Twenty-five Rounds, and it had seldom happened, that so much Powder was spent in an Action at Sea. On the 12th of *August*, just ten Days after the Battle of *Hocksted*, the two Fleets engaged: *Shovel* advanced with his Squadron to a close Fight, for it was the Maxim of our Seamen to fight as near as they could; he had the Advantage, and the Squadron before him gave way: *Rook* fought at a greater distance; many Broad-sides passed, and the Engagement continued till Night parted them; some Ships, that had spent all their Ammunition, were forced on that account to go out of the Line, and if the *French* had come to a new Engagement next Day, it might have been fatal, since many of our Ships were without Powder, whilst others had enough and to spare.

In this long and hot Action, there was no Ship of either side, that was either taken, sunk or burnt; we made a shew, the next Day, of preparing for a second Engagement; but the Enemy bore off, to the great Joy of our Fleet; the *French* suffered much in this Action; and went into *Toulon* so disabled, that they could not be put in a condition to go to Sea again in many Months. They left the Sea, as the Field of Battel, to us; so the Honour of the Action remained

mained with us; tho' the Nation was not much lifted up, with the News of a drawn Battle at Sea with the *French*. We were long without a certain Account of this Action; but the Modesty, in which the King of *France* wrote of it, to the Archbishop of *Paris*, put us out of all fears; for whereas their Stile was very boasting of their Successes, in this it was only said, that the Action was to his Advantage; from that cold Expression we concluded the Victory was on our side. 1704.

When the full Account was sent home from our Fleet, the Partialities on both sides appeared very signally; the Tories magnified this, as a great Victory, and in their Addresses of Congratulation to the Queen, they joined this with that which the Duke of *Marlborough* had gained at *Hocksted*. I understand nothing of Sea-Matters; and therefore cannot make a Judgment in the Point: I have heard Men, skilled in those Affairs, differ much in their Sentiments of *Rook's* Conduct in that Action; some not only justifying but extolling it, as much as others condemn'd it. It was certainly ridiculous, to set forth the Glory of so disputable an Engagement, in the same Words, with the Successes we had by Land: The Fleet soon after sailed home for *England*, *Leak* being left with a Squadron at *Lisbon*.

The *Spaniards* drew all the Forces, they had in *Andaloufia* and *Estremadura* together, to retake *Gibraltar*; that Army was commanded by the Duke of *Villadarias*; he had with him some *French* Troops, with some Engineers of that Nation, who were chiefly relied on, and were sent from *France* to carry on the Siege. This gave some Disgust to the *Spaniards*, who were so foolish in their Pride, that tho' they could do nothing for themselves, and indeed knew not how to set about it, yet could not bear to be taught by others, or to see themselves out-done by them. The Siege was continued for above four Months, during which time the Prince of *Hesse* had many occasions given him to distinguish himself very eminently, both as to his Courage, Conduct, and indefatigable Application. Convoys came frequently from *Lisbon*, with Supplies of Men and Provisions; which the *French* were not able to hinder, or to intercept. *Pointy* at last came, with a Squadron of twenty *French* Ships, and lay long in the Bay, trying what could be done by Sea; while the Place was pressed by Land; upon that, a much stronger Squadron was sent from *Lisbon*, with a great Body of Men, and Stores of all sorts, to relieve the Place and to raise the Siege; and the Court of *France*, not being satisfied with the Conduct of the *Spanish* General, sent *Mareschal Tesse* to carry on the Siege with greater Expedition. The *Portuguese* all this while made no use of the Diversion, given by the Siege of *Gibraltar*; they made great Demands on us; for *England* was now considered as a Source, that could never be exhausted: We granted all their Demands, and a Body of Horse was sent to them at a vast Charge. The King was in a very ill State of Health, The Siege of Gibraltar.
occasioned

1704. { occasioned by Disorders in his Youth; he had not been treated skilfully, so he was often relapsing, and was not in a condition to apply himself much to Business: For some time, our Queen Dowager was set at the Head of their Councils; her Administration was much commended, and she was very careful of the *English*, and all their Concerns.

Affairs in
Italy.

In *Italy* the Duke of *Savoy* had a melancholy Campaign, losing Place after Place; but he supported his Affairs with great Conduct; and shewed a Firmness in his Misfortunes, beyond what could have been imagined: *Verceil* and *Yvrea* gave the Duke of *Vendome* the trouble of a tedious Siege; they stood their ground as long as possible; the Duke of *Savoy's* Army was not strong enough to raise these Sieges, so both Places fell in conclusion. The *French* had not Troops both to carry on the War, and to leave Garrisons in those Places, so they demolished the Fortifications; after they had succeeded so far, they sat down before *Verue*, in the end of *October*. The Duke of *Savoy* posted his Army at *Crescentino*, over against it, on the other side of the *Po*; he had a Bridge of Communication; he went often into the Place, during the Siege, to see and animate his Men, and to give all necessary Orders; the Sick and Wounded were carried away, and fresh Men put in their stead: This Siege proved the most famous of all, that had been during the late Wars; it lasted above five Months, the Garrison being often changed, and always well supplied. The *French* Army suffered much, by continuing the Siege all the Winter, and they were at a vast Charge in carrying it on; the Bridge of Communication was, after many unsuccessful Attempts, at last cut off; and the Duke of *Savoy* being thus separated from the Place, retired to *Chivaz*, and left them to defend themselves, as long as they could, which they did beyond what could in reason have been expected. The Duke of *Savoy* complained much of the Emperor's failing to make good his Promises; but in a Discourse upon that Subject, with the Queen's Envoy, he said, tho' he was abandoned by his Allies, he would not abandon himself.

And in the
Cevennes.

The poor People in the *Cevennes* suffered much this Summer: It was not possible to come to them with Supplies, till Matters should go better in *Piedmont*, of which there was then no Prospect; they were advised to preserve themselves the best they could: *Mareschal Villars* was sent into the Country, to manage them with a gentler hand; the severe Methods, taken by those formerly employed, being now disowned, he was ordered to treat with their Leaders, and to offer them full Liberty, to serve God in their own way, without Disturbance; they generally inclined to hearken to this: For they had now kept themselves in a Body, much longer than was thought possible, in their low and helpless State; some of them capitulated, and took Service in the *French* Army; but as soon as they came near the Armies of the Allies, they deserted, and went over to them, so that

that by all this Practice, that Fire was rather covered up at present, than quite extinguished. 1704.

The Disorders in *Hungary* had a deeper Root, and a greater Strength; it was hoped, that the Ruin of the Elector of *Bavaria* would have quite disheartened them, and have disposed them to accept of reasonable Terms; if the Emperor could have been prevailed on to offer them frankly, and immediately upon their first Consternation, after the Conquest of *Bavaria*. There were great Errors in the Government of that Kingdom; by a long Course of Oppression and Injustice, the *Hungarians* were grown savage and intractable; they saw they were both hated and despised by the *Germans*; the Court of *Vienna* seemed to consider them, as so many Enemies, who were to be depressed, in order to their being extirpated; upon any pretence of Plots, their Persons were seized on, and their Estates confiscated: The Jesuits were believed to have a great share, in all those Contrivances and Prosecutions; and it was said, that they purchased the confiscated Estates upon very easy Terms; the Nobility of *Hungary* seemed irreconcilable to the Court of *Vienna*: On the other hand, those of that Court, who had these Confiscations assigned them, and knew that the restoring these would certainly be insisted on as a necessary Article, in any Treaty that might follow, did all they could to obstruct such a Treaty. It was visible that *Ragotski*, who was at their head, aimed at the Principality of *Transylvania*: And it was natural for the *Hungarians* to look on his arriving at that Dignity, by which he could protect and assist them, as the best Security they could have. On the other hand, the Court of *Vienna*, being possessed of that Principality, would not easily part with it. In the midst of all this Fermentation, a Revolution happened in the *Turkish* Empire: A new Sultan was set up. So all things were at a stand, till it might be known, what was to be expected from him. They were soon delivered from this Anxiety; for he sent a *Chiaus* to the Court of *Vienna*, to assure them, that he was resolved to maintain the Peace in all points; and that he would give no Assistance to the Malecontents. The Court of *Vienna* being freed from those Apprehensions, resolved to carry on the War in *Hungary*, as vigorously as they could: This was imputed to a secret Practice from *France*, on some of that Court, and there were so many there, concerned in the Confiscations, that every Proposition that way was powerfully supported: thus *Italy* was neglected, and the Siege of *Landau* was ill supported; their chief Strength being employed in *Hungary*. Yet when the Ministers of the Allies pressed the Opening a Treaty with the Malecontents, the Emperor seemed willing to refer the Arbitration of that Matter to his Allies: But tho' it was fit to speak in

1704. that Stile, yet no such thing was designed. A Treaty was opened, but when it was known that *Zeiber* had the chief Management of it, there was no reason to expect any good effect of it: He was born a Protestant, a Subject of the *Palatinate*, and was oft employed by the Elector *Charles Lewis*, to negotiate Affairs at the Court of *Vienna*; he, seeing a Prospect of rising in that Court, changed his Religion, and became a Creature of the Jesuits; and adhered steadily to all their Interests. He managed that secret Practice with the *French* in the Treaty of *Ryswick*, by which the Protestants of the *Palatinate* suffered so considerable a Prejudice. The Treaty in *Hungary* stuck at the Preliminaries; for indeed neither side was then inclined to treat; the Malecontents were supported from *France*; they were routed in several Engagements, but these were not so considerable as the Court of *Vienna* gave out, in their publick News; the Malecontents suffered much in them, but came soon together again, and they subsisted so well, what by the Mines, of which they had possessed themselves, what by the Incursions they made, and the Contributions they raised from the Emperor's Subjects, that unless the War were carried on more vigorously, or a Peace were offered more sincerely, that Kingdom was long like to be a Scene of Blood and Rapine.

The Affairs
of Poland.

So was its neighbouring Kingdom of *Poland*: It was hoped, that the Talk of a new Election was only a loud Threatning, to force a Peace the sooner; but it proved otherwise: A Diet was brought together of those, who were irreconcilable to King *Augustus*, and after many Delays, *Stanislaus*, one of the *Palatines*, was chosen and proclaimed their King; and he was presently owned by the King of *Sweden*. The Cardinal seemed at first unwilling to agree to this, but he suffered himself to be forced to it; this was believed to be only an Artifice of his, to excuse himself to the Court of *France*, whose Pensioner he was, and to whom he had engaged to carry the Election for the Prince of *Conti*. The War went on this Year, with various Success on both sides; King *Augustus* made a quick March to *Warsaw*, where he surprized some of *Stanislaus's* Party, he himself escaping narrowly; but the King of *Sweden* followed so close, that not being able to fight him, he was forced to retreat into *Saxony*, where he continued for some Months: There he ruined his own Dominions, by the great Preparations he made, to return with a mighty Force; the Delay of that made many forsake his Party; for it was given out, that he would return no more, and that he was weary of the War, and he had good reason so to be. *Poland*, in the mean while, was in a most miserable Condition; the King of *Sweden* subsisted his Army in it, and his Temper grew daily more fierce and *Gothick*; he was resolved to make no Peace, till *Augustus* was

was driven out: in the mean while, his own Country suffered much; *Livonia* was destroyed by the *Muscovites*; they had taken *Narva*, and made some progresses into *Sweden*. The Pope espoused the Interests of King *Augustus*; for to support a new Convert of such Importance, was thought a Point worthy the Zeal of that See; so he cited the Cardinal to appear at *Rome*, and to give an Account of the share he had in all that War.

The Pope was now wholly in the *French* Interest, and maintained the Character, they pretend to, of a common Father, with so much Partiality, that the Emperor himself, how tame and submissive soever to all the Impositions of that See, yet could not bear it: But made loud Complaints of it. The Pope had threatned, that he would thunder out Excommunications against all those Troops, that should continue in his Dominions: the Emperor was so implicit in his Faith, and so ready in his Obedience, that he ordered his Troops to retire out of the Ecclesiastical State; but all the Effect that this had, was to leave that State entirely in the hands of the *French*, against whom the Pope did not think fit to fulminate; yet the Pope still pretended that he would maintain a Neutrality, and both the *Venetians* and the Great Duke adhered to him in that Resolution, and continued neutral during the War.

Having now given a View of the State of Affairs abroad; I return back to prosecute the Relation of those at home, and begin with *Scotland*. A Session of Parliament was held there this Summer: The Duke of *Queensbury*'s Management of the Plot was so liable to Exception, that it was not thought fit to employ him, and it seems he had likewise brought himself under the Queen's Displeasure; for it was proposed by some of his Friends in the House of Lords, to desire the Queen to communicate to them a Letter, which he had wrote to her of such a Date: This looked like an Examination of the Queen herself, to whom it ought to have been left, to send what Letters she thought fit to the House, and they ought not to call for any one in particular. The Matter of that Letter made him liable to a very severe Censure in *Scotland*: For in plain Words he charged the Majority of the Parliament, as determined in their Proceedings, by an Influence from *St. Germain's*: This exposed him in *Scotland* to the Fury of a Parliament; for how true soever this might be, by the Laws of that Kingdom, such a Representation of a Parliament to the Queen, especially in Matters which could not be proved, was *Leasing-making*, and was capital.

The chief Design of the Court in this Session, was to get the Succession of the Crown to be declared, and a Supply to be given for the Army, which was run into a great Arrear. In the Debates of the former Session, those who opposed every thing, more

1704.

The Pope wholly in the French Interest.

The Affairs of Scotland.

1704. more particularly the declaring the Succession, had insisted chiefly on Motions to bring their own Constitution to such a Settlement, that they might suffer no Prejudice, by their King's living in *England*. Mr. *Johnstoun* was now taken in by the Ministers into a new Management: It was proposed by him, in concert with the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, and some others in *Scotland*, that the Queen should empower her Commissioner to consent to a Revival of the whole Settlement, made by King *Charles* the First, in the Year 1641.

By that, the King named a Privy Council and his Ministers of State in Parliament, who had a power to accept of, or to except to the Nomination, without being bound to give the Reason for excepting to it: In the Intervals of Parliament, the King was to give all Employments, with the Consent of the Privy Council: This was the main Point of that Settlement, which was looked on by the wisest Men of that time, as a full Security to all their Laws and Liberties: It did indeed divest the Crown of a great part of the Prerogative; and it brought the Parliament into some Equality with the Crown.

The Queen, upon the Representation made to her by her Ministers, offered this as a Limitation on the Successor, in case they would settle the Succession, as *England* had done; and for doing this, the Marquis of *Tweeddale* was named her Commissioner. The Queen did also signify her Pleasure very positively to all who were employed by her, that she expected they should concur in settling the Succession, as they desired the Continuance of her Favour. Both the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord *Godolphin* expressed themselves very fully and positively to the same purpose; yet it was dextrously surmized, and industriously set about by the *Jacobites*, and too easily believed by jealous and cautious People, that the Court was not sincere in this Matter; and that at best they were indifferent as to the Success. Some went further, and said, that those who were in a particular Confidence at Court, did secretly oppose it, and entered into a Management on design to obstruct it: I could never see any good ground for this Suggestion; yet there was Matter enough for Jealousy to work on, and this was carefully improved by the *Jacobites*, in order to defeat the Design. Mr. *Johnstoun* was made Lord Register, and was sent down to promote the Design; the *Jacobites* were put in hopes, in case of a Rupture, to have a considerable Force sent to support them from *Dunkirk*.

A Session of Parliament being opened, and the Speeches made, and the Queen's Letter read, all which tended to the settling the Succession, that was the first Debate: A great Party was now wrought

wrought on, when they understood the Security, that was to be offered to them: For the wisest Patriots in that Kingdom had always magnified that Constitution, as the best contrived Scheme that could be desired: So they went in with great Zeal, to the accepting of it. But those who, in the former Session, had rejected all the Motions of treating with *England* with some Scorn, and had made this their constant Topick, that they must in the first place secure their own Constitution at home, and then they might trust the rest to Time, and to such Accidents, as Time might bring forth; now when they saw that every thing, that could be desired, was offered with relation to their own Government; they (being resolved to oppose any Declaration of the Succession, what Terms soever might be granted to obtain it) turned the Argument wholly another way; to shew the necessity of a previous Treaty with *England*. They were upon that told, that the Queen was ready to grant them every thing, that was reasonable, with relation to their own Constitution, yet without the Concurrence of the Parliament of *England*, she could grant nothing, in which *England* was concerned; for they were for demanding a share of the Plantation-Trade, and that their Ships might be comprehended within the Act of Navigation.

After a long Debate, the main Question was put, whether they should then enter upon the Consideration of the Limitations of the Government, in order to the fixing the Succession of the Crown, or if that should be postponed till they had obtained such a Security, by a Treaty with *England*, as they should judge necessary. It was carried by a Majority of forty, to begin with a Treaty with *England*: Of these, about thirty were in immediate Dependence on the Court, and were determined according to the Directions given them. So, notwithstanding a long and idle Speech of the Earl of *Cromarty*'s, which was printed, running into a Distinction among Divines, between the Revealed and Secret Will of God, shewing, that no such Distinction could be applied to the Queen; She had but one Will, and that was Revealed; yet it was still suspected, that at least her Ministers had a Secret Will in the Case. They went no further in this Vote for a Treaty with *England*; for they could not agree among themselves, who should be the Commissioners, and those who opposed the declaring the Succession, were concerned for no more, when that Question was once set aside: So it was postponed, as a Matter about which they took no further care.

They offered to the Court six Months *Cesse*, for the Pay of the Army; but they tacked to this a great part of a Bill which passed the former Session of Parliament, but was refused by the

1704.

Debates
about the
Succession.

The settling
it put off
for that
Session.

A Money-
Bill with a
Tack to it.

1704. Throne: By that it was provided, that if the Queen should die without Issue, a Parliament should presently meet, and they were to declare the Successor to the Crown, who should not be the same Person, that was possessed of the Crown of *England*, unless before that time there should be a Settlement made in Parliament, of the Rights and Liberties of the Nation, independent on *English* Councils. By another Clause in the Act, it was made lawful to arm the Subjects, and to train them and put them, in a Posture of Defence. This was chiefly pressed, in behalf of the best-affected in the Kingdom, who were not armed; for the Highlanders, who were the worst-affected, were well armed; so to ballance that, it was moved, that Leave should be given to arm the rest. All was carried with great Heat and much Vehemence; for a national Humour, of being independent on *England*, fermented so strongly, among all sorts of People without doors, that those, who went not into every hot Motion, that was made, were looked on as the Betrayers of their Country: And they were so exposed to a popular Fury, that some of those, who studied to stop this Tide, were thought to be in danger of their Lives. The Presbyterians were so over-awed with this, that tho' they wished well to the settling the Succession, they durst not openly declare it. The Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Athol* led all those violent Motions, and the whole Nation was strangely inflamed.

The Ministers were put to a great difficulty with the Supply-Bill, and the Tack that was joined to it: If it was denied, the Army could be no longer kept up: They had run so far in Arrear, that considering the Poverty of the Country, that could not be carried on much longer. Some suggested, that it should be proposed to the *English* Ministry, to advance the Subsistence Money, till better Measures could be taken; but none of the *Scotch* Ministry would consent to that. An Army is reckoned to belong to those who pay it: So an Army paid from *England*, would be called an *English* Army: Nor was it possible to manage such a thing secretly. It was well known, that there was no Money in the *Scotch* Treasury to pay them, so if Money were once brought into the Treasury, how secretly soever, all Men must conclude, that it came from *England*: And Men's Minds were then so full of the Conceit of Independency, that if a Suspicion arose of any such Practice, probably it would have occasioned Tumults: Even the Army was so kindled with this, that it was believed, that neither Officers nor Soldiers would have taken their Pay, if they had believed it came from *England*. It came then to this, that either the Army must be disbanded, or the Bill must pass: It is true, the Army was a very small one, not above 3000; but it was

was so ordered, that it was double or treble officer'd ; so that it could have been easily encreased to a much greater number, if there had been occasion for it. The Officers had served long, and were Men of a good Character: So, since they were alarmed with an Invasion, which both sides looked for, and the Intelligence, which the Court had from *France*, assured them it was intended ; they thought the Inconveniences arising from the Tack might be remedied afterwards: but the breaking of the Army was such a pernicious thing, and might end so fatally, that it was not to be ventured on. Therefore by common consent, a Letter was wrote to the Queen, which was signed by all the Ministers there, in which they laid the whole Matter before her, every thing was stated and ballanced: All concluded in an humble Advice to pass the Bill. This was very heavy on the Lord *Godolphin*, on whose Advice the Queen chiefly relied: He saw the ill Consequences of breaking the Army, and laying that Kingdom open to an Invasion, would fall on him, if he should, in contradiction to the Advice given by the Ministry of *Scotland*, have advised the Queen to reject the Bill. This was under Consultation in the end of *July*, when our Matters abroad were yet in a great Uncertainty; for tho' the Victory at *Schellemburg* was a good step, yet the great Decision was not then come: So he thought, considering the State of Affairs, and the Accidents that might happen, that it was the safest thing for the Queen to comply with the Advices of those, to whom she trusted the Affairs of that Kingdom.

1704.

The Ministers there advise the Queen to pass it.

The Queen sent Orders to pass the Bill: It pass'd on the 6th of *August*, after the great Battle was over, but several Days before the News of it came to us. When the Act passed, Copies of it were sent to *England*; where it was soon printed, by those who were uneasy at the Lord *Godolphin's* holding the White Staff, and resolved to make use of this against him; for the whole Blame of passing it was cast on him. It was not possible to prove, that he had advised the Queen to it: So some took it by another Handle, and resolved to urge it against him, that he had not persuaded the Queen to reject it: Tho' that seemed a great Stretch, for he being a Stranger to that Kingdom, it might have been liable to more objection, if he had presumed to advise the Queen, to refuse a Bill, pass'd in the Parliament of *Scotland*, which all the Ministry there advised her to pass.

It was pass'd.

Severe Censures passed on this. It was said, that the two Kingdoms were now divided by Law, and that the *Scotch* were putting themselves in a Posture to defend it; and all saw by whose Advices this was done: One thing, that contributed to keep up an ill

Censures pass'd upon it.

1704. { ill humour in the Parliament of *Scotland*, was more justly imputed to him: The Queen had promised to send down to them all the Examinations relating to the Plot: If these had been sent down, probably in the first Heat the Matter might have been carried far against the Duke of *Queensbury*. But he, who staid all the while at *London*, got it to be represented to the Queen, that the sending down these Examinations, with the Persons concerned in them, would run the Session into so much Heat, and into such a Length, that it would divert them quite from considering the Succession, and it might produce a tragical Scene. Upon these Suggestions, the Queen altered her Resolution of sending them down; tho' repeated Applications were made to her, both by the Parliament and by her Ministers, to have them sent; yet no Answer was made to these, nor was so much as an Excuse made, for not sending them. The Duke of *Queensbury* having gained this Point, got all his Friends to join with the Party that opposed the new Ministry: This both defeated all their Projects, and softened the Spirits of those, who were so set against him, that in their first Fury no stop could have been put to their Proceedings: But now, the Party that had designed to ruin him, was so much wrought on, by the Assistance that his Friends gave them in this Session, that they resolved to preserve him.

This was the State of that Nation, which was aggravated very odiously all *England* over: It was confidently, tho', as was afterwards known, very falsely reported, that great Quantities of Arms were brought over, and dispersed thro' the whole Kingdom: and it being well known how poor the Nation was at that time, it was said, that those Arms were paid for by other hands, in imitation of what it was believed Cardinal *Richelieu* did, in the Year 1638. Another thing was given out very maliciously, by the Lord Treasurer's Enemies, that he had given Directions under-hand, to hinder the declaring the Succession, and that the Secret of this was trusted to *Johnston*, who they said talked openly one way, and acted secretly another; tho' I could never see a colour of Truth in those Reports. Great use was to be made of the Affairs of *Scotland*; because there was no ground of Complaint of any thing in the Administration at home: All the Duke of *Marlborough's* Enemies saw his chief Strength lay in the Credit that the Lord *Godolphin* was in at home, while he was so successful abroad: So it being impossible to attack him, in such a Course of Glory, they laid their Aims against the Lord Treasurer. The Tories resolved to attack him, and that disposed the Whigs to preserve him; and this was so managed by them, that it gave a great Turn to all our Councils at home.

In

In the beginning of *November*, the Session of Parliament was opened: it might well be expected, that after such a summer, the Addressees of both Houses would run in a very high strain: the House of Commons in their Address put the successes by Sea and Land on a level, and magnified both in the same expressions: But the House of Lords in their Address took no notice of *Rook* nor of the Sea. The Lower House of Convocation were resolved to follow the example of the House of Commons, and would have the Sea and Land both mentioned in the same terms; but the Bishops would not vary from the pattern set them by the House of Lords; so no Address was made by the Convocation. The Commons agreed to every thing that the Court proposed, for supporting the War another year; this was carried through with great dispatch and unanimity: So that the main business of the Session was soon over; all the Money-Bills were prepared and carried on in the regular method, without any obstruction: Those who intended to embroil matters, saw it was not advisable to act above board, but to proceed more covertly.

1704.

A Session of Parliament in England.

The Act against Occasional Conformity was again brought in, but moderated in several Clauses: For those who prest it, were now resolved to bring the terms as low as was possible, in order once to carry a Bill upon that head. The Opposition in the House of Commons made to it, was become so considerable (for the design was now more clearly discerned) that it was carried in that House only by a majority of fifty. When the Bill was to be committed, it was moved, that it should be committed to the same Committee, which was preparing the Bill for the Land-Tax: The design of this was, that the one should be tack'd to the other, and then the Lords would have been put upon a great difficulty. If they should untack the Bill, and separate one from the other; then the House of Commons would have insisted on a maxim, that was now settled among them, as a fundamental principle never to be departed from, that the Lords cannot alter a Money-Bill, but must either pass it or reject it, as it is sent to them: On the other hand, the Lords could not agree to any such Tack, without departing from that solemn Resolution, which was in their Books, signed by most of them, never to admit of a Tack to a Money-Bill: If they yielded now, they taught the House of Commons the way to impose any thing on them at their pleasure.

1705.

The Occasional Bill is again brought in; and endeavour'd to be tack'd to a Money-Bill.

The party in the House of Commons put their whole strength to the carrying this point: They went further in their design: That which was truly aimed at, by those in the Secret, was to break the War, and to force a Peace: They knew a Bill with this

1705. Tack could not pass in the House of Peers: Some Lords of their party told myself that they would never pass the Bill with this Tack, so by this means Money would be stopped: This would put all matters in great confusion both at home and abroad; and dispose our Allies, as despairing of any help from us, to accept of such terms as *France* would offer them: So here was an artful design formed to break, at least to shake, the whole Alliance. The Court was very apprehensive of this, and the Lord *Godolphin* opposed it with much zeal: The Party disowned the design for some time, 'till they had brought up their whole strength, and thought they were sure of a Majority.

The Debate held long: Those who opposed it said, this now aimed at was a change of the whole Constitution; and was in effect turning it into a Commonwealth: for it imported the denying, not only to the Lords, but to the Crown, the free use of their Negative in the Legislature; if this was once settled, then as often as the publick occasions made a Money-Bill necessary, every thing that the Majority in their House had a mind to, would be tacked to it. It is true some Tacks had been made to Money-Bills in King *Charles's* time; but even these had still some relation to the Money that was given: But here a Bill, whose operation was only for one year, and which determined as soon as the four shillings in the pound was paid, was to have a perpetual Law tacked to it, that must continue still in force, after the greatest part of the Act was expired and dead: To all this, in answer, some precedents were opposed, and the necessity of the Bill for the preservation of the Church was urged, which they saw was not like to pass, unless sent to the Lords so accompanied; which some thought was very wittily pressed, by calling it a portion annexed to the Church, as in a Marriage; and they said they did not doubt but those of the Court would bestir themselves to get it pass'd, when it was accompanied with two Millions as its Price.

The Tack
was rejected.

Upon the Division 134 were for the Tack, and 250 were against it: So that design was lost by those, who had built all their hopes upon it, and were now highly offended with some of their own party, who had by their opposition wrought themselves into good places, and forsook that Interest, to which they owed their advancement: These, to redeem themselves with their old friends, seemed still zealous for the Bill, which after went on coldly and slowly in the House of Commons, for they lost all hopes of carrying it in the House of Lords, now that the Mine they had laid was sprung.

Debates
concerning
Scotland.

While this was going on in the House of Commons, the Debate about the *Scotch* Act was taken up with great heat in the House

House of Lords: The ill effects that were like to follow upon it were opened, in very tragical strains: It was after much declaiming moved, that the Lords might pass some Votes upon it. The Tories who pressed this, intended to add a severe Vote against all those who had advised it; and it was visible at whom this was aimed. The Whigs diverted this: They said the putting a Vote against an Act passed in *Scotland*, looked like the claiming some Superiority over them, which seemed very improper at that time, since that Kingdom was possessed with a National jealousy on this head; that would be much encreased by such a Proceeding: More moderate methods were therefore proposed and agreed to, in order to the making up of a breach in this Island, with which they seemed to be then threatned. So an Act was brought in, empowering the Queen to name Commissioners to treat of a full Union of both Kingdoms, as soon as the Parliament of *Scotland* should pass an Act to the same purpose: but if no such Union should be agreed on, or if the same Succession to the Crown, with that of *England*, should not be enacted by a day prefixed, then it was enacted that after that day no *Scotchman*, that was not Resident in *England* or *Ireland*, or employed in the Queen's service by sea or land, should be esteem'd a natural-born Subject of *England*: They added to this, a Prohibition of the Importation of *Scotch* Cattle, and the Manufacture of *Scotland*: All this fell in the House of Commons, when sent down to them, because of the Money-Penalties, which were put in the several Clauses of the Bill. The Commons were resolved to adhere to a notion, that had now taken such root among them, that it could not be shaken, that the Lords could not put any such Clause in a Bill begun with them: This was wholly new; penalties upon transgressions could not be construed to be a giving of money: The Lords were clearly in possession of proceeding thus; so that the calling it in question was an attempt on the share which the Lords had in the Legislature: The Commons let this Bill lie on the table, and began a new one to the same purpose; it passed: And the following *Christmas* was the day prefixed for the *Scotch* to enact the Succession, or on failure thereof, then this Act was to have its effect. A great coldness appeared in many of the Commons, who used to be hot on less important occasions: they seemed not to desire that the *Scotch* should settle the Succession: And it was visible, that some of them hoped, that the Lords would have used their Bill, as they had used that sent down by the Lords: Many of them were less concerned in the fate of the Bill, because it diverted the censure, which they had intended to fix on the Lord-Treasurer. The Lords were aware of this, and pass'd the Bill.

Those

1705.

Those who wish'd well to the Union, were afraid that the Prohibition, and the declaring the *Scots* Aliens after the day prefixed, would be looked on as threatnings: And they saw cause to apprehend, that ill-temper'd men in that kingdom, would use this as a handle to divert that Nation, which was already much soured, from hearkning to any motion, that might tend to promote the Union, or the declaring the Succession: It was given out by these, that this was an indignity done their Kingdom, and that they ought not so much as to treat with a Nation, that threatned them in such a manner. The Marquess of *Tweedale* excused himself from serving longer; so the Duke of *Argyle*, whose father was lately dead, was named to be sent down Commissioner to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*: He was then very young, and was very brave.

Complaints
of the Ad-
miralty.

This being dispatched easier than was expected, the Parliament went on to other business; Complaints of an ill management both at the board of the Prince's Council, and at sea rose very high: This House of Commons, during the whole continuance of the Parliament, never appointed a Committee to look into those matters, which had been formerly a main part of their care: They saw things were ill conducted, but the chief managers of sea-affairs were men of their party, and that atoned for all faults, and made them unwilling to find them out, or to censure them: The truth was, the Prince was prevailed on to continue still in the Admiralty, by those who sheltered themselves under his name: tho' this brought a great Load on the Government. The Lords went on as they had done the former Session, examining into all complaints: They named two Committees, the one to examine the books of the Admiralty, the other to consider the proceedings at sea: No progress was made in the first of these; for tho' there was a great deal suggested in private, yet since this seemed to be complaining of the Prince, none would appear directly against him: But the other afforded matter enough, both for enquiry and censure: The most important, and that which had the worst consequences was, that tho' there were 22 ships appointed for cruising, yet they had followed that service so remissly, and the orders sent them were so languid, and so little urgent, that three diligent cruising Ships could have performed all the services done by that numerous fleet: This was made out in a scheme, in which all the days of their being out at sea were reckoned up, which did not exceed what three Cruisers might have performed. It did not appear, whether this was only the effect of sloth or ignorance, or if there lay any designed treachery at bottom: It seemed very plain, that there was treachery somewhere,

where, at least among the Under-Officers: For a *French* Privateer being taken, they found among his Papers Instructions sent him by his Owners, in which he was directed to lie in some stations, and to avoid others: and it happened that this agreed so exactly with the orders sent from the Admiralty, that it seemed that could not be by chance, but that the directions were sent, upon sight of the orders. The Queen began this winter to come to the House of Lords upon great occasions to hear their debates, which as it was of good use for her better Information, so it was very serviceable in bringing the House into better order. The first time She came, was when the Debate was taken up concerning the *Scotch* Act: She knew the Lord-Treasurer was aimed at by it, and she diverted the storm by her endeavours, as well as she restrained it by her presence.

She came likewise thither to hear the debates upon the Bill against Occasional Conformity, which was sent up by the Commons; if it had not been for the Queen's being present, there would have been no long debate on that head, for it was scarce possible to say much, that had not been formerly said; but to give the Queen full information, since it was supposed, that she had heard that matter only on one side, it was resolved to open the whole matter in her hearing: The topicks most insisted on were, the quiet that we enjoyed by the Toleration, on which head the severities of former Reigns were laid open, both in their injustice, cruelty, and their being managed only to advance Popery, and other bad designs: The peaceable behaviour of the Dissenters, and the zeal they expressed for the Queen, and her Government, was also copiously set forth; while others shewed a malignity to it. That which was chiefly urged was, that every new Law made in the matter, altered the state of things, from what it was, when the Act for Toleration first passed; this gave the Dissenters an alarm, they might from thence justly conclude, that one step would be made after another, 'till the whole Effect of that Act should be overturned. It did not appear from the behaviour of any among them, that they were not contented with the Toleration they enjoyed, or that they were carrying on designs against the Church: In that case it might be reasonable to look for a further security, but nothing tending that way, was so much as pretended: All went on jealousies and fears, the common topicks of Sedition. On the other hand, to support the Bill, all stories were brought up to shew, how restless and unquiet that sort of men had been in former times. When it came to the question, whether the Bill should be read a second time or not, it went for the negative by a majority of 20 Lords.

The Bill against Occasional Conformity debated and rejected by the Lords.

1705.

Bishop *Wat-*
son's prac-
tices.

Another debate, that brought the Queen to the House, was concerning *Watson*, late Lord Bishop of *St. David's*: His business had been kept long on foot in the Courts below, by all the methods of delay that Lawyers could invent: After five years pleading the concluding judgment was given in the Exchequer, that he had no right to the Temporalities of that Bishoprick: And that being affirmed in the Exchequer-Chamber, it was now by a Writ of Error, brought before the Lords, in the last Resort: But as the House seemed now to be set, he had no mind to let it go to a final decision: So he delayed the assigning the Errors of the judgment, 'till the days were lapsed, in which, according to a standing order, Errors ought to be assigned, upon a Writ of Error: in default of which, the Record was to be sent back. He suffered the time to lapse, tho' particular notice was ordered to be given him, on the last day, in which, according to the standing order, he might have assigned his Errors: And the House sat that day some hours on purpose waiting for it. Some weeks after that, when the Session was so near an end, that he thought his Cause could not be heard during the Session, and so must in course have been put off to another Session; he petitioned for leave to assign his Errors: This was one of the most solemn orders, that related to the judicature of the Lords, and had been the most constantly stood to: It was not therefore thought reasonable to break through it, in favour of so bad a man, of whom they were all ashamed, if parties could have any shame: He had affected, in every step he had made, to seek out all possible delays, for keeping the See still void, which by reason of a bad Bishop and a long Vacancy, was fallen into great disorder: Yet after all this, he had still by law the benefit of a Writ of Error, which he might bring in any subsequent Session of Parliament.

Some pro-
motions in
the Church.

Upon this the Queen resolved to fill that See: And she promoted to it, the celebrated Dr. *Bull*, who had writ the learnedest Treatise, that this Age had produced, of the Doctrine of the primitive Church concerning the Trinity: This had been so well received all *Europe* over, that in an Assembly General of the Clergy of *France*, the Bishop of *Meaux* was desired to write over to a Correspondent he had in *London*, that they had such a sense of the service he had done their common Faith, that upon it they sent him their particular thanks: I read the Letter, and so I can deliver it for a certain truth, how uncommon soever it may seem to be. The Queen had a little before this promoted Dr. *Beveridge* to the See of *St. Asaph*, who had shewed himself very learned in the Ecclesiastical Knowledge. They were both

pious

pious and devout Men, but were now declining; both of them being old, and not like to hold out long. Soon after this the See of *Lincoln* became vacant by that Bishop's death: Dr. *Wake* was after some time promoted to it: A man eminently learned, an excellent writer, a good preacher, and, which is above all, a man of an exemplary life.

A design was formed in this Session of Parliament, but there was not strength enough to carry it on at this time, the Earl of *Rochester* gave a hint of it in the House of Lords, by saying that he had a motion of great consequence to the security of the nation, which he would not make at this time, but would do it when next they should meet together. He said no more to the House, but in private discourse he owned it was for bringing over the Electors of *Hanover* to live in *England*: Upon this I will digress a little, to open the design and the views, which he and some others might have in this motion.

Designs with relation to the Electors of *Hanover*.

It seemed not natural to believe that a Party, which had been all along backward at best, and cold in every step that was made in settling the Succession in that Family, should become all on the sudden, such Converts as to be zealous for it; so it was not an unreasonable jealousy to suspect, that somewhat lay hid under it: It was thought that they either knew, or did apprehend, that this would not be acceptable to the Queen; and they, being highly displeased with the measures she took, went into this design both to vex her, and in hopes that a Faction might arise out of it, which might breed a distraction in our Councils, and some of them might hope thereby to revive the Prince of *Wales*'s pretensions. They reckoned such a motion would be popular: And if either the Court or the Whigs, on whom the Court was now beginning to look more favourably, should oppose it, this would cast a load on them as men, who after all the zeal they had expressed for that Succession, did now, upon the hopes of favour at Court, throw it up: And those who had been hitherto considered as the Enemies of that House, might hope by this motion to overcome all the prejudices that the nation had taken up against them; and they might create a merit to themselves in the minds of that Family, by this early zeal, which they resolved now to express for it.

This was set on foot among all the party: But the more sincere among them could not be prevailed on to act so false a part, tho' they were told this was the likeliest way, to advance the Pretended Prince of *Wales*'s Interests.

I now come to give an account of the last business of this Session, with which the Parliament ended; it was formerly told,

The House of Commons committed to prison some of the men of *Aylesbury*.

what

1705. what proceedings had been at law upon the Election at *Ailesbury*; the judgment that the Lords gave in that matter was executed, and upon that five others of the inhabitants brought their actions against the Constables, upon the same grounds. The House of Commons looked on this as a great contempt of their Votes, and they voted this a Breach of Privilege, to which they added a new, and 'till then unheard-of Crime, that it was contrary to the Declaration that they had made; upon that they sent their Messenger for these five men, and committed them to *Newgate*, where they lay three months prisoners; they were all the while well-supplied and much visited; so they lay without making any application to the House of Commons: It was not thought advisable to move in such a matter, 'till all the Money-Bills were passed; then motions were made, in the Interval between the Terms, upon the Statute for a *Habeas Corpus*; but the Statute relating only to commitments by the Royal Authority, this did not lie within it.

When the Term came, a motion was made in the Queen's Bench upon the Common-Law, in behalf of the Prisoners for a *Habeas Corpus*; the Lawyers who moved it, produced the Commitment, in which their offence was set forth, that they had claimed the benefit of the law in opposition to a Vote of the House of Commons to the contrary; they said the subjects were governed by the Laws, which they might, and were bound to know, and not by the Votes of a House of Parliament, which they were neither bound to know, nor to obey: Three of the Judges were of opinion, that the Court could take no cognizance of that matter; the Chief-Justice was of another mind; he thought a general warrant of commitment for breach of privilege was of the nature of an execution; and since the ground of the commitment was specified in the warrant, he thought it plainly appeared, that the prisoners had been guilty of no legal offence, and that therefore they ought to be discharged: He was but one against three, so the Prisoners were remanded.

Upon that they moved for a Writ of Error, to bring the matter before the Lords; that was only to be come at, by petitioning the Queen to order it: The Commons were alarmed at this, and made an Address to the Queen, setting forth, that they had passed all the Money-Bills, therefore they hoped her Majesty would not grant this. Ten Judges agreed, that in civil matters a petition for a Writ of Error was a petition of right, and not of grace; two of them only were of another mind; it was therefore thought a very strange thing, which might have most pernicious consequences, for a House of Commons to desire the Queen, not to grant a petition of right, which was plainly a breach of Law and of her Coronation-

Coronation-Oath; they also took on them to affirm, that the Writ did not lie; tho' that was clearly the work of the Judicature to declare, whether it lay or not, and that was unquestionably the Right of the Lords; They only could determine that; the supplying the publick occasions was a strange consideration to be offered the Queen, as an argument to persuade her to act against Law: as if they had pretended that they had bribed her to infringe the Law; and to deny Justice: Money given for publick service was given to the Country, and to themselves, as properly as to the Queen.

The Queen answered their Address, and in it said, that the stopping Proceedings at Law, was a matter of such consequence, that she must consider well of it: This was thought so cold, that they returned her no thanks for it; tho' a well-composed House of Commons would certainly have thanked her, for that tender regard to Law and Justice. The House of Commons carried their anger farther; they ordered the Prisoners to be taken out of *Newgate*, and to be kept by their Serjeant; they also ordered the Lawyers and the Solicitors to be taken into custody, for appearing in behalf of the Prisoners: These were such strange and unheard-of Proceedings, that by them the minds of all people were much alienated from the House of Commons. But the Prisoners were under such management, and so well supported, that they would not submit nor ask pardon of the House; it was generally believed, that they were supplied and managed by the Lord *Wharton*; they petitioned the House of Lords for relief; and the Lords resolved to proceed in the matter, by sure and regular steps: They first came to some general Resolutions; That neither House of Parliament could assume or create any new Privilege, that they had not been formerly possessed of; That Subjects claiming their Rights in a Course of Law, against those who had no Privilege, could not be a Breach of Privilege of either House; That the imprisoning the men of *Ailesbury*, for acting contrary to a Declaration made by the House of Commons, was against Law; That the committing their Friends and their Counsel for assisting them, in order to the procuring their Liberty in a legal way, was contrary to Law; and that the Writ of Error could not be denied without breaking the *Magna Charta* and the Laws of *England*. These Resolutions were communicated to the House of Commons at a Conference.

They made a long Answer to them: In it they set forth, that the right of determining Elections was lodged only with them, and that therefore they only could judge who had a Right to elect; they only were the Judges of their own Privileges, the Lords could

1705. not intermeddle in it; they quoted very copiously the Proceedings in the year 1675, upon an Appeal brought against a Member of their House; they said their Prisoners ought only to apply themselves to them for their liberty; and that no motion had ever been made for a Writ of Error in such a case. Upon this second Conference according to form, the matter was brought to a free Conference, where the point was fully argued on both sides; the City and the Body of the Nation were on the Lords side in the matter. Upon this, the Lords drew up a full representation of the whole thing, and laid it before the Queen, with an earnest prayer to her Majesty, to give order for the Writ of Error; this was thought so well drawn, that some preferred it to those of the former Sessions; it contained a long and clear deduction of the whole affair, with great decency of style, but with many heavy reflections on the House of Commons.

By this time the whole business of the Session was brought to a conclusion; for the Lords, who had the Money-Bills, would not pass them, till this was ended: They carried their Representation to the Queen, who in answer to it told them, that she would have granted the Writ of Error, but she saw it was necessary to put a present conclusion to the Session. This being reported to the House, was looked on by them as a clear decision in their favour; therefore they ordered their humble thanks to be immediately returned to her Majesty for it: An hour after that, the Queen came to the House of Lords, and passed all the Bills, and ended the Session, with a Speech full of thanks for the Supplies so readily granted; she took notice with regret of the Effects of the ill-humour and animosity, that had appeared; and spoke of the narrow escape we had made, which she hoped would teach all persons to avoid such dangerous Experiments for the future; this was universally understood to be meant of the *Tack*, as indeed it could be meant of nothing else.

The end of
the Par-
liament.

Thus this Session, and with it this Parliament came to an end: it was no small blessing to the Queen, and to the Nation, that they got well out of such hands: They had discovered, on many occasions, and very manifestly, what lay at bottom with most of them; but they had not skill enough to know how to manage their advantages, and to make use of their numbers; the constant Successes, with which God had blessed the Queen's Reign, put it out of their power to compass that, which was aimed at by them; the forcing a Peace, and of consequence the delivering all up to *France*. Sir *Christopher Musgrave*, the wisest Man of the Party, died before the last Session; and by their conduct after his death, it appeared, that they wanted his Direction: He had been at the head

head of the opposition, that was made in the last Reign from the beginning to the end; but he gave up many points of great importance in the critical minute, for which I had good reason to believe, that he had 12000 pounds from the late King, at different times: At his death it appeared, that he was much richer, than by any visible computation he could be valued at: Which made some cast an Imputation on his memory, as if he had received great sums even from *France*.

I shall conclude the relation of this Parliament with an account of some things, that were begun, but not perfected by them: There was a Bill offered for the Naturalization of some Hundreds of *Frenchmen*, to which the Commons added a Clause, disabling the persons so naturalized, from voting in Elections of Parliament; the true reason of this was, because it was observed that the *French* among us gave in all Elections their Votes, for those who were most zealous against *France*: and yet, with an apparent disingenuity, some gave it as a reason for such a Clause, that they must be supposed so partial to the Interests of their own Country, that it was not fit to give them any share in our Government. The Lords looked on this as a new attempt, and the Clause added was a plain contradiction to the body of the Bill, which gave them all the Rights of natural-born Subjects; and this took from them the chief of them all, the chusing their Representatives in Parliament: They would not agree to it, and the Commons resolved not to depart from it; so without coming to a free Conference, the Bill fell with the Session.

Another Bill was begun by the Lords against the Papists: It was occasioned by several complaints brought from many parts of the Kingdom, chiefly from *Cheshire*, of the practices and influence of those of that Religion: So a Bill was ordered to be brought in, with Clauses in it, that would have made the Act, passed against them four years before, prove effectual; which for want of these, has hitherto been of no effect at all: This passed in the House of Lords, and was sent to the Commons. They had no mind to pass it; but to avoid the ill effects of their refusing such a Bill, they added a Clause to it, containing severe Penalties on Papists who should once take the Oaths, and come into the Communion of our Church, if they should be guilty of any Occasional Conformity with Popery afterwards: They fancied that this of Occasional Conformity was so odious to the Lords, that every Clause that condemned it, would be rejected by them: But when they came to understand that the Lords were resolved to agree to the Clause, they would not put it to that hazard: So the Bill lay on their Table, and slept 'till the Prorogation.

1705.
Bills that were not passed.

1705.

A General Self-denying Bill was offered in the House of Commons, by those very Men, who in the first Session of Parliament, when they hoped for Places themselves, had opposed the motion of such a Bill with great indignation: Now the scene was a little altered, they saw they were not like to be Favourites, so they pretended to be Patriots. This looked so strangely in them, that it was rejected: But another Bill of a more restrained nature passed, disabling some Officers, particularly those that were concerned in the Prize-Office, from serving in Parliament: To this a general Clause was added, that disabled all who held any Office, that had been created since the year 1684, or any Office that should be created for the future, from sitting in Parliament: This passed among them, and was sent to the Lords; who did not think fit to agree to so general a Clause, but consented to a particular disability, put on some Offices by name: The Commons did not agree to this Alteration; they would have all or nothing: So the Bill fell.

The conclusion of the Parliament set the whole Nation in a general ferment; both sides studied how to dispose people's minds in the new Elections, with great industry and zeal: All people looked on the Affairs of *France*, as reduced to such a state, that the War could not run beyond the period of the next Parliament: A well-chosen one must prove a publick blessing, not only to *England*, but to all *Europe*; as a bad one would be fatal to us at home, as well as to our Allies abroad: The Affairs of *France* were run very low: All methods of raising money were now exhausted, and could afford no great supplies: So, in imitation of our Exchequer-Bills, they began to give out Mint-Bills; but they could not create that confidence, which is justly put in Parliamentary credit. The *French* had hopes from their Party here in *England*, and there was a disjointing in the several Provinces of the *United Netherlands*: But as long as we were firm and united, we had a great influence on the States, at least to keep things entire during the War: So it was visible that a good Election in *England*, must give such a prospect for three years, as would have a great Influence on all the Affairs of *Europe*.

Proceedings
in the Con-
vocation.

I must, before I end the relation of the Parliament, say somewhat of the Convocation, that attended upon it, tho' it was then so little considered, that scarce any notice was taken of them, and they deserved that no mention should be made of them. The Lower House continued to proceed with much indecent violence: They still held their intermediate Sessions, and brought up injurious and reflecting Addresses to the Upper House, which gave a very large exercise to the patience and forbearance of the Arch-

Archbishop and Bishops; the Archbishop, after he had born long with their perverseness, and saw no good effect of it, proceeded to an Ecclesiastical Monition against their intermediate meetings: This put a stop to that, for they would not venture on the Censures, that must in course follow, if no regard was had to the Monition. At the final Prorogation, the Archbishop dismissed them with a wise well-composed Speech; he laid open to them their indecent behaviour, and the many wrong steps they had made; to this he added a severe, but grave reprimand, with much good advice. The governing men among them were headstrong and factious, and designed to force themselves into Preferments, by the noise they made, and by this ill humour that they endeavoured to spread among the Clergy, who were generally soured, even with relation to the Queen herself, beyond what could be imagined possible.

Now having given a full relation of our Counsels and other Affairs at home, I shall next consider the Progress of those abroad. The first operation of the Campaign was before *Gibraltar*: *Lake* was sailing from *Lisbon* thither, and as he went out he met *Dilks*, who was sent from *England* to encrease his Force; by this Addition he had a strong Fleet of 30 Men of War, so he held on his course with all expedition, hoping to find *Pointy* in the Bay of *Gibraltar*; but a great Storm had blown all, but five Ships, up the *Mediterranean*. *Pointy* remained only with these, when he was surpris'd by *Lake*, who did quickly overpower him, and took three Capital Ships; the other two, that were the greatest of them, were run ashore, and burnt near *Marbella*. *Lake* sailed to the *Levant*, to see if he could overtake those Ships, that the Wind had driven from the rest; but after a fruitless pursuit for some days, he returned back to *Gibraltar*: That Garrison was now so well supplied, that the *Spaniards* lost all hopes of being able to take it; so they rais'd the Siege, turning it into a very feeble Blockade. This advantage came at the same time, that *Verue* was lost, to ballance that.

The Siege of Gibraltar rais'd.

Now the Campaign was to be opened, the Duke of *Marlborough* designed that the *Moselle* should be the Scene of Action, and care had been taken to lay up Magazines of all sorts in *Triers*: The States consented, that he should carry the greatest part of their Army to the *Moselle*, and resolv'd to lie on the Defensive upon their own Frontiers; for they reckon'd that how strong soever the Elector of *Bavaria's* Army was at that time, yet whensoever *France* should be press'd, with so great a Force as they reckon'd would be on the *Moselle*, he would be order'd to send such Detachments thither, that his Army would be quickly diminished,

The Duke of Marlborough march'd to Triers.

1705. and so would not have the superiour strength long. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* seemed to like this Scheme of the Campaign so well, and had concurred so cordially in the concert of it, during the Winter, that no doubt was made of his being both able and willing, to enter upon this new Scene of the War: But as the Duke of *Marlborough* was setting out, depending on his Concurrence, he received an Express from him, excusing himself both on his own want of Health, and because the Force he had about him was not considerable, nor was that, which he expected, like to come to him so soon as might be wished for. This could not stop the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had set his heart on opening the Campaign in those Parts, and had great hopes of Success: so he resolved to push the matter, as far as he could. He went to the Prince of *Baden* to concert Matters with him; whose ill Health seemed only to be a Pretence: It was true, that the Princes and Circles of the Empire had not sent in their Quotas, but it appeared that there was already strength enough, in conjunction with the Army, that the Duke of *Marlborough* was to bring, to advance, and open the Campaign with great advantage, at least 'till Detachments should come from other Parts: The Prince of *Baden* at last consented to this, and promised to follow, with all the Forces he could bring.

Expecting
the Prince
of *Baden*.

The Duke of *Marlborough* was so satisfied with these Assurances, that he came back to his Army, and quickened their March, so that he brought them to *Triers*; and he advanced eight Leagues further, through so many Defilés, that the *French* might easily have made his March both dangerous and difficult. He posted himself very near Mareschal *Villars's* Camp, not doubting but that the Prince of *Baden* would quickly follow him: Instead of that, he repeated his former excuse of want of Health and Force. That which gave the worst suspicions of him was, that it appeared plainly, that the *French* knew what he intended to do, and their Management shewed they depended on it; for they ordered no Detachments to encrease M. *Villars's* Army: On the contrary, the Elector of *Bavaria*, having the superiour Force, pressed the States on their Frontier. *Huy* was besieged and taken, after it had beyond all expectation held out ten days: *Liege* was attacked next; the Town was taken, but the Citadel held out. Upon this, the States sent to the Duke of *Marlborough* to march back with all possible haste; he had then eat up the Forage round about him, and was out of all hope, of the Prince of *Baden's* coming to join him; so he saw the necessity of marching back, after he had lost some weeks in a fruitless Attempt: He made such haste in his March, that he lost many of his Men in the way, by fatigue and desertion;

desertion; the *French* gave him no trouble, neither while he lay so near their Camp, nor when he drew off, to march away with so much haste. To compleat the ill Conduct of the *Germans*, those who were left with the Magazines at *Triers*, pretending danger, destroyed them all, and abandoning *Triers*, retired back to the *Rhine*. 1705.
Who failed him.

The Prince of *Baden's* Conduct through this whole matter was liable to great Censure: The worst suspicion was, that he was corrupted by the *French*. Those who did not carry their Censure so far, attributed his acting as he did to his Pride, and thought he, envying the Duke of *Marlborough*, and apprehending that the whole Glory of the Campaign would be ascribed to him, since he had the stronger Army, chose rather to defeat the whole Design, than see another carry away the chief Honour of any Successes, that might have happened. The Duke of *Marlborough* came back in good time to raise the Siege of the Citadel of *Liege*; and he retook *Huy* in three days: After that, in conjunction with the *Dutch* Army, he advanced towards the *French* Lines: He for some days amused them with feints; at last he made the Attack, where he had designed it, and broke through the Lines, and gave a great Defeat to the Body of the *French* that defended them, with the Loss only of seven Men on his side; and so without more opposition he came very near *Louvain*, the *Dyle* running between his Camp and the Town: A Deluge of Rain fell that Night, and swelled the *Dyle* so, that it was not possible to pass it. This gave the *French* time to recover themselves out of the first Consternation, that the Advantages he had gained put them in: After a few days, when the passing the *Dyle* was practicable, the Duke of *Marlborough* gave orders for it: But the *French* were posted with so much advantage on the other side, that the *Dutch* Generals persuaded the Deputies of the *States*, that they must run a great risque, if they should venture to force the Passage. The Duke of *Marlborough* was not a little mortified with this, but he bore it calmly, and moved another way. After some few Motions, another occasion was offered, which he intended to lay hold on: Orders were given to force the Passage; but a Motion through a Wood, that was thought necessary to support that, was not believed practicable: so the Deputies of the *States* were again possessed with the Danger of the Attempt; and they thought their Affairs were in so good a Condition, that such a desperate Undertaking, as that seemed to be, was not to be ventured on. The Duke of Marlborough broke through the French Lines.
The Dutch would not venture a Battel.

This was very uneasy to the Duke, but he was forced to submit to it, tho' very unwillingly: All agreed that the Enterprize was bold and doubtful; some thought it must have succeeded, though

1705. though with some Loss at first; and that if it had succeeded, it might have proved a decisive Action; others indeed looked on it as too desperate. A great Breach was like to arise upon this, both in the Army, and among the *States* at the *Hague*, and in the Towns of *Holland*, in *Amsterdam* in particular; where the Burghers came in a body to the *Stadthouse*, complaining of the Deputies, and that the Duke of *Marlborough* had not fuller Powers.

I can give no judgment in so nice a point, in which Military Men were of very different opinions, some justifying the Duke of *Marlborough*, as much as others censured him: He shewed great temper on this occasion, and though it gave him a very sensible trouble yet he set himself to calm all the heat, that was raised upon it. The Campaign in *Flanders* produced nothing after this, but fruitless Marches, while our Troops were subsisted in the Enemy's Country, 'till the time came of going into Winter-Quarters. Prince *Lewis's* Backwardness, and the Caution of the Deputies of the *States*, made this Campaign less Glorious than was expected; for I never knew the Duke of *Marlborough* go out so full of hopes, as in the beginning of it: But things had not answered his expectation.

The Em-
peror's
Death and
Character.

This Summer the Emperor *Leopold* died: He was the most knowing and the most virtuous Prince of his Communion; only he wanted the Judgment that was necessary for conducting great Affairs, in such Critical Times: He was almost always betrayed, and yet he was so firm to those, who had the Address to insinuate themselves into his good Opinion and Confidence, that it was not possible to let him see those Miscarriages, that ruined his Affairs so often, and brought them sometimes near the last Extremities: Of these every body else seemed more sensible than he himself. He was devout and strict in his Religion, and was so implicit in his submission to those Priests, who had credit with him, the Jesuits in particular, that he owed all his Troubles to their Counsels. The Persecution they began in *Hungary* raised one great War; which gave the *Turks* occasion to besiege *Vienna*, by which he was almost entirely swallowed up: This danger did not produce more Caution; after the Peace of *Carlowitz*, there was so much Violence and Oppression in the Government of *Hungary*, both of Papists and Protestants, that this raised a second War there, which, in conjunction with the Revolt of the Elector of *Bavaria*, brought him a second time very near utter Ruin: Yet he could never be prevailed on, either to punish, or so much as to suspect those, who had so fatally entangled his Affairs; that without Foreign Aid nothing could have extricated them. He was naturally merciful to a fault, for even the Punishment of

Cri-

Criminals was uneasy to him: Yet all the Cruelty in the Persecution of Hereticks seemed to raise no relentings in him. It could not but be observed by all Protestants, how much the ill influence of the Popish Religion appeared in him, who was one of the mildest and most virtuous Princes of the Age, since Cruelty in the Matters of Religion had a full course under him, though it was as contrary to his natural Temper, as it was to his Interests, and proved oftener than once almost fatal to all his Affairs. His Son *Joseph*, elected King of the *Romans*, succeeded him both in his Hereditary and Elective Dignities: It was given out, that he would apply himself much to Business, and would avoid those Rocks on which his Father had struck, and almost split; and correct those Errors to which his Father's easiness had exposed him: He promised to those Ministers, that the Queen and the States had in his Court, that he would offer all reasonable Terms to the *Hungarians*: And he consented to their setting a Treaty on foot, in which they were to be the Mediators, and become the Guarantees for the observance of such Articles, as should be agreed on; and he gave great hopes, that he would not continue in that subjection to the Priests, to which his Father had been captivated.

He desired to confer with the Duke of *Marlborough*, and to concert all Affairs with him: The Queen consented to this, and the Duke went to *Vienna*, where he was treated with great freedom and confidence, and he had all assurances given him, that could be given in words: He found, that the Emperor was highly dissatisfied with the Prince of *Baden*, but he had such credit in the Empire, especially with the Circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, that it was necessary to bear with that, which could not be helped. The Duke of *Marlborough* returned thro' the Hereditary Dominions to *Berlin*, where he had learned so perfectly to accommodate himself to that King's Temper, that he succeeded in every thing he proposed, and renewed all Treaties for one year longer. He came from thence to the Court of *Hanover*, and there he gave them full Assurances of the Queen's adhering firmly to their Interests, in maintaining the Succession to the Crown in their Family, with which the Elector was fully satisfied: But it appeared that the Electors had a mind, to be invited over to *England*. From thence he came back to *Holland*, and it was near the end of the year before he came over to *England*. Thus I have cast all that relates to him, in one continued series, though it ran out into a Course of many Months.

The *German* Army was not brought together before *August*: It was a very brave one, yet it did not much; the *French* gave way, and retired before them: *Haguenaw* and some other

Affairs in
Germany.

1705. Places were left by the *French*, and possessed by the Imperialists: a Blockade was laid to Fort *Lewis*. But nothing was done by that noble Army, equal either to their Numbers and Strength, or to the Reputation that the Prince of *Baden* had formerly acquired. This was contrary to the general expectation; for it was thought, that being at the head of so great an Army, he would have studied to have signalized himself, if it had been but to rival the Glory, that the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* had acquired.

And in Italy.

Prince *Eugene* had a hard time in *Italy*: He had a weak Army, and it was both ill-provided and ill-paid; he was long shut up within the Country of *Bergamo*; at last he broke through to *Cusano*; where there was a very hot Action between him and the Duke of *Vendosme*; both Sides pretended they had the Victory, yet the Duke of *Vendosme* repassed the River, and the Imperialists kept the Field of Battel. The *French* threatened *Turin* with a Siege, but they began with *Chivas*, which held out some Months, and was at last abandoned; the Duke of *Feuillade* commanded the Army near *Turin*, and seemed to dispose every thing in order to a Siege; but the Design was turned upon *Nice*, tho' late in the year: They made a brave resistance for many weeks; in *December* they were forced to capitulate, and the Place was demolished by the *French*.

The Firmness, that the Duke of *Savoy* expressed in all these Losses, was the wonder of all *Europe*; he had now but a small Army of 8000 Foot and 4000 Horse, and had scarce Territory enough to support these; he had no considerable Places left him but *Turin* and *Coni*: But he seemed resolved to be driven out of all, rather than to abandon the Alliance. His Dutches with all the Clergy, and indeed all his Subjects, prayed him to submit to the necessity of his Affairs; nothing could shake him; he admitted none of his Bishops nor Clergy into his Councils, and as his Envoy the Count *Briancon* told me, he had no certain Father-Confessor, but sent sometimes to the *Dominicans*, and sometimes to the *Franciscans* for a Priest, when he intended to go to Confession.

Affairs in Spain.

I turn next to *Spain*, which was this year a Scene of most important Transactions: The first Campaign in *Portugal* before the hot Season, produced nothing: The second Campaign seemed to promise somewhat, but the Conduct was so feeble, that though the Earl of *Galloway* did all that was possible, to put things in a good posture, yet he saw a disposition in the Ministers, and in their whole Management, that made him often despair, and wish himself out of the Service. *Fagel*, that commanded the *Dutch* Forces, acted in every thing in opposition to him,

him, and it was visible that the Ministers did secretly encourage that, by which they excused themselves. 1705.

King *Charles* was so disgusted with these Proceedings, that he was become quite weary of staying in *Portugal*: So when the Fleet of the Allies came to *Lisbon* with an Army on board, of above 5000 Men, commanded by the Earl of *Peterborough*, he resolved to go aboard, and to try his Fortune with them. The Almirante of *Castile* died about that time; some thought that was a great Loss; though others did not set so high a value upon him, nor on any of the Intrigues that were among the Grandees at *Madrid*: They were indeed offended with several small matters in King *Philip's* Conduct, and with the Ascendant, that the *French* had in all their Councils; for they saw every thing was directed by Orders sent from *Versailles*, and that their King was really but a Viceroy: They were also highly provoked by some Innovations made in the Ceremonial, which they valued above more important Matters; many seemed disgusted at that Conduct, and withdrew from the Court. The Marquess of *Leganes* was considered, as most active in infusing Jealousies and a Dislike of the Government into the other Grandees, so he was seized on, and sent Prisoner to *Navarre*; the Grandees, in all their Conduct, shewed more of a haughty Sullenness in maintaining their own Privileges, than of a generous Resolution to free their Country from the Slavery, under which it was fallen; they seemed neither to have Heads capable of laying any solid Designs, for shaking off the yoke, nor Hearts brave enough to undertake it.

Our Fleet sailed from *Lisbon* with King *Charles*; they stopt at *Gibraltar*; and carried along with them the Prince of *Hesse*, who had been so long Governour of *Barcelona*, that he knew both the Tempers, and the Strength, and Importance of the Place. The first Design of this Expedition was concerted with the Duke of *Savoy*; and the Forces they had on board, were either to join him, or to make an attempt on *Naples* or *Sicily*, as should be found most advisable: There were Agents employed in different Parts of *Spain*, to give an account of the disposition People were in, and of what seemed most practicable. A Body of Men rose in *Catalonia* about *Vick*: upon the knowledge King *Charles* had of this, and upon other Advertisements that were sent to our Court, of the dispositions of those of that Principality, the Orders which King *Charles* desired were sent; and brought by a Runner, that was dispatched from the Queen to the Fleet: So the Fleet steered to the Coast of *Catalonia*, to try what could be done there. The Earl of *Peterborough*, who had set his heart on *Italy*, and on Prince Eugene

A Fleet and
Army sent
to Spain.

1705. *Eugene*, was not a little displeased with this, as appeared in a long Letter from him, which the Lord-Treasurer shewed me.

They landed
near Bar-
celona.

They landed not far from *Barcelona*, and were joined with many *Miquelets* and others of the Country; these were good at plundering, but could not submit to a regular Discipline, nor were they willing to expose themselves to dangerous Services. *Barcelona* had a Garrison of 5000 Men in it; these were commanded by Officers, who were entirely in the Interests of King *Philip*; it seemed a very unreasonable thing to undertake the Siege of such a Place, with so small a Force; they could not depend on the raw and undisciplined Multitudes, that came in to join them, who if things succeeded not in their hands, would soon abandon them, or perhaps study to merit a pardon, by cutting their throats. A Council of War was called, to consult on what could be proposed and done; *Stanhope*, who was one of them, told me, that both *English* and *Dutch* were all of opinion, that the Siege could not be undertaken, with so small a Force; those within being as strong as they were, nor did they see any thing else worth the attempting: They therefore thought that no time was to be lost, but that they were all to go again on board, and to consider what Course was next to be taken, before the Season were spent, when the Fleet would be obliged to return back again, and if they could not fix themselves any where before that time, they must sail back with the Fleet. The Prince of *Hesse* only was of opinion, that they ought to sit down before *Barcelona*; he said, he had secret intelligence of the good affections of many in the Town, who were well-known to him, and on whom he relied, and he undertook to answer for their Success: This could not satisfy those who knew nothing of his Secrets, and so could only judge of things by what appeared to them.

The King
prelled the
Siege.

The Debate lasted some hours: In conclusion, the King himself spoke near half an hour; he resumed the whole Debate, he answered all the Objections that were made against the Siege; and treated every one of those who had made them, as he answered them, with particular Civilities; he supported the truth of what the Prince of *Hesse* had asserted, as being known to himself; he said, in the State in which his Affairs then stood, nothing could be proposed that had not great difficulties in it, all was doubtful, and much must be put to hazard; but this seemed less dangerous than any other thing that was proposed: Many of his Subjects had come and declared for him, to the hazard of their Lives; it became him therefore to let them see, that he would run the same hazard with them; he desired that they would stay so long with him, 'till such attempts should be made, that all the world

World might be convinced, that nothing could be done, and he hoped that till that appeared, they would not leave him; he added, that if their Orders did oblige them to leave him, yet he could not leave his own Subjects: upon this they resolved to sit down before *Barcelona*. They were all amazed to see so young a Prince, so little practised in Business, argue in so nice a point, with so much force, and conclude with such heroic Resolutions. This proved happy in many Respects; It came to be known afterwards, that the *Catalans* and *Miquelets*, who had joined them, hearing that they were resolved to abandon them, and go back to their Ships, had resolved, either out of resentment, or that they might merit their pardon, to murder as many of them as they could. When this small Army sat down before *Barcelona*, they found they were too weak to besiege it; they could scarce mount their Cannon: When they came to examine their Stores, they found them very defective; and far short of the Quantities that by their Lists they expected to find; whether this flowed from Treachery or Carelessness, I will not determine; there is much of both in all our Offices. It soon appeared that the Intelligence was true, concerning the Inclinations of those in the Town, their Affections were entire for King *Charles*: but they were over-awed by the Garrison, and by *Velasco*, who as well as the Duke of *Popoli*, who had the chief command, was devoted to the Interests of King *Philip*. Deserters came daily from the Town and brought them Intelligence: the most considerable thing was, that Fort *Montjuy* was very ill guarded, it being thought above their Strength to make an attempt on it; so it was concluded that all the hopes of reducing *Barcelona* lay in the Success of their Design on that Fort. Two Bodies were ordered to march secretly that night, and to move towards the other side of *Barcelona*, that the true Design might not be suspected, for all the hopes of Success lay in the secrecy of the March. The first Body consisted of 800, and both the Prince of *Hesse* and the Earl of *Peterborough* led them: The other Body consisted of 600, who were to follow these at some distance; and were not to come above half way up the Hill, till further Order: *Stanhope* led this Body, from whom I had this Account. They drew up with them some small Field-pieces and Mortars; they had taken a great compass, and had marched all night, and were much fatigued by the time that they had gained the Top of the Hill; 300 of them, being commanded to another side of the Fort, were separated from the rest, and mistaking their way, fell into the hands of a Body of Men, sent up from the Town to reinforce the Garrison in the

1705.

Fort Montjuy attacked.

1705. { Fort; before they were separated, the whole Body had attacked the Out-works, and carried them; but while the Prince of *Hesse* was leading on his Men he received a Shot in his Body, upon which he fell; yet he would not be carried off, but continued too long in the place giving Orders, and died in a few hours, much and justly lamented. The Governour of the Fort, seeing a small Body in possession of the Out-works, resolved to sally out upon them, and drew up 400 Men in order to it; these would soon have master'd a small and wearied Body, dishearten'd by so great a loss; so that if he had followed his resolution all was lost, for all that *Stanhope* could have done, was, to receive, and bring off such as could get to him; but one of those newly taken, happening to cry out, *O poor Prince of Hesse*, the Governour hearing this, called for him, and examined him, and when he learned that both the Prince of *Hesse* and the Earl of *Peterborough* were with that Body, he concluded that the whole Army was certainly coming up after them; and reflecting on that, he thought it was not fit for him to expose his Men, since he believed the Body they were to attack would be soon much superior to him; so he resolved not to risque a Sally, but to keep within and maintain the Fort against them. Thus the Earl of *Peterborough* continued quiet in the Out-works, and being reinforced with more Men, he attacked the Fort, but with no great hopes of succeeding: he threw a few Bombs into it, one of these fell happily into the Magazine of Powder, and blew it up: By this the Governour and some of the best Officers were killed, which struck the rest with such a Consternation, that they delivered up the Place. This Success gave them great hopes, the Town lying just under the Hill, which the Fort stood on: Upon this the Party in *Barcelona*, that was well affected to *K. Charles*, began to take heart, and to shew themselves: And after a few days Siege, another happy Bomb fell with so good an effect, that the Garrison was forced to capitulate.

And taken.

Barcelona
capitulated.

King *Charles* was received into *Barcelona*, with great expressions of joy: In the first transport, they seemed resolved to break through the Articles granted to the Garrison, and to make sacrifices of the chief Officers at least. Upon that the Earl of *Peterborough*, with *Stanhope* and other Officers, rode about the Streets, to stop this fury, and to prevail with the People to maintain their Articles religiously; and in doing this, *Stanhope* said to me, they ran a greater hazard, from the shooting and fire, that was flying about in that disorder, than they had done during the whole Siege: They at last quieted the People, and the Articles of Capitulation were punctually observed. Upon this unexpected Success

cess, the whole Principality of *Catalonia* declared for King *Charles*: 1705.
I will not prosecute this Relation so minutely in other Parts of it, having set down so particularly, that which I had from so good a Hand, chiefly to set forth the signal Steps of Providence, that did appear in this matter.

Soon after, our Fleet sailed back to *England*, and *Stanhope* was sent over in it, to give a full Relation of this great Transaction: By him King *Charles* wrote to the Queen a long and clear account of all his Affairs; full of great Acknowledgements of her assistance, with a high Commendation of all Her Subjects, more particularly of the Earl of *Peterborough*: The Queen was pleased to shew me the Letter; it was all writ in his own hand, and the *French* of it was so little correct, that it was not like what a Secretary would have drawn for him: so from that I concluded he penned it himself. The Lord-Treasurer had likewise another long Letter from him, which he shewed me: It was all in his own hand: One Correction seemed to make it evident, that He himself composed it. He wrote towards the end of the Letter, that he must depend on *his Protection*; upon reflection, that word seemed not fit for him to use to a Subject, so it was dashed out, but the Letters were still plain, and instead of it *Application* was writ over head: These Letters gave a great Idea of so young and unexperienced a Prince, who was able to write with so much Clearness, Judgment, and Force. By all that is reported of the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, that King could not receive any great Assistance from him: He was spoken of, as a Man of a low Genius, who thought of nothing but the ways of enriching himself, even at the hazard of ruining his Master's Business.

Our Affairs at Sea were more prosperous this year, than they had been formerly: In the beginning of the Season our Cruizers took so many of the *French* Privateers, that we had some thousands of their Seamen in our hands: We kept such a Squadron before *Brest*, that the *French* Fleet did not think fit to venture out, and their *Toulon* Squadron had suffered so much in the Action of the former years, that they either could not, or would not venture out: By this means our Navigation was safe, and our Trade was prosperous.

The second Campaign in *Portugal* ended worse than the first: *Badajos* was besieged, and the Earl of *Gallway* hoped he should have been quickly Master of it; but his hopes were not well-grounded, for the Siege was raised: In one Action the Earl of *Gallway*'s Arm was broke by a Cannon-ball: It was cut off, and for some days his Life was in great danger; the Miscarriage of the Design heightening the Fever that followed his Wound, by the

K. Charles's
Letters.

Affairs at
Sea.

The Siege
of *Badajos*
raised.

1705.
The Coun-
cils of Por-
tugal.

vexation that it gave him. But now upon the news from *Catalonia*, the Councils of *Portugal* were quite changed: They had a better prospect than formerly, of the Reduction of *Spain*: The War was now divided, which lay wholly upon them before: And the *French* Party in that Court had no more the old pretence, to excuse their Councils by, which was, that it was not fit for them to engage themselves too deep in that War, nor to provoke the *Spaniards* too much, and so expose themselves to Revenges, if the Allies should despair and grow weary of the War, and recall their Troops and Fleets. But now that they saw the War carried on so far, in the remotest corner of *Spain*, which must give a great Diversion to King *Philip's* Forces, it seemed a much safer, as well as it was an easier thing to carry on the War, with more Vigour for the future. Upon this all possible Assurances were given the Earl of *Gallway*, that things should be conducted hereafter fully to his content. So that by two of his Dispatches, which the Lord-Treasurer shewed me, it appeared that he was then fully convinced of the Sincerity of their Intentions, of which he was in great doubt, or rather despairing formerly.

Affairs in
Hungary.

In *Hungary* matters went on very doubtfully: *Transylvania* was almost entirely reduced; *Ragotzi* had great Misfortunes there, as the Court of *Vienna* published the Progress of the new Emperor's Arms, but this was not to be much depended on: They could not conceal on the other hand the great Ravages, that the Malecontents made in other places: So that *Hungary* continued to be a Scene of Confusion and Plunder.

And in Po-
land.

Poland was no better: King *Augustus's* Party continued firm to him, tho' his long stay in *Saxony*, gave credit to a Report spread about, that he was resolved to abandon that Kingdom, and to return to it no more: This Summer past over in Motions, and Actions of no great consequence: what was gained in one place, was lost in another. *Stanislaus* got himself to be crowned: The old Cardinal, tho' summoned to *Rome*, would not go thither: He suffered himself to be forced to own *Stanislaus*, but died before his Coronation, and that Ceremony was performed by the Bishop of *Cujavia*: The *Muscovites* made as great ravages in *Lithuania*, as they had done formerly in *Livonia*: The King of *Sweden* was in perpetual motion: But tho' he endeavoured it much, he could not bring things to a decisive action. In the beginning of Winter, King *Augustus*, with two Persons only, broke thro' *Poland* in disguise, and got to the *Muscovite* Army, which was put under his Command. The Campaign went on all the Winter-season, which, considering the extreme Cold in those Parts, was thought a thing impracticable before.

before. In the Spring after, *Reinschild* a *Swedish* General, fell upon the *Saxon* Army, that was far superiour to his in number: ^{1705.} He had not above 10000 Men, and the *Saxons* were about 18000: He gave them a total Defeat, killed about 7000, and took 8000 Prisoners, and their Camp, Baggage, and Artillery: Numbers upon such Occasions are often swelled, but it is certain this was an entire Victory: The *Swedes* gave it out, that they had not lost a thousand Men in the Action; and yet even this great advantage was not like to put an end to the War, nor to the Distractions, into which that miserable Kingdom was cast. In it the World saw the Mischiefs of an Elective Government, especially when the Electors have lost their Virtue, and set themselves to sale. The King of *Sweden* continued in an obstinate Aversion to all Terms of Peace: His Temper, his Courage, and his military Conduct were much commended; only all said he grew too savage, and was so positive and peremptory in his Resolutions, that no Applications could soften him: He would scarce admit them to be made: He was said to be devout almost to Enthusiasm, and he was severely engaged in the *Lutheran* Rigidity, almost equally against Papists and Calvinists: Only his Education was so much neglected, that he had not an equal measure of Knowledge, to direct his Zeal.

This is such a general View of the State of *Europe* this Summer, as may serve to shew how things went on in every Part of it. I now return to *England*. The Election of the Members of the House of Commons was managed with Zeal and Industry on both sides: The Clergy took great pains to infuse, into all People, tragical Apprehensions of the Danger the Church was in: The Universities were inflamed with this, and they took all means to spread it over the Nation, with much Vehemence: The Danger the Church of *England* was in, grew to be as the Word given in an Army; Men were known as they answered it: None carried this higher than the Jacobites, tho' they had made a Schism in the Church: At last, even the Papists, both at home and abroad, seemed to be disturbed, with the Fears that the Danger our Church was in, put them under: and this was supported by the *Paris* Gazette, tho' the Party seemed concerned and ashamed of that. Books were writ and dispersed over the Nation with great Industry, to possess all People with the Apprehensions that the Church was to be given up, that the Bishops were betraying it, and that the Court would sell it to the Dissenters. They also hoped, that this Campaign, proving less prosperous than had been expected, might put the Nation into ill humour, which might furnish them with some Advantages. In

A Parliament chosen in *England*.

1705. opposition to all this, the Court acted with such caution and coldness, that the Whigs had very little Strength given them by the Ministers, in managing Elections: They seemed rather to look on, as indifferent Spectators, but the Whigs exerted themselves with great Activity and Zeal. The Dissenters, who had been formerly much divided, were now united, entirely in the Interests of the Government, and joined with the Whigs every where.

When the Elections were all over, the Court took more heart: for it appeared, that they were sure of a great Majority, and the Lord *Godolphin* declared himself more openly, than he had done formerly, in favour of the Whigs: The first instance given of this, was the dismissing of *Wright*, who had continued so long Lord-Keeper, that he was fallen under a high degree of Contempt with all sides; even the Tories, tho' he was wholly theirs, despising him: He was sordidly covetous, and did not at all live suitably to that High Post: He became extream rich, yet I never heard him charged with Bribery in his Court, but there was a foul Rumour, with relation to the Livings of the Crown, that were given by the Great Seal, as if they were set to sale, by the Officers under him.

Cowper
Lord-
Keeper.

The Seals being sent for, they were given to *Cowper*, a Gentleman of a good Family, of excellent Parts and of an engaging Deportment, very eminent in his Profession; and who had for many years been considered, as the Man who spoke the best of any in the House of Commons: He was a very acceptable Man to the Whig Party: They had been much disgusted with the Lord-Treasurer, for the Coldness he expressed, as if he would have maintained a Neutrality between the two Parties; tho' the one supported him, while the other designed to ruin him: But this Step went a great way towards the reconciling the Whigs to him.

A Session of Parliament met this Summer in *Scotland*: There was a Change made in the Ministry there: Those who were employed in the former Session, could not undertake to carry a Majority: So all the Duke of *Queensbury's* Friends were again brought into Employment. The Duke of *Argyle's* Instructions were, that he should endeavour to procure an Act, settling the Succession as it was in *England*, or to set on foot a Treaty for the Union of the two Kingdoms: When he came to *Scotland*, and laid his Instructions before the rest of the Ministers there; the Marquis of *Anandale* pressed, that they should first try that, which was first named in the Instructions, and he seemed confident, that if all who were in Employments would concur in it, they should

be

be able to carry it. Those of another mind, who were in their hearts for the Pretended Prince of *Wales*, put this by with great Zeal: They said they must not begin with that, which would meet with great Opposition, and be perhaps rejected: That would beget such an Union of Parties, that if they miscarried in the one, they would not be able to carry the other; therefore they thought, that the first Proposition should be for the Union: that was popular, and seemed to be a remote thing; so there would be no great Opposition made to a general Act about it. Those who intended still to oppose it, would reckon they would find matter enough in the Particulars, to raise a great Opposition, and so to defeat it. This course was agreed on, at which the Marquess of *Anandale* was so highly offended, that he concurred no more in the Councils of those, who gave the other Advice. Some did sincerely desire the Union, as that which would render the whole Island happy: others were in their Hearts against it; they thought it was a plausible step, which they believed would run, by a long Treaty, into a course of some years; that during that time, they would be continued in their Employments, and they seemed to think it was impossible so to adjust all Matters, as to frame such a Treaty, as would pass in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. The Jacobites concurred all heartily in this: It kept the settling the Succession at a distance, and very few looked on the Motion for the Union, as any thing but a Pretence, to keep Matters yet longer in suspense: So this being proposed in Parliament, it was soon and readily agreed to, with little or no Opposition. But that being over, Complaints were made of the Acts passed, in the Parliament of *England*: which carried such an appearance of Threatning, that many thought it became them not to enter on a Treaty, till these should be repealed. It was carried, but not without difficulty, that no Clause relating to that should be in the Act, that empowered the Queen to name the Commissioners; but that an Address should be made to the Queen, praying her that no Proceedings should be made in the Treaty, till the Act, that declared the *Scotch* Aliens by such a Day, should be repealed: They also voted, that none of that Nation should enter upon any such Treaty, till that were first done. This was popular, and no Opposition was made to it: But those who had ill Intentions, hoped that all would be defeated by it. The Session run out into a great length, and in the Harvest-time, which put the Country to a great Charge.

In *Ireland*, the new Heat among the Protestants there, raised in the Earl of *Rocheſter*'s time, and connived at, if not encouraged by the Duke of *Ormond*, went on still: A Body of hot Clergymen

1705.

An Act for
a Treaty of
Union pass.

The State of
Ireland.

1705. { men sent from *England*, began to form Meetings in *Dublin*, and to have Emissaries and a Correspondence over *Ireland*, on design to raise the same Fury in the Clergy of that Kingdom against the Dissenters, that they had raised here in *England*: Whether this was only the effect of an unthinking and ill-governed heat among them, or if it was set on by foreign Practices, was not yet visible. It did certainly serve their ends, so that it was not to be doubted, that they were not wanting in their Endeavours to keep it up, and to promote it, whether they were the original Contrivers of it or not; for indeed hot Men, not practised in Affairs, are apt enough of their own accord, to run into wild and unreasonable Extravagances.

A Parlia-
ment in
England.

A Speaker
chosen.

The Parliament of *England* met in the end of *October*: The first Struggle was about the choice of a Speaker, by which a Judgment was to be made of the Temper and Inclinations of the Members. The Court declared for Mr. *Smith*: He was a Man of clear Parts, and of a good Expression: He was then in no Employment, but he had gone thro' great Posts in the former Reign, with Reputation and Honour. He had been a Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer: He had, from his first setting out into the World, been thoroughly in the Principles and Interests of the Whigs, yet with a due Temper in all personal things, with relation to the Tories: But they all declared against him for Mr. *Bromley*, a Man of a grave Deportment, and good Morals, but looked on as a violent Tory, and as a great Favourer of Jacobites; which appeared evidently in a Relation he printed of his Travels. No Matter of that sort had ever been carried with such a Heat on both sides, as this was: So that it was just to form a Judgment upon it of the Temper of the House, it went for Mr. *Smith* by a Majority of four and forty.

The Queen, after she had confirmed this choice, made a Speech, in which she recommended Union to them, in a very particular manner: She complained of the Reports, that were spread by ill-designing Men, of the Danger the Church was in, who under these Insinuations covered that, which they durst not own: She recommended the Care of the publick Supplies to the Commons, and spoke of the Duke of *Savoy* in high and very obliging Terms. This produced Addresses from both Houses, in which they expressed a Detestation of those Practices, of infusing into her Subjects groundless Fears, concerning the Church: This went easily, for some kept out of the way, from whom it was expected, that they would afterwards open more copiously on the Subject. The Chairmen of the several Committees of the House of Commons, were Men of whom the Court was well assured.

The

The first Matter, with which they commonly begin, is to receive ¹⁷⁰⁵ Petitions against the Members returned, so that gave a further discovery of the Inclinations of the Majority: The Corruption of the Nation was grown to such a height, and there was so much foul practice on all hands, that there was, no doubt, great cause of complaint. The first Election that was judged, was that of *St. Albans*, where the Dutches of *Marlborough* had a House: She recommended Admiral *Killigrew* to those in the Town; which was done all *England* over, by Persons of Quality, who had any Interest in the Burghers: yet, tho' much foul practice was proved on the other hand, and there was not the least colour of Evidence, to fix any ill practice on her, some reflected very indecently upon her: *Bromley* compared her to *Alice Piers*, in King *Edward* the Third's time, and said many other virulent things against her; for indeed she was looked upon, by the whole Party, as the Person who had reconciled the Whigs to the Queen, from whom she was naturally very averse. Most of the controverted Elections were carried in favour of the Whigs: In some few they failed, more by reason of private Animosities, than by the Strength of the other side. The House of Commons came readily in to vote all the Supplies that were asked, and went on to provide proper Funds for them.

The most important Debates that were in this Session, began in the House of Lords; the Queen being present at them all. The Lord *Haversham* opened the Motions of the Tory side: He arraigned the Duke of *Marlborough's* Conduct, both on the *Moselle* and in *Brabant*, and reflected severely on the *Dutch*, which he carried so far as to say, that the War cost them nothing; and after he had wandered long in a rambling Discourse, he came at last to the Point which was laid, to be the Debate of the Day: He said we had declared a Successor to the Crown, who was at a great distance from us: While the Pretender was much nearer; and *Scotland* was armed and ready to receive him; and seemed resolved not to have the same Successor, for whom *England* had declared: These were threatening Dangers that hung over us, and might be near us. He concluded, that he did not see how they could be prevented, and the Nation made safe, by any other way, but by inviting the next Successor to come and live among us. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Rocheſter*, *Nottingham*, and *Angleſey* carried on the Debate, with great Earnestness: It was urged, that they had sworn to maintain the Succession, and by that they were bound to insist on this Motion, since there was no means so sure to maintain it, as to have the Successor upon the Place, ready to assume and maintain his Right: It appeared, thro' our

Debates about the next Successor.

1705. whole History, that whosoever came first into *England*, had always carried it: The pretending Successor might be in *England* within three Days, whereas it might be three Weeks before the declared Successor could come: From thence it was inferred, that the Danger was apparent and dreadful, if the Successor should not be brought over: If King *Charles* had been in *Spain*, when the late King died, probably that would have prevented all this War, in which we were now engaged. With these Lords, by a strange reverse, all the Tories joined; and by another, and as strange a reverse, all the Whigs joined in opposing it. They thought this matter was to be left wholly to the Queen; that it was neither proper nor safe either for the Crown, or for the Nation, that the Heir should not be in an entire Dependance on the Queen; a Rivalry between two Courts might throw us into great Distractions, and be attended with very ill Consequences: The next Successor had expressed a full Satisfaction, and rested on the Assurances the Queen had given her, of her firm adherence to her Title, and to the maintaining of it: The Nation was prepared for it, by the Orders the Queen had given to name Her in the daily Prayers of the Church: great Endeavours had been used, to bring the *Scotch* Nation to declare the same Successor. It was true, we still wanted one great Security, we had not yet made any Provision, for carrying on the Government, for maintaining the publick Quiet, for proclaiming and sending for the Successor; and for keeping things in order, till the Successor should come: It seemed therefore necessary, to make an effectual Provision against the Disorders, that might happen in such an Interval. This was proposed first by myself, and it was seconded by the Lord *Godolphin*, and all the Whigs went into it; and so the Question was put upon the other Motion, as first made, by a previous Division, whether that should be put or not, and was carried in the negative by about three to one.

The Queen heard the Debate, and seemed amazed at the Behaviour of some, who when they had Credit with her, and apprehended that such a Motion might be made by the Whigs, had possessed her with deep Prejudices against it: For they made her apprehend, that when the next Successor should be brought over, she herself would be so eclipsed by it, that she would be much in the Successor's power, and reign only at her or his Courtesy: Yet these very Persons, having now lost their Interest in her, and their Posts, were driving on that very Motion, which they had made her apprehend was the most fatal thing that could befall. This the Dutchess of *Marlborough* told me, but she named no Person: And upon it a very black Suspicion was taken up, by some,

some, that the Proposers of this matter knew or at least believed, ^{1705.} that the Queen would not agree to the Motion, which way soever it might be brought to her; whether in an Address, or in a Bill; and then they might reckon, that this would give such a Jealousy, and create such a Misunderstanding between Her and the Parliament, or rather the whole Nation, as would unsettle her whole Government, and put all things in disorder. But this was only a Suspicion, and more cannot be made of it.

The Lords were now engaged to go on in the Debate for a Regency: It was opened by the Lord *Wharton* in a manner, that charmed the whole House: He had not been present at the former Debate, but he said he was much delighted, with what he had heard concerning it; he said, he had ever looked on the securing a Protestant Succession to the Crown, as that which secured all our Happiness: He had heard the Queen recommend from the Throne, Union and Agreement to all her Subjects, with a great Emotion in his own Mind: It was now evident, there was a Divinity about her, when she spoke; the Cause was certainly supernatural, for we saw the Miracle that was wrought by it; now all were for the Protestant Succession; it had not been always so: He rejoiced in their Conversion, and confessed it was a Miracle: He would not, he could not, he ought not to suspect the Sincerity of those, who moved for inviting the next Successor over; yet he could not hinder himself from remembering what had passed, in a course of many Years; and how Men had argued, voted and protested all that while. This confirmed his Opinion that a Miracle was now wrought; and that might oblige some to shew their change, by an excess of Zeal, which he could not but commend, tho' he did not fully agree to it. After this Preamble, he opened the Proposition for the Regency, in all the branches of it; That Regents should be empower'd to act, in the name of the Successor, till he should send over Orders: That besides those, whom the Parliament should name, the next Successor should send over a Nomination sealed up, and to be opened, when that Accident should happen, of Persons who should act in the same capacity, with those who should be named by Parliament: So the Motion being thus digested, was agreed to by all the Whigs, and a Bill was ordered to be brought in, pursuant to these Propositions. But upon the Debate on the Heads of the Bill, it did appear that the Conversion, which the Lord *Wharton* had so pleasantly magnified, was not so entire as he seemed to suppose: There was some cause given to doubt of the Miracle; for when a Security, that was real and visible, was thus offered, those who made the other Motion, flew off from it. They pretended, that it was, because

A Bill for a Regency.

1705. cause they could not go off from their first Motion; but they were told, that the immediate Successor might indeed, during her Life, continue in *England*, yet it was not to be supposed, that her Son the *Elect* could be always absent from his own Dominions, and throw off all care of them, and of the Concerns of the Empire, in which He bore so great a share. If he should go over, for ever so short a time, the Accident might happen, in which it was certainly necessary to provide such an Expedient, as was now offered. This laid them open to much Censure, but Men engaged in Parties are not easily put out of countenance. It was resolved, that the Regents should be seven and no more; and they were fixed by the Posts they were in: The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Keeper*, the Lord *Treasurer*, Lord *President*, Lord *Privy Seal*, Lord *High Admiral*, and the Lord *Chief Justice* for the time being, were named for that high Trust. The Tories struggled hard, that the Lord *Treasurer* should not be one, only to shew their Spite to the Lord *Godolphin*, but the Motion was rejected with scorn; for it seemed ridiculous, in a time, when there might be much occasion for Money, to exclude an Officer from that high Trust, who alone could furnish them with it, or direct them how to be furnished. The Tories moved, that the Lord *Mayor* of *London* should be one, but that was likewise rejected: for the Design of the Act was, that the Government should be carried on, by those who should be at that time in the conduct and secret of Affairs, and were Persons nominated by the Queen; whereas the Lord *Mayor* was chosen by the City, and had no practice in business. These Regents were required to proclaim the next Successor, and to give Orders for the like Proclamation over *England* and *Ireland*: The next Successor might send a Triplicate of the Persons, named by Her or Him; One of these was to be deposited with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, another with the Lord *Keeper*, and a third with his own Minister, residing at this Court; upon the producing whereof, the Persons nominated were to join with the Regents, and to act in equality with them: The last Parliament, even tho' dissolved, was to be presently brought together, and empower'd to continue sitting for six Months; and thus things were to be kept in order, till the Successor should either come in Person, or send over his Orders.

Great Opposition
made to it.

The Tories made some opposition to every Branch of the Act, but in that of the Parliament's sitting, the Opposition was more remarkable: The Earl of *Rocheſter* moved, that the Parliament and the Regents should be limited, to pass no Act of Repeal, of any part of the Act of *Uniformity*, and in his positive way said, if this was not agreed to, he should still think the Church was in danger,

danger, notwithstanding what they had heard from the Throne, ^{1705.} in the beginning of the Session. It was objected to this, that if the Regal Power was in the Regents, and if the Parliament was likewise a legal one, then by the Constitution the whole Legislature was in them, and that could not be limited: for they could repeal any Law that limited them; but the Judges were of opinion, that the Power of Regents might be limited: so that, as the design of moving this might be, to have a new colour to possess the Clergy, that there was a secret Design against the Church, which might break out at such a time, the Lords gave way to it, tho' they thought it unreasonable, and proposed with no good Design. The Tories, upon the yielding this to them, proposed a great many more Limitations, such as the restraining the Regents from consenting to a Repeal of the Act for Triennial Parliaments, the Acts for Trials in Cases of Treason, and some others: and so extravagant were they, in their Design of making the Act appear ridiculous, that they proposed as a Limitation, that they should not have Power to repeal the Acts of Succession: All these were rejected with Scorn and Indignation; the Lords seeing by this their Error in yielding to that, proposed by the Earl of *Rochester*. The Bill passed in the House of Lords, but the Tories protested against it.

I never knew any thing, in the management of the Tories, by which they suffered more in their Reputation, than by this: They hoped, that the Motion for the Invitation would have cleared them of all Suspicions, of Inclinations towards the Prince of *Wales*, and would have reconciled the Body of the Nation to them, and turned them against all, who should oppose it: But the Progress of the Matter produced a contrary effect: The Management was so ill disguised, that it was visible they intended only to provoke the Queen by it, hoping that the Provocation might go so far, that in the Sequel all their Designs might be brought about, tho' by a method that seemed quite contrary to them, and destructive of them.

The Bill lay long in the House of Commons, by a secret Management, that was against it: The Tories there likewise proposed, that the next Successor should be brought over; which was opposed by the Whigs, not by any Vote against it, but by resolving to go thro' the Lords Bill first: The secret Management was from *Hanover*. Some indigent Persons, and others employed by the Tories, had studied to infuse Jealousies of the Queen and Her Ministers, into the old *Electores*. She was then Seventy-five; but had still so much Vivacity, that as she was the most knowing, and the most entertaining Woman of the Age, so she seemed willing to

A secret Management in the House of Commons.

1705. change her Scene, and to come and shine among us here in *England*; they prevailed with Her to write a Letter to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, intimating Her readiness to come over, if the Queen and Parliament should desire it: This was made publick by the intriguing Persons in that Court: And a colour was soon found, to keep some Whigs from agreeing to the Act. In the Act that first settled the Succession, One Limitation (as was told in its proper place) had been, that when the Crown should pass into that House, no Man who had either Place or Pension should be capable of sitting in the House of Commons: The Clause in this Bill, that empowered either the Parliament, that should be current at the Queen's Death, or that which had late last (tho' dissolved) to sit for six Months, or till the Successor should dissolve it, seemed contrary to this incapacitating Clause, in the former Act. Great Exceptions were taken to this by some zealous Whigs, who were so possessed with the Notion of a self-denying Bill, as necessary to preserve Publick Liberty, from the Practices of a designing Court, that for some Weeks there was cause to fear, not only the loss of the Bill, but a Breach among the Whigs upon this head: Much Pains were taken, and with very good effect, to heal this: It was at last settled; a great many Offices were enumerated, and it was declared that every Man, who held any of these, was thereby incapacitated from sitting in the House of Commons; and every Member of the House, who did accept of any other Office, was upon that excluded the House, and a new Writ was to go out, to those whom he represented, to choose again; but it was left free to them to choose him, or any other as they pleased. It was desired by those, who pressed this Matter most, that it should take place only in the next Reign: But to remove all Jealousy, the Ministers were content, that these Clauses should take place immediately, upon the Dissolution of the present Parliament. And when the House of Commons sent up these self-denying Clauses to the Lords, they added to them a Repeal of that Clause, in the first Act of Succession, by which the succeeding Princes were limited to govern by the Advice of their Council, and by which all the Privy-Counsellors were to be obliged to sign their Advices; which was impracticable, since it was visible that no Man would be a Privy-Counsellor on those Terms: The Lords added the Repeal of this Clause, to the Amendments sent up by the Commons; and the Commons readily agreed to it.

The Act of
the Regency
pass.

The Dan-
gers of the
Church en-
quired into.

After this Act had passed, the Lord *Halifax* remembering what the Earl of *Rocheſter* had said, concerning the Danger the Church might be in, moved that a Day might be appointed, to enquire into those Dangers, about which so many tragical Stories had been published

published of late: A Day was appointed for this, and we were all made believe, that we should hear many frightful things: But our Expectations were not answered: some spoke of Danger from the Presbytery, that was settled in *Scotland*: Some spoke of the Absence of the next Successor: Some reflected on the Occasional Bill, that was rejected in that House: Some complained of the Schools of the Dissenters: And others reflected on the Principles, that many had drank in, that were different from those formerly received, and that seemed destructive of the Church.

In opposition to all this, it was said, that the Church was safer now, than ever it had been: At the Revolution, Provision was made, that our King must be of the Reformed Religion, nor was this all; in the late Act of Succession it was enacted, that he should be of the Communion of the Church of *England*: It was not reasonable to object to the House the rejecting a Bill, which was done by the Majority, of whom it became not the lesser number to complain: We had all our former Laws left to us, not only entire, but fortified by late Additions and Explanations: So that we were safer in all these, than we had been at any time formerly: The Dissenters gained no new Strength, they were visibly decreasing: The Toleration had softened their Tempers, and they concurred zealously in serving all the Ends of the Government: Nor was there any particular Complaint brought against them: They seemed quiet and content with their Toleration; if they could be but secure of enjoying it: The Queen was taking the most effectual means possible, to deliver the Clergy from the Depressions of Poverty, that brought them under much Contempt, and denied them the necessary means and helps of Study: The Bishops looked after their Dioceses with a care, that had not been known in the Memory of Man: Great Sums were yearly raised, by their care and zeal, for serving the Plantations, better than had ever yet been done: A Spirit of Zeal and Piety appeared in our Churches, and at Sacrament beyond the example of former Times. In one respect it was acknowledged the Church was in danger; there was an evil Spirit and a virulent Temper spread among the Clergy; there were many indecent Sermons preached on publick Occasions, and those hot Clergy-men, who were not the most regular in their Lives, had raised Factions in many Dioceses against their Bishops: These were Dangers created by those very Men, who filled the Nation with this Out-cry, against imaginary ones, while their own Conduct produced real and threatening Dangers. Many severe Reflections were thrown out on both sides, in the Progress of this Debate.

1705.

A Vote and
an Address
to the Queen
about that.

It ended in a Vote carried by a great Majority: That the Church of *England*, under the Queen's happy Administration, was in a safe and flourishing condition; and to this a severe Censure was added, on the Spreaders of these Reports of Dangers; that they were the Enemies of the Queen and of Her Government. They also resolved to make an Address to the Queen, in which, after this was set forth, they prayed Her to order a Prosecution, according to Law, of all who should be found guilty of this Offence: They sent this down to the House of Commons, where the Debate was brought over again, but it was run down with great force: The Commons agreed with the Lords, and both Houses went together to the Queen with this Address. Such a Concurrence of both Houses had not been seen for some Years: And indeed there was in both so great a Majority, for carrying on all the Interests of the Government; that the Men of ill Intentions had no hopes, during the whole Session, of embroiling Matters, but in the Debates concerning the self-denying Clause above-mentioned.

1706.

Complaints
of the Allies
rejected.

But tho' the main Designs and Hopes of the Party had thus not only failed them, but turned against them; yet they resolved to make another attempt: It was on the Duke of *Marlborough*, tho' they spoke of him with great respect. They complained of the Errors committed this Year, in the Conduct of the War: They indeed laid the blame, of the Miscarriage of the Design on the *Moselle*, on the Prince of *Baden*, and the Errors committed in *Brabant*, on the *States* and their Deputies; but they said they could not judge of these things, nor be able to lay before the Queen those Advices, that might be fit for them to offer to Her, unless they were made acquainted with the whole Series of those Affairs: therefore they proposed, that by an Address, they might pray the Queen to communicate to them, all that she knew concerning those Transactions, during the last Campaign: for they reckoned, that if all particulars should be laid before them, they would find somewhat in the Duke of *Marlborough's* Conduct, on which a Censure might be fixed. To this it was answered, that if any Complaint was brought, against any of the Queen's Subjects, it would be reasonable for them to enquire into it, by all proper ways: but the House of Lords could not pretend to examine or to censure the Conduct of the Queen's Allies: they were not subject to them, nor could they be heard to justify themselves: and it was somewhat extraordinary, if they should pass a Censure or make a Complaint of them. It was one of the Trusts that was lodged with the Government, to manage all Treaties and

and Alliances: So that our Commerce with our Allies was wholly in the Crown: Allies might sometimes fail, being not able to perform what they undertook: They are subject both to Errors and Accidents, and are sometimes ill-served: The entering into that Matter was not at all proper for the House, unless it was intended to run into rash and indiscreet Censures, on design to provoke the Allies, and by that means to weaken, if not break the Alliance: The Queen would no doubt endeavour to redress whatsoever was amiss, and that must be trusted to her Conduct. 1706.

So this Attempt not only failed, but it happened upon this, as upon other occasions, that it was turned against those who made it: An Address was made to the Queen, praying Her to go on in her Alliances, and in particular to cultivate a perfect Union and Correspondence, with the *States of the United Provinces*: This had a very good effect in *Holland*, for the Agents of *France* were, at the same time, both spreading Reports among us, that the *Dutch* were inclined to a Peace; and among them, that the *English* had very unkind Thoughts of them: The design was, to alienate us from one another, that so both might be thereby the better disposed to hearken to a Project of Peace; which in the state, in which Matters were at that time, was the most destructive thing that could be thought on: And all Motions that look'd that way, gave very evident Discoveries of the bad Intentions of those, who made them.

The next Business, of a Publick Nature, that came before the Parliament, was carried very unanimously: The Queen laid before the two Houses the Addresses of the *Scotch* Parliament, against any Progress in the Treaty of Union, till the Act, which declared them Aliens by such a Day, should be repealed: The Tories, upon this occasion, to make themselves popular, after they had failed in many Attempts, resolved to promote this; apprehending that the Whigs, who had first moved for that Act, would be for maintaining their own Work: but they seemed to be much surprized, when after they had prefaced their Motions in this matter, with such Declarations of their Intentions for the publick Good, that shewed they expected Opposition and a Debate, the Whigs not only agreed to this, but carried the Motion further, to the other Act relating to their Manufacture and Trade. This passed very unanimously in both Houses; and by this means way was made, for opening a Treaty, as soon as the Session should come to an end. All the Northern Parts of *England*, which had been disturbed for some years, with Apprehensions of a War with *Scotland*, that would certainly be mischievous to them, what-

The Acts
against the
the Scots
repealed.

1706. } soever the End of it might prove, were much delighted with the prospect of Peace and Union with their Neighbours.

These were the most important Debates during this Session; at all which the Queen was present: She staid all the while, and hearkned to every thing with great Attention. The Debates were managed on the one side, by the Lords *Godolphin, Wharton, Sommers, Halifax, Sunderland,* and *Townshend*; on the other side by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lords *Rochester, Nottingham, Anglesey, Guernsey,* and *Haversham*. There was so much Strength and Clearness on the one side, and so much Heat and Artifice on the other, that nothing but obstinate Partiality could resist so evident a Conviction.

The Publick
Credit very
high.

The House of Commons went on in creating Funds, for the Supplies they had voted, for the next year: And the Nation was so well satisfied with the Government, and the Conduct of Affairs, that a Fund being created for Two Millions and a half, by way of Annuities for Ninety-nine Years, at Six and a half *per Cent.* at the end of which the Capital was to sink; the whole Sum was subscribed, in a very few days: At the same time the Duke of *Marlborough* proposed the Advance of a Sum of 500,000 *l.* to the Emperor, for the use of Prince *Eugene*, and the Service of *Italy*, upon a Branch of the Emperor's Revenue in *Silesia*, at Eight *per Cent.* and the Capital to be repaid in eight Years: The Nation did so abound, both in Money and Zeal, that this was likewise advanced in a very few days: Our Armies, as well as our Allies, were every where punctually paid: The Credit of the Nation was never raised so high in any Age, nor so sacredly maintained: The Treasury was as exact and as regular in all Payments, as any private Banker could be. It is true, a great deal of Money went out of the Kingdom in Specie: That which maintained the War in *Spain*, was to be sent thither in that manner, the way by Bills of Exchange not being yet opened: Our Trade with *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, which formerly brought us great Returns of Money, was now stopt: by this means there grew to be a sensible Want of Money over the Nation: This was in a great measure supplied, by the Currency of Exchequer-Bills and Bank-Notes: And this lay so obvious to the disaffected Party, that they were often attempting to blast, at least to disparage this Paper Credit: But it was still kept up. It bred a just Indignation in all, who had a true Love to their Country, to see some using all possible methods to shake the Administration, which, notwithstanding the Difficulties at home and abroad, was much the best that had been in the memory of Man: And was certainly not only

easy

easy to the Subjects in general, but gentle even towards those, who were endeavouring to undermine it. 1706.

The Lord *Sommers* made a Motion in the House of Lords, to correct some of the Proceedings in the Common Law, and in Chancery, that were both dilatory and very chargeable: He began the Motion with some Instances, that were more conspicuous and gross; and he managed the Matter so, that both the Lord *Keeper* and *Judges* concurred with him; tho' it passes generally for a Maxim, that Judges ought rather to enlarge, than contract their Jurisdiction. A Bill passed the House, that began a Reformation of Proceedings at Law, which, as Things now stand, are certainly among the greatest Grievances of the Nation: When this went thro' the House of Commons, it was visible that the Interest of Under-Officers, Clerks, and Attorneys, whose Gains were to be lessened by this Bill, was more considered, than the Interest of the Nation it self: Several Clauses, how beneficial soever to the Subject, which touched on their Profit, were left out by the Commons. But what Fault soever the Lords might have found with these Alterations, yet to avoid all Disputes with the Commons, they agreed to their Amendments.

A Bill to regulate Proceedings at Law.

There was another general Complaint made of the private Acts of Parliament, that passed thro' both Houses too easily, and in so great a number, that it took up a great part of the Session to examine them, even in that cursory way, that was subject to many Inconveniencies: The Fees that were paid for these, to the Speakers and Clerks of both Houses, inclined them to favour and promote them: So the Lord *Sommers* proposed such a Regulation in that matter, as will probably have a good effect for the future. The present Lord *Keeper* did indeed very generously obstruct those Private Bills, as much as his Predecessor had promoted them: He did another thing of a great Example; On the first day of the year, it was become a Custom, for all those who practised in *Chancery*, to offer a New-year's Gift to the Lord, who had the Great Seal: these grew to be so considerable, that they amounted to 1500*l.* a year: On this New-year's day, which was his first, he signified to all who, according to custom, were expected to come with their Presents, that he would receive none, but would break that custom. He thought it looked, like the insinuating themselves into the favour of the Court; and that if it was not Bribery, yet it came too near it, and looked too like it: This contributed not a little to the raising his Character: He managed the Court of Chancery with impartial Justice, and great Dispatch; and was very useful to the House of Lords, in the promoting of Business.

When

1706.
Complaints
of the Pro-
gress of Po-
pery.

When the Session was near an end, great Complaints were made in both Houses of the Progress of Popery in *Lancashire*, and of many Insolencies committed there, both by the Laity and Priests of that Religion: Upon this a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, with Clauses that would have rendered the Bill, past against Papists in the End of the last Reign, effectual: This alarm'd all of that Religion: so that they made very powerful (or to follow the Raillery of that Time) very weighty Intercessions with the considerable Men of that House. The Court look'd on, and seem'd indifferent in the Matter, yet it was given out that so severe a Law would be very unreasonable; when we were in Alliance with so many Princes of that Religion, and that it must lessen the Force of the Queen's Intercession, in favour of the Protestants, that liv'd in the Dominions of those Princes: The Proceeding seem'd rigorous, and not suited to the Gentleness, that the Christian Religion did so particularly recommend, and was contrary to the Maxims of Liberty of Conscience and Toleration, that were then in great vogue. It was answered, that the Dependance of those of that Religion, on a foreign Jurisdiction, and at present on a foreign Pretender to the Crown, put them out of the case of other Subjects, who might differ from the established Religion; since there seemed to be good reason to consider them as Enemies, rather than as Subjects. But the Application was made in so effectual a manner, that the Bill was let fall: And tho' the Lords had made some Steps towards such a Bill, yet since they saw what Fate it was like to have in the House of Commons, instead of proceeding farther in it, they dismissed that matter with an Address to the Queen, that she would give Orders, both to the Justices of Peace, and to the Clergy, that a Return might be made to the next Session of Parliament, of all the Papists in *England*.

A Design for
a Publick
Library.

There was another Project set on foot at this time by the Lord *Halifax*, for putting the Records and the Publick Offices of the Kingdom in better order: He had, in a former Session, moved the Lords to send some of their number to view the Records in the *Tower*, which were in great disorder, and in a visible decay for want of some more Officers, and by the Neglect of those we had. These Lords in their Report proposed some Regulations for the future, which have been since followed so effectually, though at a considerable Charge, by creating several new Officers, that the Nation will reap the Benefit of all this very sensibly: But Lord *Halifax* carried his Project much further. The famous Library, collected by Sir *Robert Cotton*, and continued down in his Family, was the greatest Collection of Manuscripts relating to the Publick, that

that perhaps any Nation in *Europe* could shew: The late Owner of it, Sir *John Cotton*, had, by his Will, left it to the Publick, but in such Words, that it was rather shut up, than made any way useful: And indeed it was to be so carefully preserved, that none could be the better for it: So that Lord moved the House to intreat the Queen, that she would be pleased to buy *Cotton-House*, which stood just between the two Houses of Parliament; so that some part of that Ground would furnish them with many useful Rooms, and there would be enough left, for building a noble Structure for a Library: To which, besides the *Cotton* Library and the Queen's Library, the Royal Society, who had a very good Library at *Gresham* College, would remove and keep their Assemblies there, as soon as it was made convenient for them. This was a great Design, which the Lord *Halifax*, who set it first on foot, seemed resolved to carry on till it were finished: It will set Learning again on foot among us, and be a great honour to the Queen's Reign.

Thus this Session of Parliament came to a very happy conclusion: There was in it the best Harmony within both Houses, and between Them, as well as with the Crown, and it was the best applauded in the City of *London*, over the whole Nation, and indeed over all *Europe*, of any Session that I had ever seen: And when it was considered, that this was the first of the three, so that we were to have two other Sessions of the same Members, it gave an universal Satisfaction, both to our own People at home, and our Allies abroad, and afforded a prospect of a happy End, that should be put to this devouring War, which in all probability must come to a period before the conclusion of the present Parliament. This gave an unspeakable Satisfaction to all who loved their Country and their Religion, who now hoped that we had in view a good and a safe Peace.

The Convocation sate at the same time; it was chosen as the former had been, and the Members, that were ill-affected, were still prevailed on to come up, and to continue in an expensive but useless Attendance in Town. The Bishops drew up an Address to the Queen, in which, as the two Houses of Parliament had done, they expressed a just Indignation at the Jealousies, that had been spread about the Nation, of the Danger of the Church: When this was communicated to the Lower House, they refused to join in it, but would give no reason for their Refusal: They drew an Address of their own, in which no notice was taken of these Aspersions: The Bishops, according to antient Precedents, required them either to agree to their Address, or to offer their Objections against it; they would do neither; so the Address was

Proceedings
in Convo-
cation.

1706. let fall: And upon that, a stop was put to all further Communication between the two Houses. The Lower House, upon this, went on in their former practice of intermediate Sessions, in which they began to enter upon Business, to approve of some Books, and to censure others; and they resolved to proceed upon the same Grounds, that factious Men among them had before set up, tho' the Falseness of their Pretensions had been evidently made to appear. The Archbishop had prorogued them to the first of *March*: When that day came, the Lower House was surprized with a Protestation, that was brought to the Upper House, by a great part of their Body, who, being dissatisfied with the Proceedings of the Majority, and having long struggled against them, tho' in vain, at last drew up a Protestation against them: They sent it up and down, thro' the whole Province, that they might get as many Hands to it as they could; but the matter was managed with such caution, that tho' it was in many Hands, yet it was not known to the other side, till they heard it was presented to the President of the Upper House: In it, all the irregular Motions of the Lower House were reckoned up, insisting more particularly on that of holding intermediate Sessions, against all which they protested, and prayed that their Protestation might be entered in the Books of the Upper House, that so they might not be involved in the Guilt of the rest: This was signed by above Fifty, and the whole Body was but an Hundred and Forty-five: Some were neutral: So that hereby very near one half broke off from the rest, and left them, and sate no more with them. The Lower House was deliberating how to vent their Indignation against these, when a more sensible Mortification followed: The Archbishop sent for them, and when they came up; He read a Letter to them, that was wrote to him by the Queen, in which she took notice that the Differences between the two Houses were still kept up; she was much concerned, to see that they were rather encreased than abated: She was the more surprized at this, because it had been her constant Care, as it should continue always to be, to preserve the Constitution of the Church, as it was by Law established, and to discountenance all Divisions and Innovations whatsoever: She was resolved to maintain her Supremacy, and the due Subordination of Presbyters to Bishops, as fundamental Parts of it: She expected, that the Archbishop and Bishops would act conformable to this Resolution, and in so doing they should be sure of the continuance of her Protection and Favour, which should not be wanting to any of the Clergy, as long as they were true to the Constitution, and dutiful to Her, and their Ecclesiastical Superiors, and preserved such a Temper, as became those,

those, who were in Holy Orders. The Archbishop, as he was required to read this to them, so he was directed to prorogue them, for such a time as should appear convenient to him: They were struck with this, for it had been carried so secretly, that it was a Surprize to them all. When they saw they were to be prorogued, they ran very indecently to the Door, and with some difficulty were kept in the Room, till the Prorogation was intimated to them: They went next to their own House, where, tho' prorogued, they sate still in form, as if they had been a House, but they did not venture on passing any Vote: So factious were they, and so implicitly led by those, who had got an Ascendant over them, that tho' they had formerly submitted the Matters in debate to the Queen, yet now, when she declared her Pleasure, they would not acquiesce in it.

The Session of Parliament being now at an end, the Preparations for the Campaign were carried on with all possible dispatch: That which was most pressing was first done. Upon *Stanhope's* first coming over, in the beginning of *January*, Orders were immediately issued out for sending over 5000 Men, with all necessary Stores to *Spain*: The Orders were given in very pressing Terms; yet so many Offices were concerned in the Execution, that many Delays were made, some of these were much censured; at last they sailed in *March*. The Fleet that had gone into the *Mediterranean* with King *Charles*, and was to return and winter at *Lisbon*, was detained by Westerly Winds longer in those Seas, than had been expected.

The People of *Valencia* seemed to hope, that they were to winter in those Seas; and by this they were encouraged to declare for King *Charles*: but they were much exposed to those, who commanded in King *Philip's* name. All *Catalonia* had submitted to King *Charles* except *Roses*; Garrisons were put in *Gironne*, *Lerida*, and *Tortosa*: and the States of that Principality prepared themselves, with great Zeal and Resolution, for the next Campaign, which, they had reason to expect, would come both early and severely upon them. There was a Breach, between the Earl of *Peterborough* and the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, whom he charged very heavily, in the King's own presence, with Corruption and Injustice: The Matter went far, and the King blamed the Earl of *Peterborough*, who had not much of a forbearing or forgiving temper in him. There was no method of Communication with *England* yet settled: We did not hear from them, nor they from us, in five Months: This put them out of all hope: Our Men wanted every thing, and could be supplied there with nothing. The Revolt in *Valencia* made it necessary to send such a Supply

1706.

Preparations for the Campaign.

A Revolt in Valencia.

1706. Supply to them from *Barcelona*, as could be spared from thence: The Disgust that was taken, made it adviseable to send the Earl of *Peterborough* thither, and he willingly undertook the Service: He marched towards that Kingdom with about Fifteen Hundred *English*, and a Thousand *Spaniards*: They were all ill equipped and ill furnished, without Artillery, and with very little Ammunition: But as they marched, all the Country either came into them, or fled before them. He got to *Valencia* without any Opposition, and was received there with all possible Demonstrations of Joy: This gave a great disturbance to the *Spanish* Councils at *Madrid*: They advised the King, to begin with the Reduction of *Valencia*: It lay nearer, and was easier come at: And by this the Disposition to revolt would be checked, which might otherwise go further: But this was over-ruled from *France*, where little regard was had to the *Spaniards*: They resolved to begin with *Barcelona*: In it King *Charles* himself lay; and on taking it, they reckoned all the rest would fall.

The Siege
of *Barcelo-
na*.

The *French* resolved to send every thing, that was necessary for the Siege by Sea, and the Count of *Toulouse* was ordered to lie with the Fleet before the Place, whilst it was besieged by Land: It was concerted, to begin the Siege in *March*, for they knew that if they begun it so early, our Fleet could not come in time to relieve it: But two great Storms, that came soon one after another, did so scatter their Tartanes, and disable their Ships of War, that as some were cast away, and others were much shattered, so they all lost a Month's time, and the Siege could not be formed before the beginning of *April*: King *Charles* shut himself up in *Barcelona*, by which the People were both animated and kept in order: This gave all the Allies very sad Apprehensions, they feared not only the Loss of the Place, but of his Person. *Lake* sailed from *Lisbon* in the end of *March*: He missed the Galleons very narrowly, but he could not pursue them; for he was to lose no time, but haste to *Barcelona*: His Fleet was encreased to Thirty Ships of the Line, by the time he got to *Gibraltar*; but tho' Twenty more were following him, he would not stay, but hastened on to the Relief of the Place, as fast as the Wind served.

Alcantara
taken.

At the same time the Campaign was opened on the side of *Portugal*: The Earl of *Galloway* had full Powers and a brave Army of about 20000 Men, well furnished in all respects: He left *Badajos* behind him, and marched on to *Alcantara*. The Duke of *Berwick* had a very small Force left him, to defend that Frontier: It seems the *French* trusted to the Interest they had in the Court of *Portugal*: His Troops were so bad, that he saw in one small Action, that he could not depend on them: He put a good

good Garrison in *Alcantara*; where their best Magazine was laid in. But when the Earl of *Galloway* came before the Town, within three Days the Garrison, consisting of 4000 Men, delivered up the Place and themselves as Prisoners of War: The *Portuguese* would have stop'd there, and thought they had made a good Campaign, tho' they had done no more: But the *English* Ambassador at *Lisbon* went to the King of *Portugal*, and pressed him, that Orders might be immediately sent to the Earl of *Galloway* to march on: And when he saw great Coldness in some of the Ministers, he threatned a present Rupture, if it was not done: And he continued waiting on the King, till the Orders were signed, and sent away. Upon Receipt of these, the Earl of *Galloway* advanced towards *Placentia*, all the Country declaring for him, as soon as he appeared; and the Duke of *Berwick* still retiring before him, not being able to give the least Interruption to his March.

The Campaign was opened in *Italy* with great advantage to the *French*: The Duke of *Vendome* marched into the *Brescian*, to attack the Imperialists, before Prince *Eugene* could join them, who was now come very near: He fell on a Body of about 12000 of them, being double their number; he drove them from their Posts, with the Loss of about 3000 Men killed and taken; but it was believed there were as many of the *French* killed, as of the Imperialists. Prince *Eugene* came up within two Days, and put all in order again: He retired to a surer Post, waiting till the Troops from *Germany* should come up: The Slowness of the *Germans* was always fatal, in the beginning of the Campaign: The Duke of *Savoy* was now reduced to great Extremities: He saw the Siege of *Turin* was designed; he fortified so many Out-Posts, and put so good a Garrison in it, that he prepared well for a long Siege, and a great Resistance: He wrote to the Queen, for a further Supply of 50000 Pounds, assuring her, that by that means the Place should be put in so good a State, that he would undertake that all should be done, which could be expected from brave and resolute Men: And so careful was the Lord Treasurer to encourage him, that the Courier was sent back the next Day, after he came, with credit for the Money. There was some Hopes of a Peace, as there was an actual Cessation of War in *Hungary*: The Malecontents had been put in hopes, of a great Diversion of the Emperor's Forces, on the side of *Bavaria*, where there was a great Insurrection, provoked, as was said, by the Oppression of the Imperial Officers, who were so accustomed to be heavy in their Quarters, that when they had the Pretence, that they were among Enemies, it may be easily believed, there was

The *Germans* are defeated in *Italy*.

1706. much just occasion of complaint; And that they were guilty of great Exactions and Rapine. This looked formidably at first, and seemed to threaten a new War in those Parts; but all was soon suppressed: The Peasants had no Officers among them, no Discipline, nor Magazines, and no Place of Strength: So they were quickly dispersed, and stricter Orders were given, for the better regulating the Military Men, tho' it was not expected that these would be long observed.

The Treaty
for the
Union of the
two King-
doms.

While Matters were in this disposition abroad; the Treaty for the Union of the two Kingdoms was brought on, and managed with great Solemnity. Commissions were given out for Thirty-two Persons of each Kingdom, to meet at *London* on the 18th of *April*: *Somerset-House* was appointed for the place of the Treaty; the Persons, who were named to treat on the *English* side, were well chosen: They were the most capable of managing the Treaty, and the best disposed to it, of any in the Kingdom. Those who came from *Scotland*, were not looked on as Men so well affected to the Design: Most of them had stood out in a long and firm Opposition to the Revolution, and to all that had been done afterwards, pursuant to it. The Nomination of these was fixed on, by the Dukes of *Queensbury* and *Argyle*: It was said by them, that tho' these Objections did indeed lie against them, yet they had such an Interest in *Scotland*, that the engaging them to be cordially for the Union, would be a great means to get it agreed to, in the Parliament there: The *Scotch* had got among them the Notion of a Fœderal Union, like that of the *United Provinces*, or of the Cantons in *Switzerland*: But the *English* resolved to lose no time, in the examining or discussing of that Project, for this reason, besides many others, that as long as the two Nations had two different Parliaments, they could break that Union whensoever they pleased; for each Nation would follow their own Parliament: The Design was now to settle a lasting and indissoluble Union between the Kingdoms, therefore they resolved to treat only, about an incorporating Union, that should put an end to all Distinctions, and unite all their Interests: so they at last entered upon the Scheme of an entire Union.

But now to look again into our Affairs abroad: The *French* seemed to have laid the Design of their Campaign so well, that it had every where a formidable Appearance: And if the Execution had answered their Scheme, it would have proved as glorious, as it was in the Conclusion fatal to them. They reckoned the taking of *Barcelona* and *Turin* sure: And by these, they thought the War, both in *Spain* and *Italy*, would be soon brought to
an

an end: They knew they would be superiour to any Force, 1706. that the Prince of *Baden* could bring together, on the Upper *Rhine*; and they intended to have a great Army in *Flanders*, where they knew our chief Strength would be, to act as occasion or their other Affairs should require. But how well soever this Design might seem to be laid, it appeared Providence had another: Which was brought to bear every where, in a most wonderful manner, and in reverse to all their Views. The Steps of this, I intend to set out, rather as a Meditation on the Providence of God, than as a particular History of this signal Year, for which I am no way furnished: Besides that, if I were, it does not answer my principal Design in Writing.

The *French* lay Thirty-seven Days before *Barcelona*: Of that time, Twenty-two were spent in taking *Mountjoy*; they seemed to think there was no danger of raising the Siege, and that therefore they might proceed as slowly as they pleased: The Town was under such a Consternation, that nothing but the King's Presence could have kept them, from capitulating, the first Week of the Siege: There were some Mutinies raised, and some of the Magistrates were killed in them: But the King came among them on all occasions, and both quieted and animated them. *Stanbope* wrote, after the Siege was over, (whether as a Courtier or not, I cannot tell, for he had now on him the Character of the Queen's Envoy to King *Charles*) that the King went into all places of Danger, and made all about him Examples to the rest, to be hard at work, and constant upon duty. After *Mountjoy* was taken, the Town was more pressed: The Earl of *Peterborough* came from *Valentia*, and was upon the Hills, but could not give them any great Assistance: Some few from *Gironne*, and other Places, got into the Town: The *French* Engineers performed their part, with little Skill and Success; those they relied most on, happened to be killed in the beginning of the Siege. The *Levant* Wind was all this while so strong, that it was not possible for *Leak* to come up, so soon as was desired, to their relief.

But when their Strength, as well as their Patience, was almost quite exhausted, the Wind turned, and *Leak* with all possible haste failed to them: As soon as the Count of *Toulouse* had Intelligence, that he was near him, he failed back to *Toulon*. *Tesse*, with King *Philip* (who was in the Camp, but was not once named in any action) continued three Days before *Barcelona*, after their Fleet failed away: they could then have no hopes of carrying it, unless a Storm at Sea had kept our Fleet at a distance: At last, on the first of *May* O. S. the Siege was raised, with great precipitation, and in much disorder: Their Camp was left well

The Siege of
Barcelona
raised.

1706. well furnished, and the Sick and Wounded could not be carried off.

An Eclipse
of the Sun.

On the Day of the raising the Siege, as the *French* Army was marching off, the Sun was eclipsed, and it was total in those Parts: It is certain that there is no weight to be laid on such things; yet the Vulgar being apt to look on them as ominous, it was censured as a great Error in *Tesse*, not to have raised the Siege a Day sooner; and that the rather, because the King of *France* had made the Sun, with a Motto of *Nec pluribus Impar*, his Device. King *Philip* made all the haste he could to *Perpignan*, but his Army was almost quite ruined, before he got thither: There was no manner of Communication, over land, between *Barcelona* and *Portugal*: So the *Portuguese*, doubting the issue of that Siege, had no mind to engage further, till they saw how it ended: Therefore they ordered their Army to march aside to *Ciudad Roderigo*, on pretence that it was necessary to secure their Frontier, by taking that place: It was taken after a very short Siege, and with small Resistance: From thence they advanced to *Salamanca*. But upon the News of raising the Siege of *Barcelona*, they went on towards *Madrid*; the Duke of *Berwick* only observing their Motions, and still retiring before them. King *Philip* went, with great expedition, and a very small Train, from *Perpignan* to *Navarre*, from thence he came post to *Madrid*; but finding he had no Army, that he could trust to, the *Grande*s being now retired, and looking as so many dead Men; and he seeing that the *Portuguese* were still advancing, sent his Queen to *Burgos*, and followed her in a few Days, carrying with him that which was valuable in the Palace: And it seems he despaired ever to return thither again, since he destroyed all that could not be carried away; in which he acted a very extraordinary part, for he did some of this with his own hand; as the Gentleman, whom the Earl of *Gallway* sent over, told me, was universally believed in *Madrid*.

The Earl of
Gallway ad-
vanced.

King *Philip*
came to *Ma-*
drid, and
soon left it.

The Earl of
Gallway
came to it,
but King
Charles de-
layed too
long to come
thither.

The capital City being thus forsaken, the Earl of *Gallway* came to it by the end of *June*; he met with no resistance indeed, but with as little welcome: An Army of *Portuguese*, with a Heretic at their head, were certainly very strange fights to the *Castilians*, who retained all the Pride, without any of the Courage, of their Ancestors: They thought it below them to make their Submissions to any, but to the King himself; and if King *Charles* had come thither immediately, it was believed that the entire Reduction of *Spain* would have been soon brought about. It is not yet certain, what made him stay so long as he did at *Barcelona*, even from the beginning of *May* till near the end of *July*. Those about him pretended, it was not fit to go to *Madrid*, till he was well

well furnished with Money, to make a decent Entry : *Stanhope* 1706. offered to furnish him with what was necessary for the Journey, but could not afford a magnificent Equipage for a solemn Entry. King *Charles* wrote a very pressing Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, setting forth his Necessities, and desiring greater Supplies; I saw this Letter, for the Duke sent it over to the Lord Treasurer : but little regard was had to it, because it was suggested from many different hands, that the Prince of *Lichtenstein* was enriching himself, and keeping his King poor. Others pretended the true cause of the Delay was a secret Amour of that King's at *Barcelona* ; whatsoever the Cause of it might be, the Effects have hitherto proved fatal: It was first proposed, that King *Charles* should march thro' *Valentia*, as the nearest and much the safest way, and he came on that design as far as *Tarracona* : But Advice being brought him there, that the Kingdom of *Arragon* was in a good disposition to declare for him, he was diverted from his first Intentions, and prevailed on to go to *Saragoza* ; where he was acknowledged by that Kingdom: but he lost much time, and more in the Reputation of his Arms, by delaying so long to move towards *Madrid*: So King *Philip* took heart, and came back from *Burgos* to *Madrid*. The Earl of *Gallway* was very uneasy at this slow Motion, which King *Charles* made: King *Philip* had some more Troops sent him from *France*, and the broken Bodies of his Army, being now brought together, he had an Army equal in Numbers to the Earl of *Gallway*, and so he marched up to him; but since so much depended on the Issue of an Action, the Earl of *Gallway* avoided it, because he expected every day Reinforcements, to be brought up to him, both by King *Charles*, and by the Earl of *Peterborough* from *Valentia* : Therefore to facilitate this Conjunction, he moved towards *Arragon*; so that *Madrid* was again left to be possessed by King *Philip*. At last, in the beginning of *August*, King *Charles* came up, but with a very inconsiderable Force: A few days after, the Earl of *Peterborough* came also with an Escorte, rather than any Strength; for he had not with him above 500 Dragoons. He was now uneasy, because he could not have the supreme Command, both the Earl of *Gallway* and Count *Noyelles* being much ancients Officers, than he was. But to deliver him from the Uneasiness, of being commanded by them, the Queen had sent him the Powers of an Ambassador Extraordinary; and he took that Character on him for a few Days. His complaining, so much as he did, of the Prince of *Lichtenstein* and the *Germans*, who were still possessed of King *Charles*'s Confidence, made him very unacceptable to that King: So he, waiting for Orders from the Queen,

1706. withdrew from the Camp, and sailed away in one of the Queen's Ships to *Genoa*. Our Fleet lay all the Summer in the *Mediterranean*; which obliged the *French* to keep theirs within *Toulon*. *Cartagena* declared for King *Charles*, and was secured by some of our Ships: The Fleet came before *Alicant*; the Seamen landed and stormed the Town; the Castle held out some Weeks, but then it capitulated, and the Soldiers by Articles were obliged to march to *Cadix*. Soon after that, our Fleet sailed out of the Streights; one Squadron was sent to the *West-Indies*; another was to lie at *Lisbon*, and the rest were ordered home. After King *Charles* had joined Lord *Gallway*, King *Philip's* Army and his looked on one another for some time, but without venturing on any Action: They were near an Equality, and both sides expected to be reinforced; so in that uncertainty, neither side would put any thing to hazard.

The Battle
of Ramellies.

But now I turn to another and a greater Scene: The King of *France* was assured, that the King of *Denmark* would stand upon some high Demands, he made to the Allies, so that the Duke of *Marlborough* could not have the *Danes*, who were about Ten or Twelve Thousand, to join him for some time; and that the *Prussians*, almost as many as the *Danes*, could not come up to the confederate Army, for some Weeks: So he ordered the Elector of *Bavaria* and *Villeroy* to march up to them, and to venture on a Battle; since, without the *Danes*, they would have been much superior in number. The *States* yielded to all *Denmark's* Demands, and the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, who commanded their Troops, being very well affected, reckoned that all being granted, he needed not stay, till he sent to *Denmark*, nor wait for their express Orders: But marched and joined the Army, the Day before the Engagement. Some thought, that the King of *France*, upon the News of the Disgrace before *Barcelona*, that he might cover that, resolved to put all to venture, hoping that a Victory would have set all to rights; this passed generally in the World. But the Duke of *Marlborough* told me, that there being only twelve Days, between the raising of the Siege of *Barcelona* and this Battle, the one being on the first of *May*, and the other on the twelfth, eight of which must be allowed for the Courier to *Paris*, and from thence to *Brabant*, it seemed not possible to put things in the order, in which he saw them, in so short a time. The *French* left their Baggage and heavy Cannon at *Judoign*; and marched up to the Duke of *Marlborough*: He was marching towards them, on the same Design, for if they had not offered him Battle on the twelfth, he was resolved to have attacked them on the thirteenth of *May*: They met near a Village called *Ramellies* (not

(not far from the *Mebaigne*) from whence the Battle takes its Name. 1706.

The Engagement was an entire one; and the Action was hot for two Hours; both the *French Mousquetaires* and the *Cuirassiers* were there; the Elector of *Bavaria* said, it was the best Army he ever beheld: But after two Hours, the *French* gave way every where, so it ended in an entire Defeat. They lost both their Camp, Baggage and Artillery, as well as all that they had left in *Judoign*; and in all possible Confusion, they passed the *Dyle*; our Men pursuing, till it was dark. The Duke of *Marlborough* said to me, the *French* Army look'd the best of any he had ever seen: But that their Officers did not do their part, nor shew the Courage, that had appeared among them on other Occasions. And when I asked him the difference, between the Actions at *Hockstedt* and at *Ramellies*; he said, the first Battle lasted between seven and eight Hours, and we lost above 12000 Men in it; whereas the second lasted not above two Hours, and we lost not above 2500 Men. Orders were presently sent to the great Cities, to draw the Garrisons out of them, that so the *French* might have again the Face of an Army: For their Killed, their Deserters, and their Prisoners, on this great Day, were above 20000 Men. The Duke of *Marlborough* lost no time, but followed them close: *Louvain*, *Mechlin*, and *Brussels* submitted, besides many lesser Places; *Antwerp* made a shew of standing out, but soon followed the Example of the rest; *Ghendt* and *Bruges* did the same: in all these King *Charles* was proclaimed. Upon this unexpected Rapidity of Success, the Duke of *Marlborough* went to the *Hague*, to concert Measures with the *States*, where he staid but few Days; for they agreed to every thing he proposed, and sent him back with full Powers: The first thing he undertook was the Siege of *Ostend*, a Place famous for its long Siege in the last Age: The Natives of the Place were disposed to return to the *Austrian* Family, and the *French*, that were in it, had so lost all Heart and Spirit, that they made not the Resistance, that was looked for: In ten Days, after they sat down before it, and within four Days after the Batteries were finished, they capitulated. From thence the Confederates went to *Menin*, which was esteemed the best finished Fortification, in all those Parts: It was built after the Peace of *Nimeguen*; nothing that Art could contrive was wanting, to render it impregnable; and it was defended by a Garrison of 6000 Men, so that many thought it was too bold an Undertaking, to sit down before it. The *French* Army was become considerable, by great Detachments brought from the *Upper Rhine*; where *Mareschal Villars* was so

A great Victory gained.

Flanders and *Brabant* reduced.

Ostend and *Menin* taken.

1706. so far superior to the *Germans*, that, if it had not been for this Revulsion of his Forces, the Circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia* would have been much exposed to Pillage and Contribution.

The Duke
of Vendome
commanded
in Flanders.

The Duke of *Vendome's* Conduct in *Italy* had so raised his Character, that he was thought the only Man, fit to be at the Head of the Army in *Flanders*: so he was sent for, and had that Command given him, with a very high Complement, which was very injurious to the other Officers, since he was declared to be the single Man, on whom *France* could depend, and by whom it could be protected, in that Extremity. The Duke of *Orleans* was sent to command in *Italy*, and Mareschal *Marfin* was sent with him to assist, or rather in reality to govern him: And so obstinately was the King of *France* set, on pursuing his first Designs, that notwithstanding his Disgraces both in *Spain* and in the *Netherlands*, yet (since he had ordered all the Preparations for the Siege of *Turin*) he would not desist from that Attempt, but ordered it to be pursued, with all possible Vigour. The Siege of *Menin* was, in the mean while, carried on so successfully, that the Trenches were opened on the 24th of *July*, and the Batteries were finished on the 29th: and they pressed the Place so warmly, that they capitulated on the 11th of *August*, and march'd out on the 14th, being *St. Lewis's Day*; 4000 Men march'd out of the Place.

Dender-
monde and
Aeth taken.

It seemed strange, that a Garrison, which was still so numerous, should give up, in so short a time, a Place that was both so strong and so well furnished: But as the *French* were much funk, so the Allies were now become very expert at carrying on of Sieges; and spared no cost that was necessary for dispatch. *Dendermonde* had been, for some Weeks, under a Blockade: this, the Duke of *Marlborough* ordered to be turned into a formal Siege. The Place was so surrounded with Water, that the King of *France*, having once begun a Siege there, was forced to raise it; yet it was now so pressed, that the Garrison offered to capitulate, but the Duke of *Marlborough* would give them no other Terms, but those of being Prisoners of War, to which they were forced to submit. *Aeth* was next invested, it lay so inconveniently between *Flanders* and *Brabant*, that it was necessary to clear that Communication, and to deliver *Brussels* from the Danger of that Neighbourhood: In a fortnight's time, it was also obliged to capitulate, and the Garrison were made Prisoners of War.

During those Sieges, the Duke of *Vendome*, having fixed himself in a Camp, that could not be forced, did not think fit to give the Duke of *Marlborough* any Disturbance; while he lay with his Army covering the Sieges: The *French* were jealous of the

the Elector of *Bavaria's* Heat, and tho' he desired to command an Army apart, yet it was not thought fit to divide their Forces, tho' now grown to be very numerous. Deserters said, the Pannick was still so great in the Army, that there was no appearance of their venturing on any Action: *Paris* it self was under a high Consternation, and tho' the King carried his Misfortunes with an appearance of Calmness and Composure, yet he was often let blood, which was thought an indication of a great Commotion within; and this was no doubt the greater, because it was so much disguised. No News was talked of at that Court; all was silent and solemn; so that even the Dutches Dowager of *Orleans* knew not the true State of their Affairs; which made her write to her Aunt, the Electress of *Hanover*, to learn News of her.

There was another Alarm given them, which heighten'd the Disorder they were in: The Queen and the States formed a Design of a Descent in *France*, with an Army of about 10000 Foot and 1200 Horse. The Earl of *Rivers* commanded the Land-Army, as *Shovell* did a Royal Fleet, that was to convoy them, and to secure their Landing; it was to be near *Bordeaux*: but the Secret was then so well kept, that the *French* could not penetrate into it; so the Alarm was general. It put all the maritime Counties of *France* to a vast charge, and under dismal apprehensions: Officers were sent from the Court to exercise them; but they saw what their Militia was, and that was all their defence. I have one of the Manifesto's, that the Earl of *Rivers* was ordered to publish, upon his landing: He declared by it, that he was come neither to pillage the Country, nor to conquer any part of it; He came only to restore the People to their Liberties, and to have Assemblies of the States, as they had anciently, and to restore the *Edicts* to the Protestants; He promised protection to all that should come in to him. The Troops were all put aboard at *Portsmouth*, in the beginning of *July*, but they were kept in our Ports by contrary Winds, till the beginning of *October*: The Design on *France* was then laid aside; it was too late in the Year, for the Fleet to sail into the Bay of *Biscay*, and to lie there, for any considerable time, in that Season: The Reduction of *Spain* was of the greatest importance to us; so new Orders were sent them to sail first to *Lisbon*, and there to take such Measures, as the State of the Affairs of *Spain* should require.

Designs for
a Descent in
France.

The Siege of *Turin* was begun in *May*, and was continued till the beginning of *September*: There was a strong Garrison within it, and it was well furnished, both with Provisions and Ammunition. The Duke of *Savoy* put all to the hazard: He sent his Dutches with his Children to *Genoa*; and himself, with a Body

The Siege
of *Turin*.

1706. of 3000 Horfe, was moving about *Turin*, from Valley to Valley, till that Body was much diminished: for he was, as it were, hunted from place to place, by the Duke of *Feuillade*, who commanded in the Siege, and drove the Duke of *Savoy* before him: so that all hope of Relief lay in Prince *Eugene*. The Garrison made a noble resistance, and maintained their Outworks long; they blew up many Mines, and disputed every Inch of Ground, with great Resolution: They lost about 6000 Men, who were either killed, or had deserted during the Siege; and their Powder was at last so spent, that they must have capitulated within a day or two, if they had not been relieved. The Siege cost the *French* very dear; they were often forced to change their Attacks, and lost about 14000 Men before the Place; for they were frequently beat from the Posts, that they had gain'd.

Prince *Eugene* marches to raise it.

Prince *Eugene* made all the haste, he could to their relief: The Court of *Vienna* had not given due Orders, as they had undertaken, for the Provision of the Troops, that were to march thro' their Country, to join him: This occasioned many Complaints, and some Delay. The truth was, that Court was so much set on the Reduction of *Hungary*, that all other things were much neglected, while that alone seemed to possess them. A Treaty was set on foot, with the Malecontents there, by the Mediation of *England* and of the *States*; a Cessation of Arms was agreed to, for two Months: All that belonged to that Court were very uneasy, while that continued; they had shared among them the Confiscations of all the great Estates in *Hungary*, and they saw, that if a Peace was made, all these would be vacated, and the Estates would be restored to their former Owners: so they took all possible means to traverse the Negotiation, and to inflame the Emperor. There seemed to be some probability, of bringing things to a Settlement, but that could not be brought to any conclusion, during the Term of the Cessation; when that was lapsed, the Emperor could not be prevailed on to renew it: He recalled his Troops from the Upper *Rhine*, tho' that was contrary to all his Agreements with the Empire. Notwithstanding all this ill Management of the Court of *Vienna*, Prince *Eugene* got together the greatest part of those Troops, that he expected in the *Veronese*, before the end of *June*: They were not yet all come up, but he, believing himself strong enough, resolved to advance; and he left the Prince of *Hesse*, with a Body to receive the rest, and by them to force a Diversion, while he should be going on. The Duke of *Vendome* had taken care of all the Fords of the *Adige*, the *Mincio*, and the *Oglio*; and had cast up such Lines and Entrenchments every where, that he had assured the Court of *France*, it was not possible

possible for Prince *Eugene*, to break thro' all that Opposition, at least to do it, in any time to relieve *Turin*. By this time the Duke of *Orleans* was come to take the Army, out of *Vendome's* hands: but before that Duke had left it, they saw that he had reckon'd wrong, in all those Hopes, he had given the Court of *France*, of stopping Prince *Eugene's* March. For, in the beginning of *July*, he sent a few Battalions, over one of the Fords of the *Adige*, where the *French* were well posted, and double their number; yet they ran away with such precipitation, that they left every thing behind them: Upon that, Prince *Eugene* passed the *Adige*, with his whole Army, and the *French*, in a Consternation, retired behind the *Mincio*. After this, Prince *Eugene* surprized the *French* with a Motion, that they had not looked for, nor prepared against, for he passed the *Po*; the Duke of *Orleans* followed him, but declined an Engagement; whereupon Prince *Eugene* wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough*, that he felt the Effects of the Battle of *Ramellies*, even in *Italy*, the *French* seeming to be every where dispirited with their Misfortunes. Prince *Eugene*, marching nearer the *Appenines*, had gained some Days March of the Duke of *Orleans*; upon which, that Duke repassed the *Po*, and advanced with such haste towards *Turin*, that he took no care of the Pass at *Stradella*, which might have been kept and disputed for some Days: Prince *Eugene* found no Opposition there; nor did he meet with any other difficulty, but from the length of the March, and the heat of the Season; for he was in motion all the Months of *July* and *August*.

In the Beginning of *September*, the Duke of *Savoy* joined him, with the small Remnants of his Army, and they hastened on to *Turin*. The Duke of *Orleans* had got thither before them, and the place was now reduced to the last Extremities; the Duke of *Orleans*, with most of the chief Officers, were for marching out of the Trenches; *Marsin* was of another mind, and when he found it hard to maintain his Opinion, he produced positive Orders for it, which put an end to the Debate. The Duke of *Savoy* saw the necessity of attacking them, in their Trenches; his Army consisted of 28000 Men, but they were good Troops; the *French* were above 40000, and in a well fortified Camp; yet after two Hours Resistance, the Duke of *Savoy* broke thro', and then there was a great destruction; the *French* flying in much disorder, and leaving a vast Treasure in their Camp, besides great Stores of Provisions, Ammunition and Artillery. It was so entire a Defeat, that not above 1600 Men, of that great Army, got off in a Body; and they made all the haste they could into *Dauphiny*. The Duke of *Savoy* went into *Turin*; where it may be easily

The *French* Army routed, and the Siege raised.

1706. easily imagined, he was received with much Joy; the Garrison, for want of Powder, was not in a condition to make a Sally on the *French*, while he attack'd them; the *French* were pursued as far, as Men, wearied with such an Action, could follow them, and many Prisoners were taken. The Duke of *Orleans*, tho' he lost the Day, yet gave great Demonstrations of Courage, and received several Wounds: Marechal *Marfin* fell into the Enemies hands, but died of his Wounds in a few Hours; and upon him all the Errors of this dismal Day were cast, tho' the heaviest part of the Load fell on *Chamillard*, who was then in the supreme degree of favour at Court, and was entirely possessed of Madam *Maintenon's* Confidence. *Feuillade* had married his Daughter, and in order to the advancing him, he had the Command of this Siege given him, which was thus obstinately pursued, till it ended in this fatal manner. The Obstinacy continued, for the King sent Orders, for a Month together, to the Duke of *Orleans*, to march back into *Piedmont*, when it was absolutely impossible; yet repeated Orders were sent, and the reason of this was understood afterwards: Madam *Maintenon* (it seems) took that care of the King's Health and Humour, that she did not suffer the ill state of his Affairs to be fully told him: He, all that while, was made believe, that the Siege was only raised, upon the Advance of Prince *Eugene's* Army; and knew not that his own was defeated and ruined. I am not enough versed in Military Affairs, to offer any Judgment upon that point, whether they did well or ill, not to go out of their Camp to fight: It is certain, that the Fight was more disorderly, and the Loss was much greater, by reason of their lying, within their Lines: In this I have known Men of the Trade of different Opinions.

While this was done at *Turin*, the Prince of *Hesse* advanced to the *Mincio*, which the *French* abandoned; but as he went to take *Castiglione*, *Medavi*, the *French* General, surprized him, and cut off about 2000 of his Men; upon which he was forced to retire to the *Adige*. The *French* magnified this excessively, hoping with the noise they made about it, to ballance their real Loss at *Turin*. The Prince of *Vaudemont*, upon the News from *Turin*, left the City of *Milan*, and retired, with the small Force he had, to *Cremona*: The Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene* marched, with all haste, into the *Milaneze*: The City of *Milan* was opened to them; but the Cittadel and some strong Places, that had Garrisons in them, stood out some time; yet Place after Place capitulated, so that it was visible, all would quickly fall into their hands.

Such a Succession of eminent Misfortunes, in one Campaign, and in so many different Places, was without example: It made all

all People conclude, that the time was come, in which the Perfidy, the Tyranny, and the Cruelty of that King's long and bloody Reign, was now to be repayed him, with the same severe measure, with which he had formerly treated others: But the Secrets of God are not to be too boldly pried into, till he is pleased to display them to us more openly. It is certainly a Year, that deserves to be long and much remembred.

In the end of the Campaign, in which *Poland* had been harassed, with the continuance of the War, but without any great Action; the King of *Sweden*, seeing that King *Augustus* supported his Affairs in *Poland*, by the Supplies both of Men and Money, that he drew from his Electorate, resolved to stop that Ressource: So he marched thro' *Silesia* and *Lusatia* into *Saxony*. He quickly made himself Master of an open Country, that was looking for no such Invasion, and was in no sort prepared for it, and had few strong Places in it, capable of any Resistance: The rich Town of *Leipsick* and all the rest of the Country was, without any Opposition, put under Contribution. All the Empire was alarmed at this; it was at first apprehended, that it was set on by the *French* Councils, to raise a new War in *Germany*, and to put the North all in a flame. The King of *Sweden* gave it out, that he had no design to give any disturbance to the Empire: That he intended, by this March, only to bring the War of *Poland* to a speedy conclusion; and it was reasonable to believe, that such an unlooked for Incident would soon bring that War to a Crisis.

The King of Sweden marched into Saxony.

This was the State of our Affairs abroad, in this glorious and ever-memorable Year. At home, another matter of great consequence was put in a good and promising method: The Commissioners of both Kingdoms sat close in a Treaty, till about the middle of *July*; in conclusion, they prepared a compleat Scheme of an entire Union of both Nations: Some Particulars being only referred, to be settled by their Parliaments respectively. When every thing was agreed to, they presented one Copy of the Treaty to the Queen, and each side had a Copy, to be presented to their respective Parliament, all the three Copies being signed by the Commissioners of both Kingdoms: It was resolved to lay the matter, first before the Parliament of *Scotland*, because it was apprehended, that it would meet with the greatest opposition there.

A Treaty of Union concluded.

The Union of the two Kingdoms was a Work, of which many had quite despaired, in which number I was one; and those who entertained better hopes, thought it must have run out into a long Negotiation for several Years: but beyond all Mens expectation, it was begun and finished, within the Compass of One. The

1706. Commissioners, brought up from *Scotland*, for the Treaty, were so strangely chosen (the far greater number having continued in an Opposition to the Government, ever since the Revolution) that from thence many concluded, that it was not sincerely designed by the Ministry, when they saw such a Nomination. This was a piece of the Earl of *Stair's* Cunning, who did heartily promote the Design: He then thought, that if such a number of those, who were looked on as *Jacobites*, and were popular Men on that account, among the Disaffected there, could be so wrought on, as to be engaged in the Affair, the Work would be much the easier, when laid before the Parliament of *Scotland*: And in this, the Event shewed, that he took right Measures. The Lord *Somers* had the chief hand, in projecting the Scheme of the Union, into which, all the Commissioners of the *English* Nation went very easily: The Advantages, that were offered to *Scotland*, in the whole Frame of it, were so great, and so visible, that nothing but the Consideration of the Safety, that was to be procured by it to *England*, could have brought the *English* to agree to a Project, that, in every Branch of it, was much more favourable to the *Scotch* Nation.

They were to bear less, than the fortieth part of the Publick Taxes: When four Shillings in the Pound was levied in *England*, which amounted to two Millions, *Scotland* was only to be taxed at 48000 Pounds, which was eight Months Assessment: They had been accustomed for some Years to pay this, and they said it was all that the Nation could bear. It is held a Maxim, that in the framing of a Government, a Proportion ought to be observed, between the Share in the Legislature, and the Burden to be born; yet in return of the fortieth part of the Burden, they offer'd the *Scotch* near the eleventh part of the Legislature: For the Peers of *Scotland* were to be represented, by sixteen Peers in the House of Lords, and the Commons, by forty five Members in the House of Commons; and these were to be chosen, according to the Methods, to be settled in the Parliament of *Scotland*. And since *Scotland* was to pay Customs and Excises, on the same foot with *England*, and was to bear a share in paying much of the Debt, *England* had contracted during the War; 398000 Pounds was to be raised in *England*, and sent into *Scotland*, as an Equivalent for that; and that was to be applied to the recoinning the Money, that all might be of one Denomination and Standard, and to paying the Publick Debts of *Scotland*, and repaying, to their *African* Company, all their Losses with Interest; upon which that Company was to be dissolved; and the Over-plus of the Equivalent was to be applied, to the Encouragement of Manufactures.

factures. Trade was to be free all over the Island, and to the 1706.
Plantations; private Rights were to be preserved; and the Judic-
tories and Laws of *Scotland* were still to be continued: But all
was put, for the future, under the Regulation of the Parliament
of *Great Britain*; the two Nations now were to be one King-
dom, under the same Succession to the Crown, and united in
one Parliament. There was no Provision made in this Treaty,
with relation to Religion: For in the Acts of Parliament, in both
Kingdoms, that empowered the Queen to name Commissioners,
there was an express Limitation, that they should not treat of those
Matters.

This was the Substance of the Articles of the Treaty, which
being laid before the Parliament of *Scotland*, met with great Op-
position there. It was visible, that the Nobility of that Kingdom
suffered a great Diminution by it; for tho' it was agreed, that
they should enjoy all the other Privileges of the Peers of *England*,
yet the greatest of them all, which was the Voting in the House
of Lords, was restrained to Sixteen, to be elected by the rest at
every new Parliament; yet there was a greater Majority of the
Nobility, that concurred in Voting for the Union, than in the
other States of that Kingdom. The Commissioners from the
Shires and Boroughs, were almost equally divided, tho' it was
evident they were to be the chief Gainers by it; among these the
Union was agreed to, by a very small Majority: It was the No-
bility, that in every Vote turned the Scale for the Union: they
were severely reflected on, by those who opposed it; it was said,
many of them were bought off, to sell their Country and their
Birth-right: All those, who adhered inflexibly to the *Jacobite*
Interest, opposed every Step that was made, with great Vehe-
mence; for they saw that the Union struck at the Root of all their
Views and Designs, for a new Revolution. Yet these could not
have raised or maintained so great an Opposition, as was now
made; if the *Presbyterians* had not been possessed with a Jeal-
ousy, that the consequence of this Union would be, the Change
of Church-Government among them, and that they would be
swallowed up by the Church of *England*. This took such root
in many, that no Assurances, that were offered, could remove
their Fears: It was infused in them chiefly by the old Dutches
of *Hamilton*, who had great credit with them: And it was sug-
gested, that she, and her Son, had particular Views, as hoping,
that if *Scotland* should continue a separated Kingdom, the Crown
might come into their Family, they being the next in Blood, af-
ter King *James's* Posterity. The Infusion of such Apprehensions,
had a great effect on the main Body of that Party, who could
scarce

Debated
long in the
Parliament
of *Scotland*.

1706. scarce be brought to hearken, but never to accept of the Offers, that were made for securing their *Presbyterian* Government. A great Part of the Gentry of that Kingdom, who had been oft in *England*, and had observed the Protection, that all Men had from a House of Commons, and the Security that it procured, against partial Judges, and a violent Ministry, entred into the Design with great Zeal. The opening a free Trade, not only with *England*, but with the Plantations, and the Protection of the Fleet of *England*, drew in those who understood these Matters, and saw there was no other way in view, to make the Nation rich and considerable. Those who had engaged far into the Design of *Darien*, and were great Losers by it, saw now an honourable way to be reimbursed, which made them wish well to the Union, and promote it. But that which advanced the Design most effectually, and without which, it could not have succeeded, was, that a considerable number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, who were in no Engagements with the Court (on the contrary, they had been disobliged, and turned out of great Posts, and some very lately) declared for it. These kept themselves very close and united, and seemed to have no other Interest, but that of their Country, and were for that reason called the *Squadron*: The chief of these were, the Marquess of *Tweeddale*, the Earls of *Rothes*, *Roxburgh*, *Haddington*, and *Marchmont*; they were in great credit, because they had no visible Bias on their Minds; ill usage had provoked them rather to oppose the Ministry, than to concur in any thing, where the chief Honour would be carried away by others. When they were spoke to by the Ministry, they answered coldly, and with great Reserves, so it was expected they would have concurred in the Opposition, and they being between twenty and thirty in number, if they had set themselves against the Union, the Design must have miscarried. But they continued still silent, till the first Division of the House obliged them to declare, and then, they not only joined in it, but promoted it effectually, and with Zeal: There were great and long Debates, managed on the side of the Union, by the Earls of *Seafeld* and *Stair* for the Ministry, and of the *Squadron* by the Earl of *Roxburgh* and *Marchmont*; and against it by the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Athol* and the Marquess of *Annandale*. The Duke of *Athol* was believed to be in a foreign Correspondence, and was much set on violent methods: Duke *Hamilton* managed the Debate with great Vehemence, but was against all desperate Motions: He had much to lose, and was resolved not to venture all, with those who suggested the necessity of running, in the old *Scotch* way, to Extremities. The Topicks, from which the Arguments against the Union

Union were drawn, were the Antiquity and Dignity of their Kingdom, which was offered to be given up, and sold: They were departing from an Independent State, and going to sink into a Dependence on *England*; what Conditions soever might be now speciously offered, as a Security to them, they could not expect that they should be adhered to, or religiously maintained in a Parliament, where sixteen Peers and forty five Commoners could not hold the ballance, against above an hundred Peers and five hundred and thirteen Commoners. *Scotland* would be no more considered as formerly by foreign Princes and States: Their Peers would be precarious and elective: They magnified their Crown, with the other Regalia so much, that since the Nation seemed resolved never to suffer them to be carried away, it was provided, in a new Clause added to the Articles, that these should still remain within the Kingdom. They insisted most vehemently on the Danger, that the Constitution of their Church must be in, when all should be under the power of a *British* Parliament: This was pressed with Fury by some, who were known to be the most violent Enemies to *Presbytery*, of any in that Nation: but it was done on design, to inflame that Body of Men by those Apprehensions, and so to engage them to persist in their Opposition. To allay that Heat, after the general Vote was carried for the Union, before they entered on the Consideration of the particular Articles, an Act was prepared for securing the *Presbyterian* Government: by which it was declared to be the only Government of that Church, unalterable in all succeeding Times, and the maintaining it was declared to be a fundamental and essential Article and Condition of the Union; and this Act was to be made a part of the Act for the Union, which, in the Consequence of that, was to be ratified by another Act of Parliament in *England*. Thus those, who were the greatest Enemies to *Presbytery*, of any in the Nation, raised the Clamour of the Danger that Form of Government would be in, if the Union went on, to such a height, that by their means this Act was carried, as far as any human Law could go, for their Security: For by this, they had, not only all the Security that their own Parliament could give them, but they were to have the Faith and Authority of the Parliament of *England*, it being, in the Stipulation, made an essential Condition of the Union: The carrying this Matter so far, was done in hopes, that the Parliament of *England* would never be brought to pass it. This Act was passed, and it gave an entire Satisfaction to those, who were disposed to receive any; but nothing could satisfy Men, who made use of this, only to inflame others. Those, who opposed the Union, finding the Majority was against them,

1706. studied to raise a Storm without doors, to frighten them: A Set of Addresses against the Union were sent round all the Countries, in which, those who opposed it, had any Interest: There came up many of these, in the Name of Counties and Burroughs, and at last, from Parishes: This made some Noise abroad, but was very little considered there, when it was known, by whose Arts and Practices they were procured. When this appeared to have little effect, Pains were taken to animate the Rabble to violent Attempts, both at *Edinburgh*, and at *Glasgow*. Sir *Patrick Johnston* Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*, had been one of the Commissioners, and had concurred heartily in the Design: A great Multitude gathered about his House, and were forcing the Doors on design, as was believed, to murder him; but Guards came and dispersed them. Upon this Attempt, the Privy-Council set out a Proclamation against all such Riots, and gave orders for quartering the Guards within the Town: But to shew, that this was not intended to over-awe the Parliament, the whole Matter was laid before them, and the Proceedings of the Privy-Council were approved. No other violent Attempt was made after this, but the Body of the People shewed so much Sullenness, that probably, had any Person of Authority once kindled the Fire, they seemed to be of such combustible Matter, that the Union might have cast that Nation into great Convulsions. These things made great Impressions on the Duke of *Queensbury*, and on some about him: He despaired of succeeding, and he apprehended his Person might be in danger: One about him wrote to my Lord Treasurer, representing the ill Temper the Nation was generally in, and moved for an Adjournment, that so with the help of some Time and good Management, those Difficulties, which seemed then insuperable, might be conquered. The Lord Treasurer told me, his Answer was, that a delay was, upon the Matter, laying the whole Design aside; Orders were given, both in *England* and *Ireland*, to have Troops ready upon call; and if it was necessary, more Forces should be ordered from *Flanders*: The *French* were in no condition to send any Assistance to those, who might break out, so that the Circumstances of the Time were favourable; he desired therefore, that they would go on, and not be alarmed at the foolish Behaviour of some, who, whatever might be given out in their Names, he believed, had more Wit than to ruin themselves. Every Step that was made, and every Vote that was carried, was with the same Strength, and met with the same Opposition: Both Parties giving strict Attendance during the whole Session, which lasted for three Months. Many Protestations were printed, with every Man's Vote: In conclusion, the whole Articles of the Treaty

Treaty were agreed to, with some small Variations. The Earl of *Stair*, having maintained the Debate on the last Day, in which, all was concluded, died the next Night suddenly, his Spirits being quite exhausted by the Length and Vehemence of the Debate. The Act passed, and was sent up to *London* in the beginning of *February*. 1707.
At last
agreed to.

The Queen laid it before the two Houses; the House of Commons agreed to it all, without any Opposition, so soon, that it was thought they interposed not Delay and Consideration enough, suitable to the Importance of so great a Transaction. The Debates were longer and more solemn in the House of Lords; the Archbishop of *Canterbury* moved, that a Bill might be brought in, for securing the Church of *England*; by it, all Acts, passed in favour of our Church, were declared to be in full force for ever; and this was made a fundamental and essential Part of the Union. Some Exceptions were taken to the Words of the Bill, as not so strong as the Act passed in *Scotland* seemed to be, since the Government of it was not declared to be unalterable: But they were judged more proper, since, where a supreme Legislature is once acknowledged, nothing can be unalterable. After this was over, the Lords entered upon the Consideration of the Articles, as they were amended in *Scotland*; it was pretended, that here a new Constitution was made, the consequence of which, they said, was the altering all the Laws of *England*. All the Judges were of opinion, that there was no weight in this; great Exceptions were taken to the small Proportion, *Scotland* was rated at, in the laying on of Taxes; and their Election of Peers, to every new Parliament, was said to be contrary to the Nature of Peerage. To all the Objections that were offered, this general Answer was made, that so great a thing, as the Uniting the whole Island into one Government, could not be compassed, but with some Inconveniences: But if the Advantage of Safety and Union, was greater than those Inconveniences, then a lesser Evil must be submitted to. An Elective Peer was indeed a great prejudice to the Peers of *Scotland*, but since they had submitted to it, there was no just occasion given to the Peers of *England* to complain of it. But the Debate held longest upon the Matters, relating to the Government of the Church; it was said, here was a real Danger the Church ran into, when so many Votes, of Persons tied to *Presbytery*, were admitted to a share in the Legislature. All the Rigour, with which the Episcopal Clergy had been treated in *Scotland*, was set forth, to shew with how implacable a Temper they were set against the Church of *England*; yet, in return to all that, it was now demanded, from the Men of this Church,

to

1707. to enact, that the *Scotch* Form should continue unalterable, and to admit those to vote among us, who were such declared Enemies to our Constitution. Here was a plausible Subject for popular Eloquence, and a great deal of it was brought out upon this occasion, by *Hooper*, *Beveridge*, and some other Bishops, and by the Earls of *Rochester* and *Nottingham*. But to all this it was answered, that the chief Dangers the Church was in, were from *France* and from Popery: so that whatsoever secured us from these, delivered us from our justest Fears. *Scotland* lay on the weakest side of *England*, where it could not be defended, but by an Army: The Coaleries on the *Tine* lay exposed for several Miles, and could not be preserved, but at a great charge, and with a great force: If a War should fall out between the two Nations, and if *Scotland* should be conquered, yet, even in that case, it must be united to *England*, or kept under by an Army: The Danger of keeping up a Standing Force, in the hands of any Prince, and to be modelled by him (who might engage the *Scotch* to join with that Army and turn upon *England*) was visible: and any Union, after such a Conquest, would look like a Force, and so could not be lasting; whereas all was now voluntary. As for Church-matters, there had been such Violence used by all sides in their turns, that none of them could reproach the others much, without having it returned upon them too justly. A softer Management would lay those Heats, and bring Men to a better Temper: The *Cantons* of *Switzerland*, tho' very zealous in their different Religions, yet were united in one general Body: The Diet of *Germany* was composed of Men of three different Religions: so that several Constitutions of Churches might be put under one Legislature; and if there was a danger of either side, it was much more likely that 513 would be too hard for 45, than that 45 would master 513; especially when the Crown was on their side: and there were twenty six Bishops in the House of Lords, to outweigh the sixteen Votes from *Scotland*. It was indeed said, that all in *England* were not zealous for the Church; to which it was answered, that by the same reason it might be concluded, that all those of *Scotland* were not zealous for their Way, especially when the Favour of the Court lay in the *English* Scale. The matter was argued, for the Union, by the Bishops of *Oxford*, *Norwich* and my self, by the Lord *Treasurer*, the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Wharton*, and the Lords *Townshend* and *Halifax*; but above all, by the Lord *Somers*. Every Division of the House was made, with so great an inequality, that they were but 20, against 50 that were for the Union. When all was agreed to, in both Houses, a Bill was ordered to be brought in to enact it; which was

was prepared by *Harcourt*, with so particular a Contrivance, that it cut off all Debates. The Preamble was a Recital of the Articles, as they were passed in *Scotland*, together with the Acts made in both Parliaments, for the Security of their several Churches; and in conclusion, there came one Enacting Clause, ratifying all. This put those, upon great Difficulties, who had resolved to object to several Articles, and to insist on demanding some Alterations in them; for they could not come at any Debate about them; they could not object to the Recital, it being merely Matter of fact; and they had not Strength enough, to oppose the general Enacting Clause, nor was it easy to come at particulars, and to offer Proviso's relating to them. The Matter was carried on with such Zeal, that it passed through the House of Commons, before those, who intended to oppose it, had recovered themselves out of the Surprise, under which the Form, it was drawn in, had put them. It did not stick long in the House of Lords, for all the Articles had been copiously debated there for several Days, before the Bill was sent up to them: And thus this great Design, so long wished and laboured for in vain, was begun, and happily ended, within the Compass of Nine Months. The Union was to commence on the First of *May*, and 'till that time, the two Kingdoms were still distinct, and their two Parliaments continued still to sit.

In *Scotland*, they proceeded to dispose of the Sum, provided to be the Equivalent: In this, great Partialities appeared, which were much complained of; but there was not Strength to oppose them. The Ministry, and those who depended on them, moved for very extravagant Allowances to those, who had been employed in this last, and in the former Treaty; and they made large Allotments, of some Publick Debts, that were complained of as unreasonable and unjust; by which, a great part of the Sum was diverted, from answering the End, for which it was given. This was much opposed by the *Squadron*; but as the Ministers promoted it, and those, who were to get by it, made all the Interest they could to obtain it (some few of them only excepted, who, as became generous Patriots, shewed more regard to the Publick, than to their private Ends) so those, who had opposed the Union, were not ill pleased to see this Sum so misapplied; hoping by that means, that the Aversion, which they endeavoured to infuse into the Nation against the Union, would be much increased; therefore they let every thing go as the Ministers proposed, to the great grief of those, who wished well to the Publick. It was resolved, that the Parliament of *England* should sit out its Period, which, by the Law for Triennial Parliaments,

The Equivalent disposed of.

1707. ran yet a Year further; it was thought necessary, to have another Session continued of the same Men, who had made this Union, since they would more readily consolidate and strengthen their own Work. Upon this ground, it seemed most proper, that the Members, to represent *Scotland*, should be named by the Parliament there: Those, who had opposed the Union, carried their Aversion to the *Squadron* so far, that they concurred with the Ministry in a Nomination, in which very few of them were included, not above three of the Peers, and fifteen Commoners; so that great and just Exceptions lay against many, who were nominated to represent that Kingdom: all this was very acceptable to those, who had opposed the Union. The Customs of *Scotland* were then in a Farm, and the Farmers were the Creatures of the Ministry, some of whom, as was believed, were Sharers with them: It was visible, that since there was to be a free Trade opened, between *Scotland* and *England*, after the First of *May*, and since the Duties in *Scotland*, laid on Trade, were much lower than in *England*, that there would be a great Importation into *Scotland*, on the Prospect of the Advantage, that might be made by sending it into *England*. Upon such an Emergency, it was reasonable to break the Farm, as had been ordinarily done upon less reason, and to take the Customs into a new Management, that so the Gain, to be made in the Interval, might go to the Publick, and not be left in private Hands: but the Lease was continued in favour of the Farmers. They were Men of no Interest of their own, so it was not doubted, but that there was a secret practice in the Case. Upon the view of the Gain, to be made by such an Importation, it was understood, that Orders were sent to *Holland*, and other places, to buy up Wine, Brandy, and other Merchandize. And another notorious Fraud was designed by some in *England*; who, because of the great Draw-back, that was allowed for Tobacco and other Plantation Commodities, when exported, were sending great Quantities to *Scotland*, on design to bring them back after the First of *May*, that so they might sell them free of that Duty: So a Bill was offered to the House of Commons, for preventing this. While this was going on, *Harley* proposed the joining another Clause, to this effect; That all Goods, that were carried to *Scotland*, after the First of *February* (unless it were by the natural-born Subjects of that Kingdom, inhabiting in it) in case they were imported into *England* after the First of *May*, should be liable to the *English* Duties; and of this the Proof was to lie on the Importer. This angered all the *Scotch*, who raised a high Clamour upon it, and said the Union was broke by it; and that

such a Proceeding would have very ill Effects in *Scotland*. But the House of Commons were so alarmed, with the News of a vast Importation, which was aggravated far beyond the truth, and by which they concluded the Trade of *England* would greatly suffer, at least for a Year or two, that they passed the Bill, and sent it to the Lords, where it was rejected; for it appeared plainly to them, that this was an Infraction of some of the Articles of the Treaty. It was suggested, that a Recess for some days was necessary, that so the Commons might have an opportunity to prepare a Bill, prohibiting all Goods from being brought to *England*, that had been sent out, only in order that the Merchants might have the Draw-back allowed. With this view, the Parliament was prorogued for a few days; but at their next meeting, the Commons were more inflamed than before: So they prepared a new Bill, to the same effect, only in some Clauses it was more severe than the former had been: But the Lords did not agree to it, and so it fell.

Thus far I have carried on the Recital of this great Transaction, rather in such a general view, as may transmit it right to Posterity, than in so copious a Narration, as an Affair of such consequence might seem to deserve: It is very probable, that a particular Journal, of the Debates in the Parliament of *Scotland*, which were long and fierce, may at some time or other be made publick: But I hope this may suffice for a History. I cannot, upon such a signal Occasion, restrain myself from making some Reflections, on the Directions of Providence in this matter. It is certain the Design on *Darien*, the great Charge it put the Nation to, and the total Miscarriage of that Project, made the trading Part of that Kingdom see the Impossibility of undertaking any great Design in Trade; and that made them the more readily concur, in carrying on the Union. The wiser Men of that Nation had observed long, that *Scotland* lay at the mercy of the Ministry, and that every new Set of Ministers made use of their Power, to enrich themselves and their Creatures, at the Cost of the Publick; that the Judges, being made by them, were in such a Dependance, that since there are no Juries allowed in *Scotland* in Civil Matters, the whole Property of the Kingdom was in their hands, and by their means in the hands of the Ministers: They had also observed, how ineffectual it had been to complain of them at Court: It put those, who ventured on it, to a vast Charge, to no other purpose, but to expose them the more to the Fury of the Ministry. The poor Noblemen, and the poor Burroughs made a great Majority in their Parliament, and were easily to be purchased by the Court: So they saw no hopes

Reflections
on the U-
nion.

1707. hopes of a Remedy to such a Mischief, but by an incorporating Union with *England*. These Thoughts were much quickened, by the Prospect of recovering, what they had lost in that ill-concerted Undertaking of *Darien*; and this was so universal and so operative, that the Design on *Darien*, which the *Jacobites* had set on foot and prosecuted with so much fury, and with bad Intentions, did now engage many to promote the Union, who, without that Consideration, would have been at least neutral, if not backward in it. The Court was engaged to promote the Union, on account of the Act of Security, past in the Year 1704, which was imputed chiefly to the Lord Treasurer: Threatnings, of Impeaching him for advising it, had been often let fall, and upon that, his Enemies had set their chief hopes of pulling him down: for though no proof could be brought of his Counsel in it, yet it was not doubted, but that his Advice had determined the Queen to pass it. An Impeachment was a word of an odious sound, which would engage a Party against him, and disorder a Session of Parliament; and the least ill effect it might have, would be to oblige him to withdraw from Business, which was chiefly aimed at. The Queen was very sensible, that his managing the great Trust he was in, in the manner he did, made all the rest of her Government both safe and easy to her; so she spared no pains to bring this about, and it was believed she was at no small Cost to compass it, for those of *Scotland* had learned from *England*, to set a Price on their Votes, and they expected to be well paid for them: The Lord Treasurer did also bestir himself in this matter, with an Activity and Zeal, that seemed not to be in his nature: and indeed, all the application, with which the Court set on this Affair, was necessary to master the Opposition and Difficulties, that sprang up in the progress of it. That which compleated all was, the low State to which the Affairs of *France* were reduced: They could neither spare Men, nor Money, to support their Party, which otherwise they would undoubtedly have done: They had, in imitation of the Exchequer-Notes here in *England*, given out *Mint-Bills*, to a great Value; some said two hundred Millions of Livres: These were ordered to be taken, by the Subjects in all Payments, as Money to the full Value, but were not to be received in payments of the King's Taxes: This put them under a great Discredit, and the Fund created, for repaying them, not being thought a good one, they had sunk 70 *per Cent*. This created an unexpressible Disorder in all Payments, and in the whole Commerce of *France*: All the Methods, that were proposed for raising their Credit, had proved ineffectual; for they remained after all, at the Discount

of 58 *per Cent.* A Court, in this distress, was not in a condition to spare much, to support such an inconsiderable Interest, as they esteemed their Party in *Scotland*: so they had not the assistance, which they promised themselves from thence. The conjuncture, of all these things meeting together, which brought this great Work to a happy conclusion, was so remarkable, that I hope my laying it all in one view, will be thought no impertinent Digression.

This was the chief Business of the Session of Parliament: and it was brought about, here in *England*, both sooner, and with less Difficulty, than was expected. The Grant of the Supplies went on quicker, than was usual. There was only one Particular, to which great Objections were made: Upon the great and early Success of the former Campaign, it was thought necessary to follow that, with other Projects, that drew on a great Expence, beyond what had been estimated, and laid before the Parliament. An Imbarkation, first designed against *France*, and afterwards sent to *Portugal*; and the extraordinary Supplies, that the Duke of *Savoy's* Affairs called for, amounted to about 800,000*l.* more, than had been provided for by Parliament. Some complained of this, and said, that if a Ministry could thus run the Nation into a great Charge, and expect that the Parliament must pay the Reckoning, this might have very ill Consequences. But to this it was answered, that a Ministry deserved publick Thanks, that had followed our Advantages, with such Vigour: If any thing was raised without necessity, or ill applied, under the pretence of serving the Publick, it was very reasonable to enquire into it, and to let it fall heavy on those, who were in fault: But if no other Exception lay to it, than because the matter could not be foreseen, nor communicated to the Parliament, before those Accidents happened, that occasioned the Expence, it was a very unjust Discouragement, if Ministers were to be quarrelled with, for their Care and Zeal: So it was carried by a great Majority, to discharge this Debt. All the other Supplies, and among them the Equivalent for *Scotland*, were given, and lodged on good Funds: So that no Session of Parliament had ever raised so much, and secured it so well, as this had done. The Session came to a happy conclusion, and the Parliament to an end. But the Queen, by virtue of a Clause in the Act of Union, revived it by Proclamation. Upon this, many of the *Scotch* Lords came up, and were very well received; two of them, *Montrose* and *Roxburgh*, were made Dukes in *Scotland*; some of them were made Privy Counsellours in *England*; and a Commission, for a new Council, was sent to *Scotland*: There appeared

The Supplies were granted.

1707. appeared soon two different Parties, among the *Scotch*; some of them moved, that there should neither be a distinct Government, nor a Privy Council continued there, but that all should be brought under one Administration, as the several Counties in *England* were; They said, the sooner all were consolidated, in all respects, into one Body, the Possibility of separating and disuniting them, would be the sooner extinguished; this was pressed with the most Earnestness by those, who were weary of the present Ministry, and longed to see their Power at an end: But the Ministry, who had a mind to keep up their Authority, said, there was a necessity of preserving a shew of Greatness, and a form of Government in those Parts, both for subduing the *Jacobites*, and that the Nation might not be disgusted, by too sudden an Alteration of outward Appearances. The Court resolved to maintain the Ministry there, till the next Session of Parliament, in which new Measures might be taken. Thus our Affairs were happily settled at home, and the First of *May* was celebrated, with a decent Solemnity, for then the Union took place.

Proceedings
in Convo-
cation.

The Convocation sat this Winter; and the same Temper, that had for some Years possessed the Lower House, did still prevail among them: When the Debates concerning the Union were before the Parliament, some in the Lower House spoke very tragically on that Subject: a Committee was named to consider of the present Danger of the Church, though but a little while before, they had concurred with the Bishops, in a very respectful Address to the Queen, in which it was acknowledged, that the Church was, under her Majesty's Administration, in a safe and flourishing Condition: This was carried, by the private Management of some aspiring Men amongst them, who hoped by a piece of skill to shew what they could do, that it might recommend them to farther Preferment; they were much cried out on, as Betrayers of their Party, for carrying that Address; so to recover their Credit, and because their hopes from the Court were not so promising, they resolved now to act another part. It was given out, that they intended to make an Application to the House of Commons, against the Union; to prevent that, the Queen wrote to the Archbishop, ordering him to prorogue them for three Weeks: by this means that Design was defeated, for before the end of the three Weeks, the Union had passed both Houses. But, when one factious Design failed, they found out another; they ordered a Representation, to be made to the Bishops, which set forth, that ever since the Submission of the Clergy in *Henry* the VIII's time, which was for a course of 173 Years, no such Prorogation had ever been ordered, during the sitting of Parliament: and they

they besought the Bishops, that from the conscientious Regard, ^{1707.} which they doubted not they had, for the welfare of this Church, they would use their utmost endeavours, that they might still enjoy those Usages, of which they were possessed, and which they had never misemployed: With this, they brought up a Schedule, containing, as they said, all the Dates of the Prorogations, both of Parliament and Convocation, thereby to make good their Assertion: And to cover this seeming Complaint of the Queen's Proceedings, they passed a Vote, that they did not intend to enter into any Debate, concerning the Validity of the late Prorogation, to which they had humbly submitted. It was found to be a strange and a bold Assertion, that this Prorogation was without a Precedent: Their Charge, in the preserving their Usages, on the Consciences of the Bishops, insinuated that this was a Breach made on them: The Bishops saw this was plainly an Attempt on the Queen's Supremacy; so they ordered it to be laid before her Majesty: and they ordered also a Search to be made into the Records. For though it was an undoubted Maxim, that nothing but a positive Law could limit the Prerogative, which a Non-usage could not do; yet they ordered the Schedule, offered by the Lower House, to be compared with the Records: they found that seven or eight Prorogations had been ordered, during the sitting of Parliament, and there were about thirty or forty more, by which it appeared, that the Convocation sat sometimes before, and sometimes after a Session of Parliament, and sat sometimes, even when the Parliament was dissolved. Upon all this, the Queen wrote another more severe Letter to the Archbishop, complaining of the Clergy, for not only continuing their illegal Practices, but reflecting on her late Order, as without a Precedent, and contrary to ancient Usages; which as it was untrue in fact, so it was an Invasion of her Supremacy: She had shewed much Tendernefs to the Clergy, but if any thing of this nature should be attempted for the future, she would use means warranted by Law, for punishing Offenders, how unwilling soever she might be to proceed to such measures. When the day came, on which this was to be communicated to the Lower House, the *Prolocutor* had gone out of Town, without so much as asking the Archbishop's leave, so a very small number of the Clergy appeared: Upon this signal Contempt, the Archbishop pronounced him contumacious, and referred the further censuring him to the day, he set for their next meeting: The *Prolocutor's* Party pressed him to stand it out, and to make no Submission; but he had sounder Advice given him, by some who understood the Law better; so he made a full Submission, with

1707. with which the Archbishop was satisfied: Yet a Party continued, with great Impudence to assert, that their Schedule was true, and that the Queen was misinformed, though the Lord Chancellor, made now a Peer of *England*, and the Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, had, upon perusal of the Records, affirmed to the Queen, that their Assertion was false, and that there were many Precedents, for such Prorogations.

Affairs in
Italy.

And now I must look abroad into foreign Affairs. The *French* were losing place after place in *Lombardy*: *Cremona*, *Mantua*, and the Citadel of *Milan*, were the only places, that were left in their hands: It was not possible to maintain these long, without a greater force, nor was it easy to convey that to them. On the other hand, the reducing those Fortresses was like to be a work of time, which would fatigue the Troops, and would bring a great Charge with it; so a Capitulation was proposed, for delivering up those places, and for allowing the *French* Troops a free March to *Dauphiny*. As soon as this was sent to *Vienna*, it was agreed to, without communicating it to the Allies, which gave just cause of offence: It was said in excuse, that every General had a power to agree to a Capitulation; so the Emperor, in this case, was not bound to stay, for the Consent of the Allies. This was true, if the Capitulation had been for one single place, but this was of the nature of a Treaty, being of a greater extent: By this, the *French* saved ten or 12000 Men, who must all have been, in a little time, made Prisoners of War: They were veterane Troops, and were sent into *Spain*, of which we quickly felt the ill Effects.

The Design was formed, for the following Campaign, after this manner: The Duke of *Savoy* undertook to march an Army into *France*, and to act there, as should be concerted by the Allies: Some proposed the marching through *Dauphiny*, to the River of the *Rhone*, and so up to *Lyons*: But an Attempt upon *Toulon* was thought the most important thing, that could be designed; so that was settled on. Mareschal *Tesse* was sent to secure the Passes, and to cover *France* on that side. This Winter the Prince of *Baden* died, little esteemed, and little lamented; the Marquis of *Bareith* had the Command of the Army, on the Upper *Rhine*, from whom less was expected; he was so ill supported, that he could do nothing. The Court of *Vienna* was so set on the Reduction of *Hungary*, that they thought of nothing else: The *Hungarians* were very numerous, but they wanted both Officers and Discipline: *Ragotzi* had possessed himself of almost all *Transylvania*, and the *Hungarians* were so alienated from the Emperor, that they were consulting about chusing a new King.

The

The Eyes of all *Europe* were upon the King of *Sweden*, who, 1707.
having possessed himself of *Saxony*, made King *Augustus* soon ^{And in Po-}
feel, that now, that his Hereditary Dominions were in his Ene- ^{land.}
my's hands, he could no longer maintain the War in *Poland*:
So a Treaty was set on foot, with such secrecy, that it was con-
cluded, before it was apprehended to be in agitation. King *Au-*
gustus was only waiting for a fit Opportunity, to disengage him-
self from his *Polanders*, and from the *Muscovites*; an Incident
happened that had almost imbroiled all again: The *Polanders*
and *Muscovites* attacked a Body of *Swedes*, at a great disadvan-
tage, being much superior to them in number: So the *Swedes*
were almost cut to pieces. King *Augustus* had no share in this,
and did all that he durst venture on, to avoid it: He paid dear
for it, hard Conditions were put on him, to which the necessity
of his affairs forced him to submit. He made all the haste, he
safely could, to get out of *Poland*: he resigned back their
Crown to them, and was contented with the empty name of
King, though that seemed rather to be a reproach, than any
accession of Honour to his Electoral Dignity; He thought other-
wise, and stipulated that it should be continued to him: He was
at mercy, for he had neither Forces nor Treasure. It was thought
the King of *Sweden* treated him with too much rigour, when he
had so entirely mastered him: The other was as little pitied, as
he deserved to be, for by many wrong Practices, he had drawn
all his Misfortunes on himself. The King of *Sweden*, being in
the heart of *Germany*, in so formidable a Posture, gave great
Apprehensions to the Allies. The *French* made strong applica-
tions to him, but the Courts of *Prussia* and *Hanover* were in
such a concert with that King, that they gave the rest of the Al-
lies great assurances, that he would do nothing, to disturb the
Peace of the Empire, nor to weaken the Alliance: The Court
of *France* pressed him to offer his Mediation for a general Peace;
all the answer he gave was, that if the Allies made the like Ap-
plication to him, he would interpose, and do all good Offices in
a Treaty. So he refused to enter into any separate measures with
France, yet the Court of *Vienna* was under a great apprehension,
of his seeking matter for a Quarrel with them. The *Czar* at
this time over-run *Poland*, so that King *Stanislaus* was forced to
fly into *Saxony*, to the King of *Sweden*, for Protection: both
he and his Queen stayed there all the Winter, and a great part
of this Summer. The *Czar* pressed the *Polanders* to proceed to
the Election of another King, but could not carry them to that;
so it was generally believed, that they were resolved to come to a
Treaty with King *Stanislaus*, and to settle the Quiet of that King-
dom

1707. dom, exhausted by a long and destructive War. The *Czar* tried, if it were possible to come to a Peace with the King of *Sweden*, and made great Offers in order to it; but that King was implacable, and seemed resolved to pull him down, as he had done King *Augustus*. That King's Designs were impenetrable, he advised with few, and kept himself on great reserves with all foreign Ministers, whom he would not suffer to come near him, except when they had a particular Message to deliver. Our Court was advised, by the Elector of *Hanover*, to send the Duke of *Marlborough* to Him: It was thought this would please him much, if it had no other effect; so he went thither, but could gain no ground on him. He affected a neglect of his Person, both in Cloaths, Lodging, and Diet; all was simple, even to meanness, nay, he did not so much as allow a decent Cleanliness: He appeared to have a real Sense of Religion, and a Zeal for it, but it was not much enlightned: He seemed to have no notion of Publick-Liberty, but thought Princes ought to keep their Promises religiously, and to observe their Treaties punctually: He rendered himself very acceptable to his Army, by coming so near their way of living, and by his readiness to expose his own Person, and to reward Services done him: He had little Tenderneſs in his nature, and was a fierce Enemy, too rough, and too savage: He looked on Foreign Ministers, as Spies by their Character, and treated them accordingly; and he used his own Ministers, rather as Instruments to execute his Orders, than as Counsellors.

The Character of the King of Sweden.

Propositions for a Peace.

The Court of *France* finding they could not prevail on him, made a publick Application to the Pope, for his mediating a Peace: They offered the Dominions in *Italy* to King *Charles*, to the States a Barrier in the *Netherlands*, and a Compensation to the Duke of *Savoy*, for the waste made in his Country; provided, that on those Conditions, King *Philip* should keep *Spain*, and the *West-Indies*. It was thought, the Court of *Vienna* wished this Project might be entertained, but the other Allies were so disgusted at it, that they made no steps toward it: The Court of *Vienna* did what they could, to confound the Designs of this Campaign; for they ordered a Detachment of 12,000 Men to march, from the Army in *Lombardy*, to the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Court of *England*, the *States*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, studied to divert this, with the warmest instances possible, but in vain: though it was represented to that Court, that if the Duke of *Savoy* could enter into *Provence*, with a great Army, that would cut off all Supplies, and Communication with *France*: so that Success, in this great Design, would make *Naples* and *Sicily* fall into their hands of course; but the Imperial Court was inflex-

inflexible: They pretended, they had given their Party in *Naples* ^{1707.} such Assurances of an Invasion, that if they failed in it, they exposed them all to be destroyed, and thereby they might provoke the whole Country, to become their most inveterate Enemies. Thus they took up a Resolution, without consulting their Allies, and then pretended that it was fixed, and could not be altered.

The Campaign was opened very fatally in *Spain*: King *Charles* ^{The Battel of Almanza.} pretended, there was an Army coming into *Catalonia* from *Roussillon*; and that it was necessary for him, to march into that Country: The dividing a Force, when the whole together was not equal to the Enemy's, has often proved fatal: He ought to have made his Army as strong as possibly he could, and to have marched with it to *Madrid*; for the rest of *Spain* would have fallen into his hands, upon the Success of that Expedition. But he persisted in his first Resolution, and marched away with a part of the Army, leaving about 16000 Men under the Earl of *Galloway's* command. They had eaten up all their Stores in *Valentia*, and could subsist no longer there; so they were forced to break into *Castile*: The Duke of *Berwick* came against them with an Army, not much superiour to theirs: But the Court of *France* had sent the Duke of *Orleans* into *Spain*, with some of the best Troops, that they had brought from *Italy*; and these joined the Duke of *Berwick*, a day before the two Armies engaged. Some Deserters came over, and brought the Earl of *Galloway* the news of the Conjunction; but they were not believed, and were looked on as Spies, sent to frighten them. A Council of War had resolved to venture on a Battel, which the State of their Affairs seemed to make necessary: They could not subsist where they were, nor be subsisted if they retired back into *Valentia*; so on the 14th of *April*, the two Armies engaged in the Plain of *Almanza*. The *English* and *Dutch* beat the Enemy, and broke through twice; but the *Portuguese* gave way: upon that the Enemy, who were almost double in number, both Horse and Foot, flanked them, and a total Rout followed, in which about 10,000 were killed or taken prisoners. The Earl of *Galloway* was twice wounded; once so near the Eye, that for some time it put him out of a capacity of giving Orders: but at last he, with some other Officers, made the best Retreat they could. Our Fleet came happily on that Coast, on the day that the Battel was fought; so he was supplied from thence, and he put Garisons into *Denia* and *Alicant*, and retired to the *Ebro*, with about 3000 Horse and almost as many Foot. The Duke of *Orleans* pursued the Victory; *Valentia* submitted, and so did *Saragoza*; so that the Principality of *Catalonia* was all, that remained in King *Charles's* obedience. The King

1707. King of *Portugal* died this Winter, but that made no great change in Affairs there: The young King agreed to every thing that was proposed to him by the Allys; yet the *Portuguese* were under a great Consternation, their best Troops being either cut off, or at that time in *Catalonia*.

Marshal *Villars* was sent to command in *Alsace*: He understood that the Lines of *Stolhoven* were ill kept, and weakly manned; so he passed the *Rhine*, and without any loss and very little opposition he broke through, and seized on the Artillery, and on such Magazines as were laid in there. Upon this shameful Disgrace, the *Germans* retired to *Hailbron*: The Circle of *Sua-bia* was now open, and put under Contribution; and *Villars* designed to penetrate as far as to *Bavaria*. The blame of this Miscarriage was laid chiefly on the Imperial Court, who neither sent their Quota thither, nor took care to settle a proper General for the defence of the Empire. In *Flanders* the *French* Army, commanded by the Duke of *Vendome*, came and took post at *Gemblours*, in a safe Camp; the Duke of *Marlborough* lay at *Meldert* in a more open one: Both Armies were about 100,000 strong; but the *French* were rather superiour to that number.

In the Month of *June*, the Design upon *Toulon* began to appear: The *Queen* and the *States* sent a strong Fleet thither, commanded by Sir *Cloudesly Shovel*; who, from mean beginnings, had risen up to the supreme Command; and had given many Proofs of great Courage, Conduct and Zeal, in the whole course of his Life. Prince *Eugene* had the command of the Imperial Army, that was to second the Duke of *Savoy* in this Undertaking, upon the Success of which the final Conclusion of the War depended. The Army was not so strong, as it was intended it should have been: The Detachment of 12,000 Men was ordered to march to *Naples*; and no Applications could prevail at the Court of *Vienna*, to obtain a delay in that Expedition: There were also eight or ten thousand Recruits, that were promised to be sent to reinforce Prince *Eugene*, which were stopt in *Germany*; for the Emperor was under such Apprehensions of a Rupture with *Sweden*, that he pretended it was absolutely necessary, for his own safety, to keep a good Force at home. Prince *Eugene* had also Orders, not to expose his Troops too much; by this means they were the less serviceable: Notwithstanding these Disappointments, the Duke of *Savoy*, after he had for some Weeks covered his true Design, by a Feint upon *Dauphiny*, by which he drew most of the *French* Troops to that side; as soon as he heard that the Confederate Fleet was come upon the Coast, he made a very quick March through Ways, that were thought impracticable,

practicable, on to the River *Var*, where the *French* had cast up such Works, that it was reckoned these must have stopt his passing the River: and they would have done it effectually, if some Ships had not been sent in from the Fleet, into the mouth of the River, to attack these where there was no defence; because no Attack from that side was apprehended. By this means they were forced to abandon their Works, and so the Passage over the River was free: Upon this, that Duke entred *Provence*, and made all the haste he could towards *Toulon*. The Artillery and Ammunition were on board the Fleet, and were to be landed near the Place, so the March of the Army was as little encumbered as was possible; yet it was impossible to advance with much haste in an Enemy's Country, where the Provisions were either destroyed or carried into fortified Places, which tho' they might have easily been taken, yet no time was to be lost in executing the great Design; so this retarded the March for some days: Yet in conclusion they came before the Place, and were quickly masters of some of the Eminencies, that commanded it. At their first coming, they might have possessed themselves of another called *St. Anne's Hill*, if Prince *Eugene* had executed the Duke of *Savoy's* Orders: He did it not, which raised a high Discontent; but he excused himself, by shewing the Orders he had received, not to expose the Emperor's Troops. Some days were lost by the roughness of the Sea, which hindred the Ships from landing the Artillery and Ammunition. In the mean while, the Troops of *France* were ordered to march from all parts to *Toulon*: The Garrison within was very strong; the Forces that were on their march to *Spain*, to prosecute the Victory of *Almanza*, were countermanded; and so great a part of *Villars's* Army was called away, that he could not make any further progress in *Germany*. So that a great Force was, from all hands, marching to raise this Siege; and it was declared, in the Court of *France*, that the Duke of *Burgundy* would go and lead on the Army. The Duke of *Savoy* lost no time, but continued Cannonading the Place, while the Fleet came up to bombard it: They attack'd the two Forts, that commanded the Entrance into the Mole with such fury, that they made themselves masters of them; but one of them was afterwards blown up. Those within the Town were not idle: They sunk some Ships, in the Entrance into the Mole, and fired furiously at the Fleet, but did them little harm: They beat the Duke of *Savoy*, out of one of his most important Posts, which was long defended by a gallant Prince of *Saxe-Gotha*; who not being supported in time, was cut to pieces. This Post was afterwards regained, and the Fleet continued for some days to bombard the Place.

1707.

It failed in
the Execu-
tion.

Place. But in the end, the Duke of *Savoy*, whose Strength had never been above 30,000 Men, seeing so great a Force marching towards him, who might intercept his passage, and so destroy his whole Army; and there being no hope of his carrying the Place, found it necessary to march home in time: which he did with so much order and precaution, that he got back into his own Country, without any loss; and soon after his return, he sat down before *Susa*, and took it in a few weeks. Our Fleet did all the execution they could on the Town: their Bombs set some places on fire, which they believed were Magazines; for they continued burning for many hours; in conclusion, they sailed off: They left behind them a Fleet of six and twenty Ships in the *Mediterranean*, and the great Ships sailed homewards. Thus this great Design, on which the eyes of all *Europe* were set, failed in the execution, chiefly by the Emperor's means: *England* and the *States*, performed all that was expected of them, nor was the Duke of *Savoy* wanting on his part; though many suspected him, as backward, and at least cold in the Undertaking. It was not yet perfectly understood what Damage the *French* sustained: Many of their Ships were rendered unserviceable, and continue to be so still: Nor did they set out any Fleet all the following Winter; though the Affairs of King *Charles* in *Spain* were then so low, that if they could have cut off the Communication by Sea, between *Italy* and *Spain*, they must soon have been Masters of all, that was left in his hands: so that from their sitting out no Fleet at *Toulon*, it was concluded, that they could not do it. When the Design upon *Toulon* was broke, more Troops were sent into *Spain*: The Earl of *Galloway* did, with incredible Diligence and Activity, endeavour to repair the loss at *Almanza*, as much as was possible: The Supplies and Stores that he had from our Fleet, put him in a Capacity to make a stand; he formed a new Army, and put the strong Places in the best posture he could; *Lerida* was the most exposed, and so was the best looked to; *Tortosa*, *Tarragona*, and *Gironne*, were also well fortified, and good Garrisons were put in them. The Attempt on *Toulon*, as it put a stop to all the Motions of the *French*, so it gave him time to put the Principality of *Catalonia* in a good state of defence. The Duke of *Orleans*, being reinforced with Troops from *France*, sat down before *Lerida*, in the end of *September*, with an Army of 30,000 Men: The Place was commanded by a Prince of *Hesse*, who held out above forty Days: After some time, he was forced to abandon the Town, and to retire into the Castle; the Army suffered much in this long Siege. When the Besieged saw how long they could hold out, they gave the

The Siege
of *Lerida*.

1707.

the Earl of *Galloway* notice, upon which he intended to have raised the Siege; and if the King of *Spain* would have consented to his drawing, out of the other Garrisons, such a Force as might have been spared, he undertook to raise it, which was believed might have been easily done: and if he had succeeded, it would have given a new turn to all the Affairs of *Spain*. But Count *Noyelles*, who was well practised in the arts of Flattery, and knew how much King *Charles* was alienated from the Earl of *Galloway*, for the honest Freedom he had used with him, in laying before him some Errors in his Conduct, set himself to oppose this, apprehending that Success in it, would have raised the Earl of *Galloway*'s Reputation again, which had suffered a great diminution by the Action of *Almanza*: He said, this would expose the little Army they had left them, to too great a hazard; for if the Design miscarried, it might occasion a Revolt of the whole Principality. Thus the Humours of Princes are often more regarded than their Interest; the Design of relieving *Lerida* was laid aside. The *French* Army was diminished a fourth part, and the long Siege had so fatigued them, that it was visible, the raising it would have been no difficult Performance, but the thoughts of that being given over, *Lerida* capitulated in the beginning of *November*: The *Spaniards* made some feeble Attempts, on the side of *Portugal*, with success, for little Resistance was made; the *Portuguese* excusing themselves by their feebleness, since their best Troops were in *Catalonia*.

King *Charles*, finding his Affairs in so ill a condition, wrote to the Emperor, and to the other Allies, to send him Supplies, with all possible haste: *Stanhope* was sent over, to press the Queen and the States to dispatch these the sooner. At the end of the Campaign in *Italy*, 7000 of the Imperial Troops were prepared to be sent over to *Barcelona*: and these were carried in the Winter, by the Confederate Fleet, without any disturbance given them, by the *French*. Recruits and Supplies of all sorts were sent over from *England*, and from the States to *Portugal*. But while the House of *Austria* was struggling with great difficulties, two pieces of Pomp and Magnificence consumed a great part of their Treasure: An Embassy was sent from *Lisbon*, to demand the Emperor's Sister for that King, which was done with an unusual and extravagant Expence: A Wife was to be sought for King *Charles*, among the Protestant Courts, for there was not a suitable Match in the Popish Courts: He had seen the Princess of *Anspach*, and was much taken with her; so that great applications were made, to persuade her to change her Religion, but she could not be prevailed on, to buy a Crown at so dear a

Relief sent
to Spain.

rate:

1707. rate: And soon after, she was married to the Prince Electoral of *Brunswick*, which gave a glorious Character of her to this Nation; and her pious Firmness is like to be rewarded, even in this Life, by a much better Crown, than that which she rejected. The Princess of *Wolfenbutle* was not so firm; so she was brought to *Vienna*, and some time after was married by proxy to K. *Charles*, and was sent to *Italy*, in her way to *Spain*. The Solemnity, with which these Matters were managed, in all this Distress of their Affairs, consumed a vast deal of Treasure; for such was the Pride of those Courts on such Occasions, that, rather than fail in a point of Splendor, they would let their most important Affairs go to wreck. That Princess was landed at *Barcelona*: And the Queen of *Portugal* the same year came to *Holland*, to be carried to *Lisbon*, by a Squadron of the *English* Fleet.

The Con-
quest of
Naples.

But while Matters were in a doubtful State in *Spain*, the Expedition to *Naples* had all the Success, that was expected: The Detachment from *Lombardy* marched thro' the Ecclesiastical State, and struck no small Terror into the Court of *Rome*, as they pass'd near it: It was apprehended, some Resistance would have been made in *Naples*, by those who governed there under King *Philip*: But the in-bred Hatred the *Neapolitans* bore the *French*, together with the Severities of their Government, had put that whole Kingdom, into such a Disposition to revolt, that the small Party, which adhered to King *Philip*, found it not adviseable to offer any resistance, so they had only time enough to convey their Treasure, and all their richest Goods to *Cayeta*, and to retire thither: They reckoned, they would either be relieved from *France* by Sea, or obtain a good Capitulation: or if that failed, they had some Ships and Galleys, in which, they might hope to escape. The *Imperialists* took possession of *Naples*, where they were received with great Rejoicings; their ill Conduct quickly moderated that Joy, and very much disposed the *Neapolitans* to a second Revolt: But upon Applications, made to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Barcelona*, the Excesses of the *Imperialists*, who carried their ravenous disposition with them wheresoever they went, were somewhat corrected, so that they became more tolerable. As soon as a Government could be settled at *Naples*, they undertook the Siege of *Cayeta*, which went on at first very slowly: So that those within seemed to apprehend nothing so much, as the want of Provisions, upon which, they sent the few Ships they had to *Sicily*, to bring them Supplies, for all they might want; when these were sent away, the *Imperialists*, knowing what a rich Booty was lodged in the Place, pressed it very hard, and, in conclusion, took it by storm; and so were Masters of all the Wealth, that was in it: The Gar-
rison

The Siege
of *Lerida*.

1707.
rison retired into the Castle, but they were soon after forced to surrender, and were all made Prisoners of War. It was proposed to follow this Success, with an Attempt upon *Sicily*: But it was not easy to supply *Naples* with Bread; nor was our Fleet at liberty to assist them; for they were ordered to lie on the Coast of *Spain*, and to wait there for Orders: when these arrived, they required them to carry the Marquess *das Minas* and the Earl of *Galloway*, with the Forces of *Portugal*, to *Lisbon*; which was happily performed: and the Earl of *Galloway* found the Character and Powers of an Ambassador, lying for him there. The Thoughts, of attempting *Sicily*, were therefore laid aside for this time; tho' the *Sicilians* were known to be in a very good disposition to entertain it. A small Force was sent, from *Naples*, to seize on those Places, which lay on the Coast of *Tuscany*, and belonged to the Crown of *Spain*: Some of them were soon taken, but *Porto Longone* and *Port Hercule* made a better Resistance: This was the State of Affairs in *Italy* and *Spain* all this Year, and till the opening of the Campaign the next Year.

Villars continued in *Germany*, laying *Suabia* under heavy Contributions; and very probably he would have penetrated into *Bavaria*, if the Detachments, he was ordered to send away, had not so weakned his Army, that he durst not venture further, nor undertake any considerable Siege. While the Empire was thus exposed, all Mens Eyes turned towards the Elector of *Brunswick*, as the only Person, that could recover their Affairs out of those Extremities, into which they were brought: The Emperor pressed him to accept of the supreme Command; this was seconded by all the Allies, but most earnestly by the Queen and the *States*: The Elector used all the Precaution, that the imbarking in such a Design required, and he had such Assurances of Assistance, from the Princes and Circles, as he thought might be depended upon; so he undertook the Command: His first care was to restore military Discipline, which had been very little considered or submitted to, for some Years past; and he established this, with such impartial Severity, that the Face of Affairs there was soon changed: But the Army was too weak, and the Season was too far spent, to enter on great Designs. One considerable Action happened, which very much raised the Reputation of his Conduct: *Villars* had sent a Detachment of 3000 Horse and Dragoons, either to extend his Contribution, or to seize on some important Post; against these, the Elector sent out another Body, that fell upon the *French*, and gave them a total Defeat; in which 2000 of them were cut off: Soon after that, *Villars* retired back to *Strasbourg*, and the Campaign in those Parts ended.

Affairs on
the Rhine.

1707.

The King of
Prussia
judged
Prince of
Neufchâtel.

I will take in here a Transaction, that lay not far from the Scene of Action. There was, all this Summer, a Dispute at *Neufchâtel*; upon the Death of the old Dutches of *Nemours*, in whom the House of *Longueville* ended: She enjoyed this Principality, which, since it lay as a Frontier to *Switzerland*, was on this occasion much considered. There were many Pretenders of the *French* Nation, the chief was the Prince of *Conti*; all these came to *Neufchâtel*, and made their application to the *States* of that Country, and laid their several Titles before them: The King of *France* seemed to favour the Prince of *Conti* most: But yet he left it free to the *States*, to judge of their Pretensions, provided they gave judgment, in favour of one of his Subjects; adding severe Threatnings, in case they should judge in behalf of any other Pretender. The King of *Prussia*, as Heir by his Mother to the House of *Chaalons*, claimed it as his right, which the late King had, by a particular agreement, made over to him; so he sent a Minister thither, to put in his claim: And the Queen, and the *States*, ordered their Ministers in *Switzerland*, to do their best Offices, both for advancing his Pretensions, and to engage the Cantons to maintain them; the King of *Sweden* wrote also to the Cantons to the same effect. The Allies looked on this, as a Matter of great consequence; since it might end in a Rupture between the Protestant Cantons and *France*; for the Popish Cantons were now wholly theirs. After much pleading, and a long Dispute, the *States* of the Principality gave judgment, in favour of the King of *Prussia*; the *French* Pretenders protested against this, and left *Neufchâtel*, in a high Discontent: The *French* Ambassador threatned that little State, with an Invasion, and all Commerce with them was forbid: The Canton of *Bern* espoused their Concern, with a Spirit and Zeal, that was not expected from them: They declared, they were in a Comburghership with them; and upon that, they sent a Body of 3000 Men, to defend them. The *French* continued to threaten, and *Villars* had Orders to march a great Part of his Army towards them; but when the Court of *France* saw, that the Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurick* were not frightened with those Marches, they let the whole Matter fall, very little to their honour: And so the Intercourse, between the *French* Dominions and that State, was again opened, and the Peace of the Cantons was secured. The King of *Prussia* engaged his honour, that he would govern that State, with a particular Zeal, for advancing both Religion and Learning in it; and upon these Assurances, he persuaded the Bishops of *England*, and myself in particular, to use our best Endeavours to promote his Pretensions; upon which we wrote, in the most effectual manner we could,

to Monf. *Ostervald*, who was the most eminent Ecclesiastick of that State, and one of the best and most judicious Divines of the Age: He was bringing that Church, to a near agreement with our Forms of Worship: The King of *Prussia* was well set, in all Matters relating to Religion; and had made a great step, in order to reconcile the *Lutherans* and the *Calvinists* in his Dominions, by requiring them, not to preach to the People on those Points, in which they differ; and by obliging them, to communicate together, notwithstanding the Diversity of their Opinions: Which is indeed the only wise and honest way, to make up that Breach.

The Affinity of the Matter, leads me next to give an account of the Differences, between the King of *Sweden*, and the Court of *Vienna*: That King, after he had been a very heavy Guest in *Saxony*, came to understand, that the Protestants in *Silesia* had their Churches, and the free Exercise of their Religion, stipulated to them by the Peace of *Munster*, and that the Crown of *Sweden* was the Guarantee, for observing this: These Churches were taken from them; so the King of *Sweden* was in justice bound, to see to the observing of that Article; he very readily embraced this opportunity, which had been long neglected, or forgotten by his Father. When this was first represented to the Court of *Vienna*, it was treated there with much Scorn: And Count *Zabor*, one of the Ministers of that Court, spoke of the King of *Sweden* in a style, that he thought furnished him with a just pretension to demand, that he should be sent to him, to be punished, as he thought fit: this was soon yielded; the Count was sent to the King, and made such an humble Submission to him, as was accepted: But the Demand, for restoring the Churches, was a matter of hard digestion, to a bigotted and haughty Court. The King of *Sweden* had a great Army at hand, and he threatned an immediate Rupture, if this Demand was not agreed to, without delay: In this, he was so positive, that the Imperial Court at last yielded, they being then in no condition, to resist a warlike Prince, and an Army, hardened by an exact Discipline, and the Fatigues of a long War: so that every thing that was demanded, pursuant to that Article of the Treaty of *Munster*, was agreed to be performed, within a prefixed time: And upon that, the King of *Sweden* marched his Army, under the most regular Discipline thro' *Silesia*, as had been agreed, into *Poland*. The *Jesuits* made great opposition, to the performance of what had been stipulated; but the Imperial Court would not provoke a Prince, who they thought was seeking a colour, to break with them: So, by the day prefixed, all the Churches were restored, to the Protestants in *Silesia*.

The King of Sweden gets the Protestant Churches in *Silesia* to be restored to them.

A Section in History.

The Court of Vienna.

1707. Upon this, he was highly magnified, and great Endeavours were again used, to engage him in the Alliance; but he was so set against the *Czar*, whom he designed to dethrone, that nothing could then divert him from it: Yet he so far entred into the Interests of Religion, that, as he wrote to the King of *France*, desiring him not to oppose the King of *Prussia*, in his Pretensions on *Neufchâtel*; he also wrote to the Cantons, desiring them to promote and support them. The Cantons seeing those Characters of Zeal in him, sent a *French* Gentleman of Quality to him, the Marquis de *Rochegude*, to let him know what regard they had to his Recommendations, and to desire him to interpose his good Offices, with the King of *France*, for setting at liberty about three hundred Persons, who were condemned to the Gallies, and treated most cruelly in them, upon no other pretence, but because they would not change their Religion, and had endeavoured to make their escape out of *France*: He received this Message with a particular Civility, and immediately complied with it; ordering his Minister, at the Court of *France*, to make it his desire to that King, that these Confessors might be delivered to him: But the Ministers of *France* said, that was a point of the King's Government at home, in which he could not suffer foreign Princes to meddle: He seemed sensible of this neglect, and it was hoped, that when his Affairs could admit of it, he would express a due resentment of it.

A Sedition
in Hamborough.

To end all the Affairs of *Germany*, for this Year, at once; I must mention a Quarrel, raised in *Hamborough*, between some private Persons, one of whom was a *Lutheran* Minister; which created a great division in that City. One side was protected by the Senate, which gave so great a Disgust to the other side, that it was like to end in a Revolt against the Magistrates, and a Civil War within the Town: And it being known, that the King of *Denmark* had, for many Years, had an eye on that Place, the neighbouring Princes apprehended, that he might take advantage from those Commotions, or that the weaker side might chuse rather, to fall under his power, than under the Revenges of the adverse Party. The Kings of *Sweden* and *Prussia*, with the House of *Brunswick*, resolved therefore to send Troops thither, to quiet this Distraction, and to chastize the more refractory; while the Emperor's Ministers, together with the Queen's, endeavoured to accommodate Matters, without suffering them to run to Extremities.

The Campaign
in Flanders.

It remains, that I give an account of the Campaign in *Flanders*: The *French* kept close within their Posts; tho' the Duke of *Marlborough* often drew out his Troops, to see if that could provoke them;

them; but they were resolved not to fight on equal Terms; ^{1707.} and it was not thought adviseable to attempt the forcing their Posts: they lay, for some Months, looking on one another; but both Armies had behind them such a safe and plentiful conveyance of Provisions, that no want of any sort could oblige either side to dislodge. The Duke of *Vendome* had Orders, to send Detachments, to reinforce Mareschal *Villars*, in lieu of those Detachments, that he had been ordered to send to *Provence*. The Duke of *Savoy* seemed to wonder, that the Confederates lay so quiet, and gave the Duke of *Vendome* no disturbance; and that they could not, at least, oblige him to keep all his Army together: At last the Duke of *Marlborough* decamped, and moved towards *French Flanders*: The *French* decamped, about the same time, but lodged themselves again in such a safe Camp, that he could not force them into any Action: Nor was his Army so numerous, as to spare a Body to undertake a Siege, by that means to draw them to a Battle; so that the Campaign was carried on there, in a very inoffensive manner, on both sides: And thus Matters stood in the Continent, every where this Season.

France set out no Fleet this Year, and yet, we never had greater Losses on that Element: The Prince's Council was very unhappy, in the whole conduct of the Cruizers and Convoys: The Merchants made heavy Complaints, and not without reason: Convoys were sometimes denied them; and when they were granted, they were often delayed beyond the time limited, for the Merchants to get their Ships in readiness: and the sailing Orders were sometimes sent them so unhappily (but as many said, so treacherously) that a *French* Squadron was then laying in their way, to intercept them. This was liable to very severe Reflections: For many of the Convoys, as well as the Merchant-Ships, were taken: And to compleat the Misfortunes of our Affairs at Sea, this Year, when Sir *Cloudefly Shovel* was sailing home, with the great Ships, by an unaccountable Carelessness and Security, he, and two other capital Ships, ran foul upon those Rocks, beyond the *Land's End*, known by the name of the *Bishop and his Clerks*; and they were in a Minute broke to pieces; so that not a Man of them escaped. It was dark, but there was no Wind, otherwise the whole Fleet had perished with them: All the rest tack'd in time, and so they were saved. Thus one of the greatest Seamen of the Age was lost, by an Error in his own Profession, and a great Misreckoning; for he had lain by, all the Day before, and set sail at Night, believing, that next Morning, he would have time enough, to guard against running on those Rocks; but he was swallowed up within three Hours after.

1707. This was the State of our Affairs abroad, both by Sea and Land. Things went at home, in their ordinary Channels: But the Conduct, with relation to *Scotland*, was more unaccountable: For whereas, it might have been reasonably expected, that the Management, of the newly united Part of this Island, should have been particularly taken care of, so as to give no just distaste to the *Scots*, nor offer Handles to those, who were still endeavouring to inflame that Nation, and to encrease their Averſion to the Union: Things were, on the contrary, ſo ordered, as if the Deſign had been to contrive Methods, to exaſperate the Spirits of the People there. Though the Management of the *Scotch* Revenue was to fall into the Lord Treasuſer's hands, on the firſt of *May*, no care was taken to have all the Commiſſions ready at the Day, with new Officers to ſerve in them: So that the whole Trade of *Scotland* was ſtop'd, for almoſt two Months, for want of Orders, to put it into the new courſe, in which it was to be carried on. Three Months paſſed, before the Equivalent was ſent to *Scotland*: And when Wines and other Merchandize were imported into *England* from thence, Seizures were every where made, and this was managed with a particular Affectation of Roughneſs. All theſe things heightened the Prejudices, with which that Nation had been poſſeſſed, againſt the Union: It was alſo known, that many Meſſages paſſed, between *Scotland* and *France*; and that there were many Meetings, and much Conſultation, among the diſcontented Party there; a great Body appeared openly for the Pretended Prince of *Wales*; and celebrated his Birth-day very publickly, both at *Edinburgh*, and in other Places of the Kingdom; and it was openly talked, that there was now an Opportunity, that was not to be loſt, of invading the Kingdom, tho' with a ſmall Force; and that a general Concurrence, from the Body of that Nation, might be depended on: Theſe things were done, in ſo barefaced a manner, that no check being given to them, nor Enquiry made after them, by thoſe who were in the Government, it gave occaſion to many melancholy Speculations. The Management from *England* looked, like a thing concerted, to heighten that Diſtemper; and the whole Conduct of the Fleet afforded great Cauſe of Jealouſy.

A new Party
at Court.

But to open this, as clearly as it has yet appeared to me, I muſt give an account of a new Scene at Court. It was obſerved, that Mr. *Harley*, who had been for ſome Years Secretary of State, had gained great Credit with the Queen, and began to ſet up for himſelf, and to act no more under the Direction of the Lord Treasuſer: There was one of the Bedchamber Women, who, being nearly related to the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*, had been taken care of by her,

her, together with her whole Family (for they were fallen low) 1707.
 in a most particular manner. She brought her not only into that
 Post, but she had treated her with such a Confidence, that it had
 introduced her into a high degree of Favour with the Queen:
 Which, for some Years, was considered as an effect of the Dutches
 of *Marlborough's* Credit with Her; she was also nearly related
 to Mr. *Harley*; and they two entred into a close Correspondence.
 She learned the Arts of a Court, and observed the Queen's Tem-
 per, with so much Application, that she got far into her Heart:
 And she employed all her Credit, to establish *Harley* in the su-
 preme Confidence with the Queen, and to alienate her Affections
 from the Dutches of *Marlborough*, who studied no other method
 of preserving her Favour, but by pursuing the true Interest of
 the Queen, and of the Kingdom. It was said, that the Prince
 was brought into the Concert; and that he was made to appre-
 hend, that he had too small a Share in the Government, and
 that he was shut out from it, by the great Power, that the Duke
 of *Marlborough* and the Lord Treasurer had drawn into their
 hands: It was said, all depended on them, that the Queen was
 only a Cypher in the Government, that she was in the Dutches
 of *Marlborough's* hands, as her Affairs were in the Duke of
Marlborough's: It was likewise talked among those, who made
 their Court to the new Favourites, that there was not now a *Jaco-*
bite in the Nation, that all were for the Queen, and that, without
 doubt, she would reign out peaceably her whole Life; but she
 needed not concern herself for a *German* Family: These Dis-
 courses began to break out, and gave sad Thoughts to those to
 whom they were brought. This went on too long, little re-
 garded; the Dutches of *Marlborough* seemed secure of her In-
 terest in the Queen, and shewed no Jealousy of a Favour, to
 which herself gave the first rise. This was the State of the
 Court at the opening of the Session of Parliament.

There were, at that time, three Bishopricks vacant: *Trelawny* Promotions
in the
Church.
 had been removed, the Summer before, from *Exeter* to *Win-*
chester; which gave great disgust to many, he being considerable
 for nothing, but his Birth, and his Interest in *Cornwall*. The
 Lord Treasurer had engaged himself to him, and he was sensible
 that he was much reflected upon for it. But he, to soften the Cen-
 sure that this brought on him, had promised, that, for the fu-
 ture, Preferments should be bestowed on Men well principled,
 with relation to the present Constitution, and on Men of Me-
 rit. The Queen, without regarding this, did secretly engage
 herself to Dr. *Blackball* for *Exeter*; and *Chester* (being at the
 same time void, by the Death of Dr. *Stratford*) to Sir *William*
Dawes

1707. *Dawes* for that See: These Divines were in themselves Men of Value and Worth, but their Notions were all on the other side; They had submitted to the Government, but they, at least *Blackball*, seemed to condemn the Revolution, and all that had been done pursuant to it. *Dawes* also was looked on, as an aspiring Man, who would set himself at the head of the Tory Party: so this Nomination gave a great disgust. To qualify this a little, *Patrick*, the pious and learned Bishop of *Ely*, dying at this time, the Queen advanced *More* from *Norwich* thither; and Dr. *Trimnell*, a worthy Person in all respects, was named for *Norwich*: yet this did not quiet the Uneasiness, many were under, by reason of the other Nominations, which seemed to flow from the Queen herself, and so discovered her Inclinations. To prevent the ill effects, that this might have, in the approaching Session, some of the Eminent Members of the House of Commons were called to a Meeting, with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Devonshire*: These Lords assured them, in the Queen's name, that she was very sensible of the Services, the Whigs did her; and tho' she had engaged herself so far, with relation to those two Bishopricks, that she could not recall the Promises she had made, yet for the future, she was resolved to give them full content. But while this was said to some Whigs, *Harley* and his Friends *St. John* and *Harcourt*, took great pains on the Leaders of the Tories (in particular on *Hanmer*, *Bromley* and *Freeman*) to engage them in the Queen's Interests: assuring them, that her Heart was with them, that she was weary of the Tyranny of the Whigs, and long'd to be deliver'd from it. But they were not wrought on, by that Management; they either mistrusted it, as done only to ensnare them, or they had other Views, which they did not think fit to own. This Double-dealing came to be known, and gave occasion to much jealousy and distrust. A little before the Session was opened, an eminent Misfortune happen'd at Sea: A Convoy, of five Ships of the Line of Battel, was sent to *Portugal*, to guard a great Fleet of Merchant-Ships; and they were ordered to sail, as if it had been by concert, at a time when a Squadron from *Dunkirk* had joined another from *Brest*, and lay in the way, waiting for them. Some Advertisements were brought to the Admiralty, of this Conjunction, but they were not believed. When the *French* set upon them, the Convoy did their part very gallantly, tho' the Enemy were three to one; one of the Ships was blown up, three of them were taken, so that only one escaped, much shattered: But they had fought so long, that most of the Merchant-men had time to get away, and sailed on, not being pursued, and so got safe to *Lisbon*. This, coming almost at the same

same time with the Misfortune, that happened to *Shovel*, the Session was begun with a melancholy Face; and a Dispute, upon their Opening, had almost put them into great Disorder. 1707.

It was generally thought, that tho' this was a Parliament, that had now sat two Years, yet it was a new Parliament, by reason it had been let fall, and was revived by a Proclamation, as was formerly told: And the consequence of this was, that those who had got Places, were to go to a new Election. Others maintained, that it could not be a new Parliament, since it was not summoned by a new Writ, but by virtue of a Clause in an Act of Parliament. The Duke of *Marlborough*, upon his coming over, prevailed to have it yielded to be a new Parliament; but *Harley* was for maintaining it to be an old Parliament. The House of Commons chose the same Speaker over again, and all the usual Forms, in the first beginning of a new Parliament, were observed.

These were no sooner over, than the Complaints of the Admiralty were offered to both Houses: Great Losses were made, and all was imputed to the Weakness, or to a worse Disposition, in some, who had great Credit with the Prince, and were believed to govern that whole Matter: For as they were entirely possessed of the Prince's Confidence, so when the Prince's Council was divided in their Opinions, the Decision was left to the Prince, who understood very little of those Matters, and was always determined by others. By this means they were really Lord High Admiral, without being liable to the Law for Errors and Miscarriages. This Council was not a legal Court, warranted by any Law, tho' they assumed that to themselves; being Counsellors, they were bound to answer only for their fidelity. The Complaints were feebly managed, at the Bar of the House of Commons; for it was soon understood, that not only the Prince, but the Queen likewise concerned Herself much in this Matter: And both looked on it as a Design, levelled at their Authority. Both Whigs and Tories seemed to be at first equally zealous in the Matter; but by reason of the Opposition of the Court, all those, who intended to recommend themselves to favour, abated of their Zeal: Some were vehement in their Endeavours to baffle the Complaints: They had great Advantages, from the Merchants managing their Complaints but poorly; some were frightened, and others were practised on, and were carried even to magnify the Conduct of the Fleet, and to make Excuses for all the Misfortunes that had happened. That which had the chief Operation, on the whole Tory Party, was, that it was set round among them, that the Design of all these Complaints was, to put the Earl of *Orford* again at the Head of the Fleet: Upon which they all changed their Note, and They, in

Complaints
of the Ad-
miralty.

1707. concurrence with those, who were in Offices, or pretended to them, managed the Matter so, that it was let fall, very little to their honour. Unkind Remarks were made on some, who had changed their Conduct upon their being preferred at Court; but the Matter was managed with more Zeal and Courage in the House of Lords, both Whigs and Tories concurring in it.

Examined
by the
House of
Lords.

A Committee was appointed, to examine the Complaints; they called the Merchants, who had signed the Petition, before them; and treated them not with the Scorn, that was very indecently offered them by some of the House of Commons, but with great Patience and Gentleness: They obliged them, to prove all their Complaints, by Witnesses upon Oath. In the Prosecution of the Enquiry, it appeared, that many Ships of War were not fitted out, to be put to Sea, but lay in Port neglected, and in great decay; that Convoys had been often flatly denied the Merchants, and that, when they were promised, they were so long delayed, that the Merchants lost their Markets, were put to great Charge, and, when they had perishable Goods, suffered great Damage in them: The Cruizers were not order'd to proper Stations in the Channel; and when Convoys were appointed, and were ready to put to Sea, they had not their sailing Orders sent them, till the Enemies Ships were laid in their way, prepared to fall on them, which had often happened. Many Advertisements, by which those Misfortunes might have been prevented, had been offered to the Admiralty, but had not only been neglected by them, but those, who offered them, had been ill treated for doing it. The Committee made Report of all this to the House of Lords; upon which, the Lord Treasurer moved, that a Copy of the Report might be sent to the Lord Admiral, which was done, and in a few days an Answer was sent to the House, excusing, or justifying the Conduct, in all the Branches of it. The chief Foundation of the Answer was, that the great Fleets, which were kept in the *Mediterranean*, obliged us to send away so many of our Ships and Seamen thither, that there was not a sufficient number left, to guard all our Trade; while the Enemy turned all their Forces at Sea into Squadrons, for destroying it; and that all the Ships, that could be spared, from the Publick Service abroad, were imployed to secure the Trade; the Promise of Convoys had been often delayed, by reason of cross Winds, and other Accidents, that had hindred the Return of our Men of War longer, than was expected; they being then abroad, convoying other Merchant-Ships: And it was said, that there was not a sufficient number of Ships, for Cruizers and Convoys both. The Paper ended, with some severe Reflections on the last Reign, in which

which great Sums were given, for the building of Ships, and yet ^{1707.} the Fleet was at that time much diminished, and Four Thousand Merchant Ships had been taken during that War: This was believed to have been suggested by Mr. *Harley*, on design to mortify King *William's* Ministry. Upon reading of this Answer, a new and a fuller Examination of the Particulars was again resumed, by the same Committee; and all the Allegations in it were exactly considered: It appeared, that the half of those Seamen, that the Parliament had provided for, were not employed in the *Mediterranean*, that many Ships lay idle in Port, and were not made use of; and that in the last War, in which it appeared there were more Seamen, tho' not more Ships, employed in the *Mediterranean*, than were now kept there, yet the Trade was so carefully looked after, by Cruizers and Convoys, that few Complaints were then made: and as to the Reflections made on the last Reign, it was found that not half the Sum, that was named, was given for the building of Ships; and that instead of the Fleet's being diminished, during that War, as had been affirmed, it was increased by above Forty Ships; nor could any proof be given, that four thousand Ships were taken during that War: All the Seamen, who were then taken and exchanged, did not exceed 15000, and in the present War 18000 were already exchanged; and we had 2000 still remaining in our Enemies hands: so much had the Prince been imposed on, in that Paper, that was sent to the Lords in his name.

When the Examination was ended, and reported to the House, it was resolved to lay the whole matter before the Queen, in an Address; and then the Tories discovered the Design, that they drove at; for they moved in the Committee, that prepared the Address, that the blame of all the Miscarriages might be laid on the Ministry, and on the Cabinet Council. It had been often said in the House of Lords, that it was not intended, to make any complaint of the Prince himself; and it not being admitted, that his Council was of a legal Constitution, the complaining of them would be an acknowledging their Authority; therefore the blame could be laid regularly no where, but on the Ministry: This was much pressed by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Rochester*, and the Lord *Haversham*. But to this it was answered, by the Earl of *Orford*, the Lord *Somers*, and the Lord *Halifax*, that the House ought to lay before the Queen only that, which was made out before them upon Oath: and therefore since, in the whole Examination, the Ministry, and the Cabinet Council were not once named, they could offer the Queen nothing, to their prejudice. Some of the things complained of, fell on the Navy-Board

And laid before the Queen in an Address.

1707. Board, which was a Body, acting by a legal Authority: The Lords ought to lay before the Queen, such Miscarriages as were proved to them; and leave it to Her, to find out, on whom the blame ought to be cast: So far was the Ministry, from appearing to be in fault, that they found several Advertisements were sent, by the Secretaries of State, to the Admiralty, that, as appeared afterwards, were but too well grounded, yet these were neglected by them; and that which raised the Clamour the higher, was, that during the Winter there were no Cruizers, laying in the Channel; so that many Ships which had run thro' all Dangers at Sea, were taken in sight of Land, for the Privateers came up boldly to our Ports. All this was digested into a full and clear Address, laid, by the House, before the Queen: There was a general Answer made to it, giving Assurances, that the Trade should be carefully looked to; but nothing else followed upon it; and the Queen seemed to be highly offended at the whole Proceeding. At this time, an Enquiry likewise into the Affairs of *Spain* was begun in both Houses.

Enquiry into
the Affairs of
Spain.

The Earl of *Peterborough* had received such positive Orders recalling him, that tho' he delayed as long as he could, yet at last he came home in *August*: But the Queen, before she would admit him into her Presence, required of him an account of some Particulars in his Conduct, both in Military Matters, in his Negotiations, and in the Disposal of the Money remitted to him. He made such general Answers, as gave little satisfaction: But he seemed to reserve the Matter, to a Parliamentary Examination, which was entred upon by both Houses. All the Tories magnified his Conduct, and studied to detract from the Earl of *Gallway*; but it was thought, that the Ministry were under some restraints, with relation to the Earl of *Peterborough*, tho' he did not spare them; which gave occasion to many to say, they were afraid of him, and durst not provoke him. The Whigs, on the other hand, made severe Remarks on his Conduct: The Complaints, that King *Charles* made of him, were read, upon which he brought such a number of Papers, and so many Witnesses to the Bar, to justify his Conduct, that after ten or twelve Days, spent wholly in reading Papers, and in hearing Witnesses, both Houses grew equally weary of the Matter; so, without coming to any Conclusion, or to any Vote, they let all, that related to him, fall: But that gave them a handle, to consider the present State of Affairs in *Spain*. It was found, that we had not above half the Troops there, that the Parliament had made provision for; and that not above half the Officers, that belonged to those Bodies, served there; this gave the House of Commons a high Dislike, and it was

was hoped by the Tories, that they should have carried the House, to severe Votes and warm Addresses on that head; which was much laboured by them, in order to load the Ministry. In this, *Harley* and his Party were very cold and passive, and it was generally believed, that the Matter was privately set on by them: But the Court sent an Explanation of the whole Matter to the House, by which it appeared, that tho', by Death and Desertion, the number of the Troops there was much diminished, yet the whole number provided, or at least very near it, was sent out of *England*. The Service in *Spain* was much decried; and there was good reason for it; things there could not be furnished, but at excessive Rates, and the Soldiers were generally ill used in their Quarters. They were treated very unkindly, not by King *Charles*, but by those about him, and by the bigotted *Spaniards*. 1707.

During these Debates, severe things were said in general, of the Conduct of Affairs, in both Houses: It was observed, that a vast Army was well supplied in *Flanders*, but that the Interest of the Nation required, that *Spain* should be more considered: It was moved in both Houses, that the Emperor should be earnestly applied to, to send Prince *Eugene* into *Spain*; Complaints were also made of the Duke of *Marlborough*, as continuing the War, tho', at the end of the Campaign of 1706, the *French* had offered to yield up *Spain* and the *West-Indies*; but that was a false Suggestion. All these Heats in the House, after they had got this vent, were allayed: The Queen assured them, all past Errors should be redressed for the future; and with repeated Importunities, she pressed the Emperor to send Prince *Eugene* to *Spain*: That Court delayed to comply in this particular; but sent Count *Staremburg* thither, who had indeed acquired a very high Reputation. The Queen entered also into Engagements with the Emperor, that she would transport, pay, and furnish all the Troops, that he could spare for his Brother's Service. These Steps quieted the Discontent, the House had expressed, upon the ill Conduct of Affairs in *Spain*; but upon *Stanhope's* coming over, he gave a better Prospect of Affairs there; and he found a readiness, to agree to all the Propositions, that he was sent over to make. All this while an Act was preparing, both for a better Security to our Trade by Cruizers and Convoys, and for the encouraging Privateers, particularly in the *West-Indies*, and in the *South-Sea*. They were to have all they could take, entirely to themselves; the same Encouragement was also given to the Captains of the Queen's Ships, with this difference, that the Captains of Privateers were to divide their Capture, according to Agreements 1708.

1708. ments made among themselves; but they left the Distribution of Prizes, taken by Men of War, to the Queen: who, by Proclamation, ordered them to be divided into eight Shares; of which the Captain was to have three, unless he had a superior Officer over him, in which case, the Commodore was to have one of the three; the other five Parts were to be distributed equally, among the Officers and Mariners of the Ships, put in five different Classes: All the Clauses, that the Merchants desired, to encourage Privateers, were readily granted, and it was hoped, that a great Stock would be raised to carry on this private War. This past without Opposition, all concurring in it.

But as to other Matters, the Tories discovered much ill-humour against the Ministry; which broke out on all occasions: And the Jealousies, with which the Whigs were possessed, made them as cold as the others were hot. This gave the Ministers great uneasiness: They found Mr. *Harley* was endeavouring to supplant them at Court, and to heighten the Jealousies of the Whigs; for he set it about among the Tories, as well as among the Whigs, that both the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord Treasurer were as much inclined, to come into measures with the Tories, as the Queen herself was: This broke out, and was like to have had very ill Effects; it had almost lost them the Whigs, tho' it did not bring over the Tories.

Discoveries
of a Corre-
spondence
with France.

At this time two Discoveries were made, very unlucky for Mr. *Harley*: *Tallard* wrote oft to *Chamillard*, but he sent his Letters open, to the Secretary's Office, to be perused and sealed up, and so to be conveyed by the way of *Holland*: These were opened, upon some Suspicion in *Holland*; and it appeared, that one, in the Secretary's Office, put Letters in them, in which, as he offered his Service to the Courts of *France* and *St. Germain's*, so he gave an Account of all Transactions here: In one of these, he sent a Copy of the Letter, that the Queen was to write, in her own Hand, to the Emperor: And he marked what Parts of the Letter were drawn by the Secretary, and what Additions were made to it, by the Lord Treasurer: This was the Letter, by which the Queen pressed the sending Prince *Eugene* into *Spain*, and this, if not intercepted, would have been at *Versailles*, many Days before it could reach *Vienna*. He, who sent this, wrote, that by this they might see what Service he could do them, if well encouraged; all this was sent over to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and upon Search, it was found to be writ by one *Gregg*, a Clerk, whom *Harley* had not only entertained, but had taken into a particular Confidence, without Enquiry into the former Parts of his Life; for he was a vicious and a necessitous Person, who

1708.

who had been Secretary to the Queen's Envoy in *Denmark*, but was dismissed by him, for those his ill Qualities. *Harley* had made use of him to get him Intelligence, and he came to trust him with the Perusal, and the sealing up of the Letters, which the *French* Prisoners, here in *England*, sent over to *France*: And by that means, he got into the method of sending Intelligence thither. He, when seized on, either upon Remorse, or the Hopes of Pardon, confessed all, and signed his Confession; upon that he was tried; he pleaded guilty, and was condemned as a Traitor, for corresponding with the Queen's Enemies. At the same time *Valiere* and *Bara*, whom *Harley* had imployed, as his Spies, to go oft over to *Calais*, under the Pretence of bringing him Intelligence, were informed against, as Spies imployed by *France*, to get Intelligence from *England*; who carried over many Letters to *Calais* and *Bulloign*: and, as was believed, gave such Information of our Trade and Convoys, that by their means, we had made our great Losses at Sea. They were often complained of upon Suspicion, but they were always protected by *Harley*; yet the Presumptions against them were so violent, that they were at last seized on and brought up Prisoners. These Accidents might make *Harley* more earnest, to bring about a change in the Conduct of Affairs, in which he relied on the Credit of the new Favourite. The Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Lord Treasurer, having discovered many of his Practices, laid them before the Queen: She would believe nothing, that was suggested to his prejudice: She denied she had given any Authority, for carrying Messages to the Tories; but would not believe, that he or his Friends had done it, nor would she enter into any Examination of his ill Conduct, and was uneasy when she heard it spoke of. So these Lords wrote to the Queen, that they could serve her no longer, if he was continued in that Post: And on the *Sunday* following, when they were summoned to a Cabinet Council, they both went to the Queen, and told her, they must quit her Service, since they saw, she was resolved not to part with *Harley*. She seem'd not much concerned, at the Lord *Godolphin*'s offering to lay down; and it was believed, to be a Part of *Harley*'s new Scheme to remove him; but she was much touched with the Duke of *Marlborough*'s offering to quit, and studied, with some soft Expressions, to divert him from that Resolution: but he was firm, and she did not yield to them: So they both went away, to the wonder of the whole Court. Immediately after, the Queen went to the Cabinet Council, and *Harley* opened some Matters, relating to foreign Affairs: The whole Board was very uneasy; the Duke of *Somerset* said, he did not see how they could deliberate

1708. berate on such Matters, since the General was not with them; he repeated this with some Vehemence, while all the rest looked so cold and sullen, that the Cabinet Council was soon at an end; and the Queen saw, that the rest of her Ministers, and the chief Officers, were resolved to withdraw from her Service, if she did not recall the Two, that had left it. It was said, that she would have put all to the hazard, if *Harley* himself had not apprehended his Danger, and resolved to lay down: The Queen sent the next day for the Duke of *Marlborough*, and after some Expostulations, she told him, *Harley* should immediately leave his Post, which he did within two Days: But the Queen seemed to carry a deep Resentment of his and the Lord *Godolphin's* Behaviour on this occasion; and tho' they went on with her Business, they found they had not her Confidence. The Dutchess of *Marlborough* did, for some Weeks, abstain from going to Court, but afterwards that Breach was made up in Appearance, tho' it was little more than an Appearance. Both Houses of Parliament expressed a great concern, at this Rupture in the Court; and apprehended the ill Effects it might have: The Commons let the Bill of Supply lie on the Table, tho' it was ordered for that Day: And the Lords ordered a Committee, to examine *Gregg* and the other Prisoners. As *Harley* laid down, both *Harcourt*, then Attorney-General, *Mansell*, the Comptroller of the Household, and *St. John*, the Secretary of War, went and laid down with him. The Queen took much time to consider, how she should fill some of these Places, but Mr. *Boyle*, Uncle to the Earl of *Burlington*, was presently made Secretary of State.

An Examination into that Correspondence.

The Lords, who were appointed to examine *Gregg*, could not find out much by him; he had but newly begun his Designs of betraying Secrets; and he had no Associates with him in it: He told them, that all the Papers of State lay so carelessly about the Office, that every one belonging to it, even the Door-keepers, might have read them all. *Harley's* custom was to come to the Office, late on Post-Nights, and after he had given his Orders, and wrote his Letters, he usually went away, and left all to be copied out, when he was gone: By that means he came to see every thing, in particular the Queen's Letter to the Emperor. He said, he knew the Design on *Toulon* in *May* last, but he did not discover it; for he had not entred on his ill Practices till *October*: This was all he could say. By the Examination of *Valiere* and *Bara*, and of many others, who lived about *Dover* and were employed by them, a Discovery was made of a constant Intercourse, they were in with *Calais*, under *Harley's* protection: They often went over with Boats full of Wooll, and brought back

Brandy;

Brandy; tho' both the Import and Export were severely prohibited: They, and those who belong'd to the Boats, carried over by them, were well treated on the *French* side, at the Governor's House, or at the Commissary's; they were kept there, till their Letters could be sent to *Paris*, and till Returns could be brought back, and were all the while upon free cost: The Order, that was constantly given them, was, that if an *English* or *Dutch* Ship came up to them, they should cast their Letters into the Sea; but that they should not do it, when *French* Ships came up to them: so they were looked on, by all on that Coast, as the Spies of *France*. They used to get what Information they could, both of Merchant-Ships, and of the Ships of War, that lay in the *Downs*; and upon that they usually went over, and it happened that soon after some of those Ships were taken: These Men, as they were Papists, so they behaved themselves very insolently, and boasted much of their Power and Credit. Complaints had been often made of them, but they were always protected; nor did it appear, that they ever brought any Information of importance to *Harley* but once, when, according to what they swore, they told him, that *Fourbin* was gone from *Dunkirk*, to lie in wait for the *Russia* Fleet; which proved to be true: he both went to watch for them, and he took a great part of the Fleet. Yet, tho' this was the single piece of Intelligence that they ever brought, *Harley* took so little notice of it, that he gave no advertisement to the Admiralty, concerning it. This Particular excepted, they only brought over common News, and the *Paris* Gazettes. These Examinations lasted for some Weeks; when they were ended, a full Report was made of them, to the House of Lords; and they ordered the whole Report, with all the Examinations, to be laid before the Queen in an Address, in which they represented to her the necessity of making *Gregg* a publick Example; upon which he was executed: He continued to clear all other Persons of any accession to his Crimes, of which he seemed very sensible, and died much better than he had lived.

A very few days after the breach, that had happened at Court, we were alarmed from *Holland*, with the News of a Design, of which the *French* made then no Secret; that they were sending the Pretended Prince of *Wales* to *Scotland*, with a Fleet and an Army, to possess himself of that Kingdom. But before I go further, I will give an account, of all that related to the Affairs of that part of the Island.

The Members, sent from *Scotland*, to both Houses of Parliament, were treated with very particular Marks of Respect and Esteem: and they were Persons of such distinction, that they very

Proceedings
with relation
to *Scotland*.

1708. well deserved it. The first thing proposed, in the House of Commons, with relation to them, was to take off the stop, that was put on their Trade: It was agreed unanimously, to pray the Queen by an Address, that she would give order for it; some debate arising only, whether it was a matter of Right or of Favour: *Harley* pressed the last, to justify those Proceedings, in which he himself had so great a share, as was formerly set forth, and on which others made severe Reflections: But since all agreed in the Conclusion, the dispute concerning the Premises was soon let fall. After this, a more important Matter was proposed, concerning the Government of *Scotland*, whether it should continue in a distinct Privy Council, or not: All the Court was for it; Those, who governed *Scotland*, desired to keep up their Authority there, with the advantage they made by it: and they gave the Ministers of *England* great assurances, that by their Influence, Elections might be so managed as to serve all the Ends of the Court; but they said, that without due care, these might be carried so, as to run all the contrary way. This was the secret Motive, yet this could not be owned in a publick Assembly; so that, which was pretended, was, that many great Families in *Scotland*, with the greatest part of the Highlanders, were so ill affected, that without a watchful Eye, ever intent upon them, they could not be kept quiet: It lay at too great a distance from *London*, to be governed by Orders sent from thence. To this it was answered, that by the Circuits of the Justiciary Courts, and by Justices of Peace, that Country might be well governed, notwithstanding its distance, as *Wales* and *Cornwall* were. It was carried, upon a Division, by a great Majority, that there should be only one Privy Council for the whole Island. When it was sent up to the Lords, it met with a great opposition there: The Court stood alone; all the Tories, and the much greater part of the Whigs were for the Bill. The Court, seeing the Party for the Bill so strong, was willing to compound the matter; and whereas, by the Bill, the Council of *Scotland* was not to sit after the first of *May*, the Court moved to have it continued, to the first of *October*. It was visible that this was proposed only, in order to the managing Elections for the next Parliament; so the Lords adhered to the Day prefixed in the Bill: But a new Debate arose about the Power, given by the Bill to the Justices of Peace, which seemed to be an Encroachment on the Jurisdiction of the Lords *Regalities*, and of the Hereditary *Sheriffs* and *Stewards*, who had the right of trying Criminals, in the first instance, for fourteen days time: yet it was ordinary, in the cases of great Crimes and Riots, for the Privy Council to take immediate

diate cognizance of them, without any regard to the fourteen days; so by this Act, the Justices of Peace were only impowered to do that, which the Privy Council usually did: and except the Occasion was so great, as to demand a quick dispatch, it was not to be doubted, but that the Justices of Peace would have great regard to all private Rights; yet since this had the appearance, of breaking in upon private Rights, this was much insisted on, by those who hoped, by laying aside these Powers given to the Justices of the Peace, to have gained the main Point of keeping up a Privy Council in *Scotland*: For all the *Scotch* Ministers said, the Country would be in great danger, if there were not a supreme Government still kept up in it: But it seemed an absurd thing, that there should be a different Administration, where there was but one Legislature. While *Scotland* had an entire Legislature within it self, the Nation assembled in Parliament could procure the Correction of Errors in the Administration: Whereas now, that it was not a tenth part of the Legislative Body, if it was still to be kept under a different Administration, that Nation could not have Strength enough, to procure a Redress of its Grievances in Parliament; so they might come to be subdued and governed as a Province: And the arbitrary way, in which the Council of *Scotland* had proceeded, ever since King *James* the First's time, but more particularly since the Restoration, was fresh in memory, and had been no small Motive, to induce the best Men of that Nation to promote the Union; that they might be delivered from the Tyranny of the Council: And their Hopes would be disappointed, if they were still kept under that Yoke. This Point was in Conclusion yielded, and the Bill pass'd, tho' to the great Discontent of the Court; there was a new Court of Exchequer created in *Scotland*, according to the Frame of that Court in *England*: Special Acts were made, for the Elections and the Returns of the Representatives, in both Houses of Parliament; and such was the Disposition of the *English* to oblige them, and the Behaviour of the *Scots* was so good and discreet, that every thing that was proposed for the Good of their Country, was agreed to; both Whigs and Tories vied with one another, who should shew most Care and Concern for the Welfare of that part of *Great Britain*.

On the twentieth of *February*, which was but a few days after the Act, dissolving the Council in *Scotland*, had pass'd, we understood there was a Fleet prepared in *Dunkirk*, with about twelve Battalions, and a Train of all things necessary for a Descent in *Scotland*: And a few Days after, we heard that the Pretended Prince of *Wales* was come from *Paris*, with all the *British* and *Irish*, that were about him, in order to his Imbarkation. The

Surprise

A Descent
designed
upon *Scot-*
land.

1708. Surprize was great, for it was not looked for, nor had we a Prospect of being able to set out in time a Fleet, able to deal with theirs, which consisted of Twenty-six Ships, most of them of above forty Guns: But that Providence (which has, on all Occasions, directed Matters so happily for our Preservation) did appear very signally in this critical Conjunction: Our greatest Want was of Seamen, to mann the Fleet; for the Ships were ready to be put to Sea: This was supplied, by several Fleets of Merchant Ships, that came home at that time, with their Convoys: The Flag Officers were very acceptable to the Seamen, and they bestirred themselves so effectually, that, with the help of an Embargo, there was a Fleet of above forty Ships, got ready in a fortnight's time, to the surprize of all at home, as well as abroad: These stood over to *Dunkirk*, just as they were imbarcking there. Upon the sight of so great a Fleet, *Fourbin*, who commanded the *French* Fleet, sent to *Paris* for new Orders: He himself was against venturing out, when they saw a superior Fleet, ready to engage, or to pursue them. The King of *France* sent positive Orders, to prosecute the Design: So *Fourbin* (seeing that our Fleet, after it had shewed itself to them, finding the Tides and Sea run high, as being near the Equinox, had sailed back into the *Downs*) took that occasion to go out of *Dunkirk* on the eighth of *March*: but contrary Winds kept him on that Coast, till the eleventh, and then he set sail with a fair Wind. Our Admiral, *Sir George Bing*, came over again to watch his Motions; and as soon as he understood, that he had sail'd, which was not till twenty Hours after, he followed him. The *French* designed to have landed in the *Firth*, but they out-failed their Point a few Leagues; and by the time, that they had got back to the North Side of the *Firth*, *Bing* came to the South Side of it, and gave the Signal for coming to an Anchor; this was heard by *Fourbin*: He had sent a Frigate into the *Firth*, to give Signals, which it seems had been agreed on, but no Answers were made. The Design was to land near *Edinburgh*, where they believed the Castle was in so bad a condition, and so ill provided, that it must have surrendered upon Summons: And they reckoned, that upon the Reputation of that, the whole Body of the Kingdom would have come in to them. But when *Fourbin* understood, on the thirteenth of *March*, that *Bing* was so near him, he tack'd, and would not stay to venture an Engagement. *Bing* pursued him, with all the Sail that he could make, but the *French* stood out to Sea; there was some firing on the Ships, that sailed the heaviest, and the *Salisbury*, a Ship taken from us, and then their Vice-Admiral, was engaged by two *English* Ships, and taken without any Resistance. There were about 500 Land-men on board her, with

A Fleet failed from *Dunkirk*.

some Officers and Persons of Quality, the chief of these were the Lord *Griffin*, and the Earl of *Middleton*'s two Sons. *Bing* (having lost sight of the *French*, considering that the *Firth* was the Station of the greatest Importance, as well as Safety, and was the Place where they designed to land) put in there, till he could hear what course the *French* steered: The Tides ran high, and there was a strong Gale of Wind. Upon the Alarm of the intended Descent, Orders were sent to *Scotland*, to draw all their Forces about *Edinburgh*: The Troops that remained in *England* were ordered to march to *Scotland*: And the Troops in *Ireland* were ordered to march northward, to be ready when called for: There were also twelve Battalions sent from *Ostend* under a good Convoy, and they lay at the Mouth of the *Tine* till further Orders. Thus all Preparations were made to dissipate that small Force: But it appeared, that the *French* relied chiefly on the Assistance, that they expected would have come in to them, upon their landing: Of this they seemed so well assured, that the King of *France* sent Instructions, to his Ministers in all the Courts, that admitted of them, to be published every where, that the Pretended Prince being invited by his Subjects, chiefly those of *Scotland*, to take possession of the Throne of his Ancestors, the King had sent him over at their Desire, with a Fleet and Army to assist him: That he was resolved to pardon all those, who should come in to him, and he would trouble none upon the account of Religion: Upon his being re-established, the King would give Peace to the rest of *Europe*. When these Ministers received these Directions, they had likewise Advice sent them, which they published both at *Rome*, *Venice*, and in *Switzerland*, that the *French* had, before this Expedition was undertaken, sent over some Ships with Arms and Ammunition to *Scotland*: And that there was already an Army on foot there, that had proclaimed this Pretended Prince, King. It was somewhat extraordinary to see such eminent Falshoods published all *Europe* over: They also affirmed, that Hostages were sent from *Scotland* to *Paris*, to secure the observing the Engagements, they had entered into; tho' all this was Fiction and Contrivance.

Reports spread by the French.

The *States* were struck with great Apprehensions, so were all the Allies; for tho' they were so long accustomed to the cunning Practices of the Court of *France*, yet this was an Original; and therefore it was generally concluded, that so small an Army, and so weak a Fleet would not have been sent, but upon great Assurances of Assistance, not only from *Scotland*, but from *England*: And upon this Occasion, severe Reflections were made, both on the Conduct of the Admiralty, and on that Tract of Correspondence

1708. dence lately discovered, that was managed under *Harley's* Protection: And on the great Breach, that was so near the disjointing all our Affairs, but a few Days before. These things, when put together, filled Men's Minds with Thoughts of no easy Digestion.

The Parliament stands firmly by the Queen.

The Parliament was sitting, and the Queen, in a Speech to both Houses, communicated to them the Advertisements she had received: Both Houses made Addresses to Her, giving her full assurance of their adhering stedfastly to her, and to the Protestant Succession: And mixed with these broad Intimations, of their Apprehensions of Treachery at home. They passed also two Bills; the one, that the Abjuration might be tendered to all Persons, and that such as refused it, should be in the condition of convict Recusants: By the other, they suspended the *Habeas Corpus* Act till *October*, with relation to Persons taken up by the Government upon Suspicion: And the House of Commons, by a Vote, engaged to make good to the Queen, all the extraordinary Charge, this Expedition might put her to.

The French Fleet got again into *Dunkirk*.

A Fortnight went over, before we had any News of the *French* Fleet: Three of their Ships landed near the Mouth of *Spey*, only to refresh themselves; for the Ships being so filled with Landmen, there was a great want of Water: At last all their Ships got safe into *Dunkirk*: The Landmen either died at Sea, or were so ill, that all the Hospitals in *Dunkirk* were filled with them. It was reckoned, that they lost above 4000 Men, in this unaccountable Expedition: For they were above a Month tossed in a very tempestuous Sea. Many suspected Persons were taken up in *Scotland*, and some few in *England*: But further Discoveries of their Correspondents were not then made. If they had landed, it might have had an ill effect on our Affairs, chiefly with relation to all Paper Credit: And if by this, the Remittances to *Piedmont*, *Catalonia*, and *Portugal* had been stop'd, in so critical a Season, that might have had fatal Consequences abroad: For if we had been put into such a Disorder at home, that Foreign Princes could no more reckon on our Assistance, they might have been disposed to hearken to the Propositions, that the King of *France* would then have probably made to them. So that, the total defeating of this Design, without its having the least ill effect on our Affairs, or our losing one single Man in the little Engagement, we had with the Enemy, is always to be reckoned as one of those happy Providences, for which we have much to answer.

The Queen seemed much alarmed with this Matter, and saw with what Falshoods she had been abused, by those who pretended to assure her, there was not now a *Jacobite* in the Nation:

One

One Variation in her Style was now observed: She had never, in any Speech, mentioned the Revolution, or those, who had been concerned in it: And many of those, who made a considerable figure about her, studied, tho' against all Sense and Reason, to distinguish her Title from the Revolution: It was plainly founded on it, and on nothing else. In the Speeches she now made, she named the Revolution twice: And said she would look on those concerned in it, as the surest to her Interests: She also fixed a new Designation on the Pretended Prince of *Wales*, and called him the Pretender; and he was so called in a new Set of Addresses, which, upon this occasion, were made to the Queen: And I intend to follow the Precedent, as often as I may have occasion hereafter to mention him. The Session of Parliament was closed in *March*, soon after defeating the Design of the Descent: It was dissolved in *April* by Proclamation, and the Writs were issued out, for the Elections of a new Parliament, which raised that Ferment over the Nation, that was usual on such occasions. The just Fears and visible Dangers, to which the Attempt of the Invasion had exposed the Nation, produced very good Effects: For the Elections did, for the most part, fall on Men well affected to the Government, and zealously set against the Pretender.

As soon as the State of Affairs at home was well settled, the Duke of *Marlborough* went over to *Holland*, and there Prince *Eugene* met him: Being sent by the Emperor, to concert with him and the *States*, the Operations of the Campaign; from the *Hague*, they both went to *Hanover*, to settle all Matters relating to the Empire, and to engage the Elector to return, to command the Army on the Upper *Rhine*. Every thing was fixed: Prince *Eugene* went back to *Vienna*, and was obliged to return by the beginning of *June*; for the Campaign was then to be opened every where.

The Designs of the Campaign are concerted.

The Court of *France* was much mortified, by the Disappointment, they had met with in their Designs against us: But to put more Life in their Troops, they resolved to send the Duke of *Burgundy* with the Duke of *Berry* to be at the head of their Army in *Flanders*: The Pretender went with them, without any other Character, than that of the Chevalier *de St. George*. The Elector of *Bavaria*, with the Duke of *Berwick*, were sent to command in *Alsace*, and Marshal *Villars* was sent to head the Forces in *Dauphiny*. The Credit, with relation to Money, was still very low in *France*: For after many Methods taken for raising the Credit of the Mint Bills, they were still at a Discount of Forty *per Cent*. No Fleets came this year from the *West-Indies*, so that they could not be supplied from thence.

The Princes of France sent to the Army in Flanders.

The

1708.

The Duke
of Orleans
sent to Spain.

The Duke of *Orleans* was sent to command in *Spain*; and according to the Vanity of that Nation, it was given out, that they were to have mighty Armies, in many different Places, and to put an end to the War there: Great Rains fell all the Winter, in all the Parts of *Spain*; so that the Campaign could not be so soon opened, as it was at first intended. The Bills, that the Duke of *Orleans* brought with him to *Spain*, were protested, at which he was so much displeased, that he desired to be recalled: This was remedied to some degree, tho' far short of what was promised to him. The Troops of *Portugal*, that lay at *Barcelona*, ever since the Battle of *Almanza*, were brought about by a Squadron of our Ships, to the Defence of their own Country: Sir *John Leak* came also over thither from *England* with Recruits and other Supplies, that the Queen was to furnish that Crown with: And when all was landed, he sailed into the *Mediterranean*, to bring over Troops from *Italy*, for the strengthening of *K. Charles*, whose Affairs were in great Disorder.

Tortosa be-
sieged and
taken.

After all the boasting of the *Spaniards*, their Army on the side of *Portugal* was so weak, that they could not attempt any thing; so this was a very harmless Campaign on both sides; the *Portuguese* not being much stronger. The Duke of *Orleans* sat down before *Tortosa* in *June*, and tho' *Leak* dissipated a Fleet of *Tar- tanes*, sent from *France* to supply his Army, and took about fifty of them, which was a very seasonable Relief, to those in *Barcelona*; upon which it was thought the Siege of *Tortosa* would be raised, yet it was carried on till the last of *June*, and then the Garrison capitulated.

Supplies sent
from *Italy*
to *Spain*.

Leak sailed to *Italy*, and brought from thence, both the new Queen of *Spain*, and 8000 Men with him: But by reason of the Slowness of the Court of *Vienna*, these came too late, to raise the Siege of *Tortosa*: The Snow lay so long on the *Alps*, that the Duke of *Savoy* did not begin the Campaign till *July*, then he came into *Savoy*, of which he possessed himself without any opposition: The whole Country was under a Consternation as far as *Lyons*.

On the Upper *Rhine*, the two Electors continued looking on one another, without venturing on any Action; but the great Scene was laid in *Flanders*: The *French* Princes came to *Mons*, and there they opened the Campaign, and advanced to *Soignies*, with an Army of an Hundred Thousand Men: The Duke of *Marlborough* lay between *Engbien* and *Hall*, with his Army, which was about Eighty Thousand.

Ghent and
Bruges ta-
ken by the
French.

The *French* had their usual Practices on foot in several Towns in those Parts: A Conspiracy, to deliver *Antwerp* to them, was discovered and prevented: The truth was, the *Dutch* were severe Masters,

Masters, and the *Flandrians* could not bear it: Tho' the *French* 1708. had laid heavier Taxes on them, yet they used them better in all other Respects: Their Bigotry, being wrought on by their Priests, disposed them to change Masters, so these Practices succeeded better in *Ghendt* and *Bruges*. The Duke of *Marlbrough* resolved, not to weaken his Army by many Garrisons: so he put none at all in *Bruges*, and a very weak one in the Citadel of *Ghendt*, reckoning that there was no Danger, as long as he lay between those Places and the *French* Army. The two Armies lay, about a Month, looking on one another, shifting their Camps a little, but keeping still in safe Ground, so that there was no Action all the while; but near the end of *June*, some Bodies drawn out of the Garrisons about *Ypres*, came and possessed themselves of *Bruges*, without any opposition: And the Garrison in *Ghendt*, was too weak to make any resistance, so they capitulated and marched out: Upon this, the whole *French* Army marched towards those Places, hoping to have carried *Oudenarde* in their way.

The Duke of *Marlbrough* followed so quick, that they drew off from *Oudenarde*, as he advanced: In one day, which was the last of *June*, he made a March of five Leagues, passed the *Scheld* without any opposition, came up to the *French* Army, and engaged them in the Afternoon: They had the Advantage both of Numbers and of Ground; yet our Men beat them from every Post, and in an Action, that lasted six Hours, we had such an entire Advantage, that nothing but the Darkeness of the Night, and Weariness of our Men, saved the *French* Army from being totally ruined. There were about 5000 killed, and about 8000 made Prisoners (of whom 1000 were Officers) and about 6000 more deserted; so that the *French* lost at least 20000 Men, and retired in great haste, and in greater confusion to *Ghendt*. On the Confederates side, there was about 1000 killed, and 2000 wounded: But our Army was so wearied, with a long March, and a long Action, that they were not in a condition, to pursue with that haste, that was to be desired: Otherwise great Advantages might have been made of this Victory. The *French* posted themselves on the great Canal, that runs from *Ghendt* to *Bruges*: Prince *Eugene's* Army, of about 30000 Men, was now very near the great Army, and joined it in a few Days after this Action: But he himself was come up before them, and had a noble Share in the Victory; which, from the Neighbourhood of that Place, came to be called the Battle of *Oudenarde*.

The *French* had recovered themselves out of their first Consternation, during that time, which was necessary to give our Army

1708. some Rest and Refreshment: and they were so well posted, that it was not thought fit to attack them. Great Detachments were sent, as far as to *Arras*, to put all the *French* Countries under Contribution; which struck such a Terror every where, that it went as far as to *Paris*: Our Army could not block up the Enemy's on all sides, the Communication with *Dunkirk* by *Newport* was still open; and the *French* Army was supplied from thence: They made an Invasion into the *Dutch Flanders*: They had no great Cannon, so they could take no Place; but they destroyed the Country with their usual Barbarity.

Lisle besieged.

In conclusion, the Duke of *Marlborough*, in concert with Prince *Eugene* and the *States*, resolved to besiege *Lisle*, the capital Town of the *French Flanders*: It was a great, a rich, and a well fortified Place; with a very strong Cittadel: It had been the first Conquest the *French* King had made, and it was become, next to *Paris*, the chief Town of his Dominions: Marshal *Boufflers* threw himself into it, with some of the best of the *French* Troops: The Garrison was at least 12000 strong, some called it 14000. Prince *Eugene* undertook the Conduct of the Siege, with about 30000 Men, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, with the rest of the Army, lay on the *Scheld* at *Pont-Esperies*, to keep the Communication open with *Brussels*: Some time was lost, before the great Artillery could be brought up: It lay at *Sass van Gbendt*, to have been sent up the *Lys*, but now it was to be carried about by *Antwerp* to *Brussels*, and from thence by Land-Carriages to the Camp, which was a long and a slow Work: In that, some Weeks were lost, so that it was near the end of *August*, before the Siege was begun. The Engineers promised the *States*, to take the Place within a Fortnight, after the Trenches were opened; but the Sequel shewed, that they reckoned wrong: There were some Disputes among them: Errors were committed by those, who were in greatest Credit, who thought the way of Sapp the shortest, as well as the surest Method: Yet after sometime lost in pursuing this way, they returned to the ordinary Method. *Boufflers* made a brave and a long Defence: The Duke of *Burgundy* came with his whole Army so near ours, that it seemed he designed to venture another Battle, rather than lose so important a Place: And the Duke of *Marlborough* was, for some Days, in a Posture to receive him: But when he saw, that his whole Intention, in coming so near him, was only to oblige him to be ready for an Action, without coming to any; and so to draw off a great part of those Bodies, that carried on the Siege, leaving only as many as were necessary, to maintain the Ground they had gained, he drew a Line before his

his Army, and thought only of carrying on the Siege, for while he looked for an Engagement, no Progress was made in that. 1708.

After some Days, the *French* drew off, and fell to making Lines all along the *Scheld*, but chiefly about *Oudenarde*; that they might cut off the Communication between *Brussels* and our Camp, and so separate our Army, from all Intercourse with *Holland*: The Lines were about seventy Miles long, and in some Places near *Oudenarde*, they looked liker the Ramparts of a fortified Place, than ordinary Lines; on these they laid Cannon, and posted the greatest Part of their Army upon them, so that they did effectually stop all Communication by the *Scheld*. Upon which, the *States* ordered all that was necessary, both for the Army and for the Siege, to be sent to *Ostend*: And if the *French* had begun their Designs, with the intercepting this way of Conveyance, the Siege must have been raised, for want of Ammunition to carry it on.

The *French* drew Lines all along the *Scheld*.

About this time, 6000 Men were embarked at *Portsmouth*, in order to be sent over to *Portugal*: But they were ordered to lie for some time on the Coast of *France*, all along from *Bulloigne* to *Dieppe*, in order to force a Diversion, we hoping, that this would oblige the *French* to draw some of their Troops out of *Flanders*, for the Defence of their Coast: This had no great effect, and the Appearance that the *French* made, gave our Men such Apprehensions of their Strength, that tho' they once begun to land their Men, yet they soon returned back to their Ships: But as their Behaviour was not a little censured, so the State of the War in *Flanders*, made it necessary to have a greater Force at *Ostend*. They were, upon this, ordered to come and land there: *Earl*, who commanded them, came out and took a Post at *Lef-fingen*, that lay on the Canal, which went from *Newport* to *Bruges*, to secure the Passage of a great Convoy of 800 Waggons, that were to be carried from *Ostend* to the Army: If that had been intercepted, the Siege must have been raised: For the Duke of *Marlborough* had sent some Ammunition from his Army, to carry on the Siege, and he could spare no more: He began to despair of the Undertaking, and so prepared his Friends to look for the raising the Siege, being in great Apprehensions concerning this Convoy; upon which, the whole Success of this Enterprize depended: He sent *Webb*, with a Body of 6000 Men to secure the Convoy.

A new Supply sent to *Ostend*.

The *French*, who understood well of what consequence this Convoy was, sent a Body of 20000 Men, with forty Pieces of Cannon, to intercept it: *Webb*, seeing the Inequality between his Strength and the Enemy's, put his Men into the best disposition

A Defeat given the *French* when they were three to one.

1708. ^{1708.} fiction he could. There lay Coppices, on both sides of the Place, where he posted himself; he lined these well, and stood still for some Hours, while the Enemy cannonaded him, he having no Cannon to return upon them: His Men lay flat on the Ground, till that was over. But when the *French* advanced, our Men fired upon them, both in Front and from the Coppices, with that Fury, and with such Success, that they began to run; and tho' their Officers did all that was possible to make them stand, they could not prevail: So, after they had lost about 6000 Men, they marched back to *Bruges*: *Webb* durst not leave the advantageous Ground he was in, to pursue them, being so much inferior in number. So unequal an Action, and so shameful a Flight, with so great Loss, was looked on as the most extraordinary thing, that had happened during the whole War: And it encouraged the one side, as much as it dispirited the other. Many Reproaches passed on this occasion, between the *French* and the *Spaniards*; the latter, who had suffered the most, blaming the former for abandoning them: This, which is the ordinary consequence of all great Misfortunes, was not soon quieted.

Convoys
from *Ostend*
came safe to
the Camp.

Leffingen
taken by the
French.

The Convoy arriving safe in the Camp, put new Life in our Army: Some other Convoys came afterwards, and were brought safe: For the Duke of *Marlborough* moved, with his whole Army, to secure their Motions, nor did the Enemy think fit to give them any Disturbance, for some time. By the means of these Supplies, the Siege was carried on so effectually, that by the end of *October* the Town capitulated: *Mareschal Boufflers* retiring into the Citadel, with 6000 Men. The *French* saw of what Importance, the Communication by *Ostend* was to our Army, which was chiefly maintained by the Body, that was posted at *Leffingen*; so they attacked that, by a very great Force: The Place was weak of itself, but all about was put under Water, so it might have made a longer Resistance: It was too easily yielded up by those within it, who were made Prisoners of War. Thus the Communication with *Ostend* was cut off, and upon that the *French* flattered themselves, with the Hopes of starving our Army; having thus separated it, from all Communication with *Holland*: inso-much that it was reported, the Duke of *Vendome* talked of having our whole Forces delivered into his Hands, as Prisoners of War, for want of Bread, and other Necessaries. It is true, the Duke of *Marlborough* sent out great Bodies, both into the *French Flanders*, and into the *Artois*, who brought in great Stores of Provisions: But that could not last long.

The *French* Army lay all along the *Scheld*, but had sent a great Detachment to cover the *Artois*: All this while there was a great Mis-

Misunderstanding between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Duke of *Vendome*: The latter took so much upon him, that the other Officers complained of his neglecting them; so they made their Court to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and laid the blame of all his Miscarriages on *Vendome*. He kept close to the Orders he had from *Versailles*, where the Accounts he gave, and the Advices he offered, were more considered, than those that were sent by the Duke of *Burgundy*: This was very uneasy to him, who was impatient of contradiction, and longed to be in action, tho' he did not shew the forwardness, in exposing his own Person, that was expected: He seemed very devout, even to Bigotry; but by the Accounts we had from *France*, it did appear, that his Conduct during the Campaign, gave no great Hopes or Prospect from him, when all things should come into his hands: *Chamillard* was often sent from Court to soften him, and to reconcile him to the Duke of *Vendome*, but with no effect.

1708.
Misunder-
standing be-
tween the
Dukes of
Burundy
and *Ven-*
domz.

The Elector of *Bavaria* had been sent to command on the Upper *Rhine*: The true Reason was believed, that he might not pretend to continue in the chief Command in *Flanders*: He was put in hopes, of being furnished with an Army so strong, as to be able to break thro' into *Bavaria*. The Elector of *Hanover* did again undertake the Command of the Army of the Empire: Both Armies were weak; but they were so equally weak, that they were not able to undertake any thing on either side: So after some Months, in which there was no considerable Action; the Forces on both sides went into Winter Quarters. Then the Court of *France*, believing that the Elector of *Bavaria* was so much beloved in *Brussels*, that he had a great Party in the Town, ready to declare for him, ordered an Army of 14000 Men, with a good Train of Artillery, to be brought together, and with that Body he was sent to attack *Brussels*; in which, there was a Garrison of 6000 Men. He lay before the Town five Days, in two of these he attacked it with great fury: He was once Master of the Counterscarp, but he was soon beaten out of it; and tho' he repeated his Attacks very often, he was repulsed in them all.

Affairs on
the Upper
Rhine.

The Elector
of *Bavaria*
sent to at-
tack
Brussels.

The Duke of *Marlborough* hearing of this, made a sudden Motion towards the *Scheld*: But to deceive the Enemy, it was given out, that he designed to march directly towards *Gbendt*, and this was believed by his whole Army, and it was probably carried to the Enemy; for they seemed to have no Notice nor Apprehension of his Design on the *Scheld*: He advanced towards it in the Night, and marched with the Foot very quick, leaving the Horse to come up with the Artillery: The Lines were so strong, that it was expected, that in the breaking thro' them, there must have

The Duke
of *Marlbo-*
rough passed
the *Scheld*
and the
Lines.

1708. been a very hot Action: Some of the General Officers told me, that they reckoned it would have cost them at least 10000 Men; but to their great surprize, as soon as they passed the River, the *French* ran away, without offering to make the least Resistance; and they had drawn off their Cannon the Day before. Our Men were very weary with the Night's March, so they could not pursue; for the Horse were not come up, nor did the Garrison of *Oudenarde* fall out; yet they took a Thousand Prisoners. Whether the notice of the Feint, that the Duke of *Marlborough* gave out of his Design on *Ghendt*, occasioned the *French* drawing off their Cannon, and their being so secure, that they seemed to have no Apprehensions of his true Designs, was not yet certainly known: But the abandoning those Lines, on which they had been working for many Weeks, was a Surprize to all the World: Their Councils seemed to be weak, and the Execution of them was worse: So that they, who were so long the Terror, were now become the Scorn of the World.

The Elector of *Bavaria* drew off from *Brussels*.

The main Body of their Army retired to *Valenciennes*, great Detachments were sent to *Ghendt* and *Bruges*: As soon as the Elector of *Bavaria* had the News of this unlooked for Reverse of their Affairs, he drew off from *Brussels* with such Precipitation, that he left his heavy Cannon and Baggage, with his wounded Men, behind him: So this Design, in which 3000 Men were lost, came soon to an end. Those who thought of Presages, looked on our passing the Lines on the same Day, in which the Parliament of *England* was opened, as a happy one. Prince *Eugene* had marched, with the greatest Part of the Force that lay before *Lisle* (leaving only what was necessary to keep the Town, and to carry on the Sapp against the Citadel) to have a share in the Action, that was expected in forcing the Lines: But he came quickly back, when he saw there was no need of him, and that the Communication with *Brussels* was opened.

The Citadel of *Lisle* capitulated.

The Siege of the Citadel was carried on in a slow but sure Method: And when the Besiegers had lodged themselves in the second Counterescarp, and had raised all their Batteries, so that they were ready to attack the Place, in a formidable manner; Mareschal *Boufflers* thought fit to prevent that, by a Capitulation. It was now near the end of *November*; so he had the better Terms granted him: For it was resolved, as late as it was in the Year, to reduce *Ghendt* and *Bruges*, before this long Campaign should be concluded: He marched out with 5000 Men, so that the Siege had cost those within, as many Lives, as it did the Besiegers, which were near 8000.

This

This was a great Conquest; the noblest, the richest, and the strongest Town in those Provinces, was thus reduced: And the most regular Citadel in *Europe*, fortified and furnished at a vast Expence, was taken without firing one Cannon against it. The Garrison was obliged to restore to the Inhabitants, all that had been carried into the Citadel, and to make good all the Damages, that had been done the Town, by the demolishing of Houses, while they were preparing themselves for the Siege. All the several Methods the *French* had used, to give a Diversion, had proved ineffectual: But that, in which the Observers of Providence rejoiced most, was the signal Character of a particular Blessing on this Siege: It was all the whole time a rainy Season, all *Europe* over, and in all the neighbouring Places; yet during the Siege of the Town, it was dry and fair about it: And on those Days of Capitulation, in which time was allowed for the Garrison to march into the Citadel, it rained; but as soon as these were elapsed, so that they were at liberty to besiege the Citadel, fair Weather returned, and continued till it was taken.

1708.
Reflections
that passed
on it.

From *Lisle*, the Army marched to invest *Gbendt*, tho' it was late in the Year; for it was not done before *December*: The *French* boasted much of their Strength, and they had, by some new Works, made a show of designing an obstinate Resistance. They stood it out, till the Trenches were far advanced, and the Batteries were finished, so that the whole Train of Artillery was mounted: When all was ready to fire on the Town, the Governor, to save both that and his Garrison, thought fit to capitulate: He had an honourable Capitulation, and a general Amnesty was granted to the Town, with a new Confirmation of all their Privileges. The Burghers did not deserve so good Usage; but it was thought fit, to try how far gentle Treatment could prevail on them, and overcome their Perverseness: And indeed it may be thought, that they had suffered so much by their Treachery, that they were sufficiently punished for it: *Gbendt* was delivered to the Duke of *Marlborough* on the last of *December* N.S. so gloriously was both the Year and the Campaign finished at once: For the Garrison, that lay at *Bruges*, and in the Forts about it, withdrew without staying for a Summons. These being evacuated, the Army was sent into Winter-Quarters.

Gbendt and
Bruges re-
taken.

It had not been possible to have kept them in the Field much longer; for within two or three Days after, there was a great Fall of Snow, and that was followed by a most violent Frost, which continued the longest of any in the Memory of Man: And tho' there were short Intervals, of a few Days of Thaw, we had four Returns of an extreme Frost, the whole lasting about three Months.

A very hard
Winter.

1708. Many died in several Parts, by the Extremity of the Cold, it was scarce possible to keep the Soldiers alive, even in their Quarters: So that they must have perished, if they had not broke up the Campaign before this hard Season. This coming on so quick, after all that was to be done abroad was effectuated, gave new occasions to those, who made their Remarks on Providence, to observe the very great Blessings of this Conjuncture, wherein every thing that was designed, was happily ended just at the critical time, that it was become necessary to conclude the Campaign: And indeed the Concurrence of those happy Events, that had followed us all this Year, from the Pretender's first setting out from *Dunkirk*, to the conclusion of it, was so signal, that it made great Impressions on many of the chief Officers, which some owned to my self; tho' they were the Persons, from whom I expected it least.

*Sardinia and
Minorca re-
duced.*

The Campaign in *Spain* was more equally ballanced: The Duke of *Orleans* took *Tortosa*; *Denia* was also forced to capitulate, and the Garrison were made Prisoners of War. But these Losses by Land, were well made up by the Successes of our Fleet: *Sardinia* was reduced, after a very feeble and short Struggle: The Plenty of the Island made the Conquest the more considerable at that time, for in *Catalonia* they were much straitened for want of Provisions, which were now supplied from *Sardinia*. Towards the end of the Campaign, the Fleet, with a Thousand Land-men on board, came before *Minorca*, and in a few Days made themselves Masters of that Island, and of those Forts that commanded *Port Mahon*, the only valuable thing in that Island: all was carried after a very faint Resistance, the Garrisons shewing either great Cowardice, or great Inclinations to King *Charles*. By this, our Fleet had got a safe Port, to lie in and refit, and to retire into on all occasions; for till then we had no place nearer than *Lisbon*: this was such an Advantage to us, as made a great Impression on all the Princes and States in *Italy*.

The Pope
threatens the
Emperor
with Cen-
sures and a
War.

At this time the Pope began to threaten the Emperor with Ecclesiastical Censures, and a War, for possessing himself of *Commachio*, and for taking Quarters in the Papal Territories: He levied Troops, and went often to review them, not without the Affectation of shewing himself a General, as if he had been again to draw the Sword, as *St. Peter* did: He opened *Sixtus* the Fifth's Treasure, and took out of it 500,000 Crowns for this Service: Many were afraid, that this War should have brought the Emperor's Affairs into a new Entanglement; for the Court of *France* laid hold of this Rupture, and to inflame it, sent *Mareschal Tesse* to *Rome*, to encourage the Pope, with great Assurances of Support:

Support. He was also ordered to try, if the Great Duke and the Republics of *Venice* and *Genoa*, could be engaged in an Alliance, against the Imperialists. 1708.

The Emperor bore all the Pope's Threats, with great patience, till the Duke of *Savoy* ended the Campaign: That Duke, at the first opening of it, marched into *Savoy*, from whence it was thought his Designs were upon *Dauphiny*. *Villars* was sent against him, to defend that Frontier; tho' he did all he could to decline that Command: He drew all his Forces together to cover *Dauphiny*; and by these Motions, the Passage into the *Alps* was now open: so the Duke of *Savoy* secured that, and then marched back to besiege first *Exilles*, and then *Fenestrella*, two Places strong by their Situation, from whence Excursions could have been made into *Piedmont*; so that in case of any Misfortune, in that Duke's Affairs, they would have been very uneasy Neighbours to him: he took them both. The greatest Difficulty in those Sieges, was from the Impracticableness of the Ground, which drew them out into such a length, that the Snow began to fall, by the time both were taken. By this means the *Alps* were cleared, and *Dauphiny* was now open to him: He was also Master of the Valley of *Pragelas*, and all things were ready, for a greater Progress in another Campaign.

The Emperor's Troops, that were commanded by him, were, at the end of the Season, ordered to march into the Pope's Territories; and were joined by some more Troops, drawn out of the *Milanese* and the *Mantuan*. The Pope's Troops began the War, in a very barbarous manner; for while they were in a sort of a Cessation, they surprized a Body of the *Imperialists*, and without Mercy put them all to the Sword: But as the Imperial Army advanced, the *Papalins*, or, as the *Italians* in derision called them, the *Papagallians*, fled every where before them, even when they were three to one. As they came on, the Pope's Territories and Places were all cast open to them: *Bologna*, the most important, and the richest of them all, capitulated; and received them without the least Resistance. The People of *Rome* were uneasy at the Pope's Proceedings, and at the Apprehensions of a new Sack from a *German* Army: They shewed this so openly, that Tumults there were much dreaded, and many Cardinals declared openly against this War. The Emperor sent a Minister to *Rome*, to see if Matters could be accommodated: But the Terms proposed seemed to be of hard Digestion, for the Pope was required to acknowledge King *Charles*, and in every particular to comply with the Emperor's Demands.

1708.

The Pope is
obliged to
submit to
the Em-
peror.

And ac-
knowledge
K. Charles

Affairs in
Hungary.

And in
Poland.

Affairs at
Sea.

The Pope was amazed at his ill Success, and at those high Terms; but there was no Remedy left: The ill State of Affairs in *France*, was now so visible, that no regard was had to the great Promises, which Marechal *Tesse* was making, nor was there any hopes of drawing the Princes and States of *Italy*, into an Alliance for his Defence. In conclusion, the Pope, after he had delayed yielding to the Emperor's Demands long enough, to give the *Imperialists* time to eat up his Country, at last submitted to every thing; yet he delayed acknowledging King *Charles* for some Months, tho' he then promised to do it; upon which the Emperor drew his Troops out of his Territories. The Pope turned over the manner of acknowledging King *Charles*, to a Congregation of Cardinals: But they had no mind to take the load of this upon themselves, which would draw an Exclusion upon them from *France*, in every Conclave; they left it to the Pope, and he affected Delays: So that it was not done, till the end of the following Year.

The Affairs in *Hungary* continued in the same ill State, in which they had been for some Years: The Emperor did not grant the Demands of the Diet, that he had called; nor did he redress their Grievances, and he had not a Force strong enough to reduce the Malecontents: So that his Council could not fall on Methods, either to satisfy, or to subdue them.

Poland continued still to be a Scene of War and Misery; to their other Calamities, they had the Addition of a Plague, which laid some of their great Towns waste: The Party, formed against *Stanislaus*, continued still to oppose him, tho' they had no King to head them: The King of *Sweden's* warlike Humour possessed him to such a degree, that he resolved to march into *Muscovy*. The *Czar* tried, how far Submissions and Intercessions could soften him; but he was inflexible: He marched thro the *Ukrain*, but made no great progress: The whole *Muscovite* Force fell on one of his Generals, that had about him only a Part of his Army, and gave him a total Defeat, most of his Horse being cut off. After that, we were, for many Months, without any certain News from those Parts: Both sides pretended, they had great Advantages; and as *Stanislaus's* Interests carried him to set out and magnify the *Swedish* Success, so the Party that opposed him, studied as much to raise the Credit of the *Muscovites*: So that it was not yet easy to know, what to believe further, than that there had been no decisive Action, throughout the whole Year; nor was there any during the following Winter.

Our Affairs at Sea were less unfortunate this Year, than they had been formerly: The Merchants were better served with

Convoys, and we made no considerable Losses. A Squadron that was sent to the Bay of *Mexico*, met with the Galleons, and engaged them: If all their Captains had done their Duty, they had been all taken: Some few fought well. The Admiral of the Galleons, which carried a great Treasure, was sunk; the Vice-Admiral was taken, and the Rear-Admiral run himself ashore near *Cartagena*; the rest got away. The Enemy lost a great deal by this Action, tho' we did not gain so much as we might have done, if all our Captains had been brave and diligent. Another Squadron carried over the Queen of *Portugal*, which was performed with great Magnificence; she had a quick and easy Passage. This did in some measure compensate to that Crown for our failing them, in not sending over the Supplies that we had stipulated; it was a particular Happiness, that the *Spaniards* were so weak, as not to be able to take advantage of the naked and unguarded State, in which the *Portuguese* were at this time.

In the end of *October*, *George* Prince of *Denmark* died, in the Fifty-sixth Year of his Age, after he had been Twenty-five Years, and some Months, married to the Queen: He was Asthmatical, which grew on him with his Years; for some time he was considered as a dying Man, but the last Year of his Life, he seemed to be recovered, to a better State of Health. The Queen had been, during the whole course of her Marriage, an extraordinary tender and affectionate Wife: And in all his Illness, which lasted some Years, she would never leave his Bed; but sat up, sometimes half the Night in the Bed by him, with such Care and Concern, that she was looked on very deservedly, as a Pattern in this respect.

Prince
George's
Death

This Prince had shewed himself brave in War, both in *Denmark* and in *Ireland*: His Temper was mild and gentle: He had made a good progress in Mathematicks: He had travelled thro' *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, and knew much more, than he could well express; for he spoke acquired Languages ill and ungracefully. He was free from all Vice: He meddled little in Business, even after the Queen's Accession to the Crown: He was so gained to the Tories, by the Act which they carried in his favour, that he was much in their Interest: He was unhappily prevailed with, to take on him the Post of High-Admiral, of which he understood little; but was fatally led by those, who had Credit with him, who had not all of them his good Qualities, but had both an ill Temper and bad Principles: His being bred to the Sea, gained him some Credit in those Matters. In the Conduct of our Affairs, as great Errors were committed, so

And Cha-
racter.

great

1708. great Misfortunes had followed on them: All these were imputed to the Prince's Easiness, and to his Favourite's ill Management and bad Designs. This drew a very heavy load on the Prince, and made his Death to be the less lamented: The Queen was not only decently, but deeply affected with it.

A new Ministry.

The Earl of *Pembroke* was now advanced to the Post of High-Admiral; which he entered on with great Uneasiness, and a just Apprehension, of the Difficulty of maintaining it well, in a time of War: He was at that time both Lord *President* of the Council, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Earl of *Wharton* had the Government of *Ireland*, and the Lord *Somers* was made Lord President of the Council: The great Capacity and inflexible Integrity of this Lord, would have made his Promotion to this Post very acceptable to the Whigs, at any Juncture, but it was most particularly so at this time; for it was expected that Propositions for a general Peace would be quickly made; and so they reckoned, that the Management of that, upon which, not only the Safety of the Nation, but of all *Europe* depended, was in sure hands, when he was set at the head of the Councils, upon whom, neither ill Practices nor false Colours were like to make any Impression. Thus the Minds of all those, who were truly zealous for the present Constitution, were much quieted by this Promotion; tho' their Jealousies had a deep root, and were not easily removed.

A new Parliament opened.

The Parliament was opened in the middle of *November*, with great advantage; for the present Ministry was now wholly such, that it gave an entire content, to all who wished well to our Affairs: And the great Successes abroad, silenced those who were otherwise disposed to find fault, and to complain. The Queen did not think it decent for her to come to Parliament, during this whole Session: So it was managed by a Commission representing her Person. Sir *Richard Onslow* was chosen Speaker, without the least Opposition: He was a worthy Man, entirely zealous for the Government; he was very acceptable to the Whigs, and the Tories felt that they had so little strength in this Parliament, that they resolved to lie silent, and to wait for such Advantages, as the Circumstances of Affairs might give them. In the House of Commons, the Supplies that were demanded, were granted very unanimously, not only for maintaining the Force then on foot, but for an Augmentation of 10000 more: This was thought necessary to press the War with more force, as the surest way to bring on a speedy Peace: The *States* agreed to the like Augmentation on their side. The *French*, according to their usual Vanity, gave out, that they had great Designs in view for the next Campaign: And it was confidently spread about by the *Jacobites*, that a new Invasion

Invasion was designed, both on *Scotland*, and on *Ireland*. At 1708. the end of the Campaign, Prince *Eugene* went to the Court of *Vienna*, which obliged the Duke of *Marlborough* to stay on the other side, till he returned. Things went on in both Houses, according to the directions given at Court, for the Court being now joined with the Whigs, they had a clear Majority in every thing: All Elections were judged in favour of Whigs and Courtiers, but with so much Partiality, that those, who had formerly made loud Complaints of the Injustice of the Tories, in determining Elections, when they were a Majority, were not so much as out of countenance, when they were reproached for the same thing: They pretended, they were in a State of War with the Tories, so that it was reasonable to retaliate this to them, on the account of their former Proceedings: But this did not satisfy just and upright Men, who would not do to others, that which they had complained of, when it was done to them, or to their Friends. The House of Commons voted a Supply of seven Millions, for the Service of the ensuing Year; the Land-Tax, and the Duty on Malt, were readily agreed to: But it took some time to find a Fund for the rest, that they had voted.

A Petition, of a new nature, was brought before the Lords, 1709. with relation to the Election of the Peers from *Scotland*: There was a Return made in due form, but a Petition was laid before the House in the name of four Lords, who pretended that they ought to have been returned: The Duke of *Queensbury* had been created a Duke of *Great Britain*, by the Title of Duke of *Dover*, yet he thought he had still a right to vote as a Peer of *Scotland*: He had likewise a Proxy, so that two Votes depended on this point, whether the *Scotch* Peerage did sink into the Peerage of *Great Britain*. Some Lords, who were Prisoners in the Castle of *Edinburgh* on suspicion, as favouring the Pretender, had sent for the Sheriff of *Lothian* to the Castle, and had taken the Oaths before him; and upon that, were reckoned to be qualified to vote or make a Proxy; now it was pretended, that the Castle of *Edinburgh* was a Constabulary, and was out of the Sheriff's Jurisdiction; and that therefore, he could not legally tender them the Oaths: Some Proxies were signed, without subscribing Witnesses, a Form necessary by their Law: Other Exceptions were also taken, from some Rules of the Law of *Scotland*, which had not been observed. The Clerks being also complained of, they were sent for, and were ordered to bring up with them all Instruments or Documents relating to the Election: When they came up, and every thing was laid before the House of Lords, the whole Matter was long and well debated.

Debates concerning the Elections of the Peers of *Scotland*.

1709.

A Scottish
Peer created
a Peer of
Great Bri-
tain was to
have no
Vote there.

As to the Duke of *Queensbury's* voting among the *Scotch* Lords, it was said, that if a Peer of *Scotland*, being made a Peer of *Great Britain*, did still retain his Interest in electing the Sixteen from *Scotland*, this would create a great Inequality among Peers; some having a Vote by Representation, as well as in Person: The Precedent was mischievous, since by the creating some of the chief Families in *Scotland*, Peers of *Great Britain*, they would be able to carry the whole Election of the Sixteen, as they pleased. It was objected, that by a Clause in the Act passed since the Union, the Peers of *England* (who were likewise Peers of *Scotland*) had a right to vote, in the Election of *Scotland*, still reserved to them, so there seemed to be a Parity in this Case with that: But it was answered, that a Peer of *England* and a Peer of *Scotland* held their Dignity under two different Crowns, and by two different Great Seals: But *Great Britain*, including *Scotland* as well as *England*, the *Scotch* Peerage must now merge in that of *Great Britain*: Besides, that there were but five, who were Peers of both Kingdoms, before the Union; so that, as it might be reasonable to make Provision for them, so was it of no great consequence, but if this Precedent were allowed, it might go much further: and have very ill Consequences. Upon a Division of the House, the Matter was determined against the Duke of *Queensbury*.

Other Ex-
ceptions
were deter-
mined.

A great deal was said both at the Bar by Lawyers, and in the Debate in the House, upon the point of Jurisdiction, and of the Exemption of a Constabulary: It was said, that the Sheriffs Court ought to be, as all Courts were, open and free; and so could not be held within a Castle or Prison: But no express Decision had ever been made in this Matter. The Prisoners had taken the Oaths, which was the chief Intent of the Law, in the best manner they could; so that it seemed not reasonable to cut them off from the main Privilege of Peerage, that was reserved to them, because they could not go abroad to the Sheriffs Court: After a long Debate, it was carried, that the Oaths were duly tendered to them. Some other Exceptions were proved and admitted, the Returns of some, certifying that they had taken the Oaths, were not sealed, and some had signed these, without subscribing Witnesses: other Exceptions were offered from Provisions, the Law of *Scotland* had made, with relation to Bonds and other Deeds, which had not been observed in making of Proxies: But the House of Lords did not think these were of that Importance, as to vacate the Proxies on that account. So, after a full Hearing, and a Debate that lasted many Days, there was but one of the Peers, that was returned, who was found not duly elected, and only one of the petitioning

petitioning Lords was brought into the House; the Marquess of *An-* 1709.
nandale was received, and the Marquess of *Lothian* was set aside.

The *Scotch* Members in both Houses were divided into Fac- A Faction
tions: The Duke of *Queensbury* had his Party, still depending on among the
him: He was in such credit with the Lord Treasurer and the *Scots*.
Queen, that all the Posts in *Scotland* were given to Persons re-
commended by him: The chief Ministers at Court seemed to
have laid it down for a Maxim, not to be departed from, to look
carefully to Elections in *Scotland*; that the Members returned
from thence, might be in an entire Dependance on them, and be
either Whigs or Tories, as they should shift sides. The Duke of
Queensbury was made third Secretary of State; he had no foreign
Province assigned him, but *Scotland* was left to his Management:
The Dukes of *Hamilton*, *Montross*, and *Roxburgh*, had set them-
selves in an opposition to his Power, and had carried many Elec-
tions against him: The Lord *Somers* and *Sunderland* supported
them, but could not prevail with the Lord Treasurer, to bring
them into an equal share of the Administration; this had almost
occasioned a Breach; for the Whigs, tho' they went on in a con-
junction with the Lord Treasurer, yet continued still to be jealous
of him.

Another Act was brought on and passed in this Session, with An Act con-
relation to *Scotland*, which gave occasion to great and long De- concerning
bates; what gave rise to it was this: Upon the Attempt made by Trials of
the Pretender, many of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, Treasons in
who had all along adhered to that Interest, were secured; and *Scotland*.
after the Fleet was got back to *Dunkirk*, and the Danger was
over, they were ordered to be brought up Prisoners to *London*;
when they came, there was no Evidence at all against them, so
they were dismissed, and sent back to *Scotland*. No Exceptions
could be taken to the securing them, while there was Danger:
But since nothing besides Presumptions lay against them, the
bringing them, up to *London*, at such a Charge, and under such
a Disgrace, was much censured, as an unreasonable and an unjust
Severity; and was made use of, to give that Nation a further aver-
sion to the Union. That whole Matter was managed by the
Scotch Lords then in the Ministry, by which, they both revenged
themselves on some of their Enemies, and made a shew of Zeal for
the Government; tho' such as did not believe them sincere in these
Professions, thought it was done on design to exasperate the *Scots*
the more, and so to dispose them to wish for another Invasion. The
Whig Ministry in *England* disowned all these Proceedings, and
used the *Scots* Prisoners so well, that they went down much in-
clined to concur with them: But the Lord *Godolphin* fatally
adhered

1709. adhered to the *Scotch* Ministers, and supported them, by which, the advantage that might have been made from these severe Proceedings was lost; but the chief occasion given, to the Act concerning Treasons in *Scotland*, was from a Trial of some Gentlemen of that Kingdom, who had left their Houses, when the Pretender was on the Sea, and had gone about armed, and in so secret and suspicious a manner, that it gave great cause of Jealousy: There was no clear Evidence to convict them, but there were very strong, if not violent Presumptions against them: Some Forms in the Trial had not been observed, which the criminal Court judged were necessary, and not to be dispensed with. But the Queen's Advocate Sir *James Stuart* was of another mind: The Court thought it was necessary by their Laws, that the Names of the Witnesses should have been signified to the Prisoners fifteen Days before their Trial: But the Queen's Advocate had not complied with this, as to the chief Witnesses; so the Court could not hear their Evidence: He did not upon that move for a Delay, so the Trial went on, and the Gentlemen were acquitted. Severe Expostulations passed between the Queen's Advocate and the Court: They complained of one another to the Queen, and both sides justified their Complaints in print. Upon this it appeared, that the Laws in *Scotland*, concerning Trials in Cases of Treason, were not fixed nor certain: So a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, to settle that matter; but it was so much opposed by the *Scotch* Members, that it was dropt in the Committee: It was taken up and managed with more Zeal by the Lords.

The Heads
of the Act.

It consisted of three Heads: All Crimes, which were High-Treason by the Law of *England* (and these only) were to be High-Treason in *Scotland*: The Manner of proceeding settled in *England* was to be observed in *Scotland*; and the Pains and Forfeitures were to be the same in both Nations. The *Scotch* Lords opposed every Branch of this Act: They moved, that all things that were High-Treason by the Law of *England*, might be enumerated in the Act, for the Information of the *Scotch* Nation: Otherwise they must study the Book of Statutes, to know when they were safe, and when they were guilty. To this it was answered, that Direction would be given to the Judges, to publish an Abstract of the Laws of High-Treason, which would be a sufficient Information to the People of *Scotland*, in this matter: That Nation would by this means be in a much safer condition, than they were now; for the Laws they had, were conceived in such general Words, that the Judges might put such Constructions on them, as should serve the ends of a bad Court; but they would by this Act be restrained in this matter for the future.

The

The Second Head in this Bill occasioned a much longer Debate: It changed the whole Method of Proceedings in *Scotland*: The former way there was, the Queen's Advocate signed a Citation of the Persons, setting forth the special Matter of High-Treason, of which they were accused; this was to be delivered to them, together with the Names of the Witnesses, fifteen Days before the Trial. When the Jury was empannelled, no peremptory Challenges were allowed; Reasons were to be offered with every Challenge, and if the Court admitted them, they were to be proved immediately. Then the Matter of the Charge, which is there called the Relevancy of the Libel, was to be argued by Lawyers, whether the Matter, suppose it should be proved, did amount to High-Treason or not; this was to be determined by a Sentence of the Court, called the *Interloquitur*: And the Proof of the Fact was not till then to be made: Of that the Jury had the Cognizance. Antiently the Verdict went with the Majority, the number being fifteen; but by a late Act, the Verdict was to be given, upon the Agreement of two third Parts of the Jury: In the Sentence, the Law did not limit the Judges to a certain Form, but they could aggravate the Punishment, or moderate it, according to the Circumstances of the Case. All this method was to be set aside: A Grand Jury was to find the Bill, the Judges were only to regulate Proceedings, and to declare what the Law was, and the whole Matter of the Indictment was to be left entirely to the Jury, who were to be twelve, and all to agree in their Verdict.

1709.
The Forms
of proceed-
ing in *Scot-*
land.

In one particular, the Forms in *Scotland* were much preferable to those in *England*; the Depositions of the Witnesses were taken indeed by Word of Mouth, but were writ out, and after that were signed by the Witnesses; they were sent in to the Jury; and these were made a part of the Record. This was very slow and tedious, but the Jury, by this means, was more certainly possessed of the Evidence; and the Matter was more clearly delivered down to Posterity: whereas the Records in *England* are very defective, and give no light to a Historian, that peruses them, as I found when I wrote the *History of the Reformation*.

The *Scotch* opposed this Alteration of their way of Proceeding; they said, that neither the Judges, the Advocates, nor the Clerks would know how to manage a Trial of Treason: They insisted most on the having the Names of the Witnesses, to be given to the Persons, some Days before their Trial: It seemed reasonable, that a Man should know who was to be brought to witness against him, that so he might examine his Life, and see what credit ought to be given to him: On the other hand it was said, this

1709. would open a door to much Practice, either upon the Witnesses to corrupt them, or in suborning other Witnesses, to defame them. To this it was answered, that a guilty Man knew what could be brought against him, and without such notice would take all the Methods possible to defend himself: But Provision ought to be made for innocent Men, whose chief guilt might be a good Estate, upon which a Favourite might have an eye: And therefore such Persons ought to be taken care of. This was afterwards so much softened, that it was only desired, that the Names of the Witnesses, that had given evidence to the Grand Jury should, upon their finding the Bill, be signified to the Prisoner, five Days before his Trial. Upon a Division of the House on this Question, the Votes were equal; so by the Rule of the House, that in such a case the Negative prevails, it was lost. Upon the third Head of the Bill, the Debates grew still warmer: In *Scotland* many Families were settled by long Entails and Perpetuities; so it was said, that since, by one of the Articles of the Union, all private Rights were still preserved, no Breach could be made on these Settlements. I carried this farther: I thought it was neither just nor reasonable to set the Children on begging, for their Father's Faults: The *Romans*, during their Liberty, never thought of carrying Punishments so far: It was an Invention, under the Tyranny of the Emperors, who had a particular Revenue called the *Fisc*, and all Forfeitures were claimed by them, from whence they were called Confiscations: It was never the Practice of free Governments: *Bologna* flourished beyond any Town in the Pope's Dominions, because they made it an Article of their Capitulation with the Pope, that no Confiscation should follow on any Crime whatsoever. In *Holland* the Confiscation was redeemable by so very small a Sum, as an Hundred Guilders: Many Instances could be brought of Prosecutions, only to obtain the Confiscation: But none of the Lords seconded me in this; it was acknowledged, that this was just and reasonable, and fit to be passed in good times, but since we were now exposed to so much Danger from abroad, it did not seem adviseable to abate the Severity of the Law: But Clauses were agreed to, by which, upon Marriages, Settlements might be made in *Scotland*, as was practised in *England*; for no Estate is forfeited for the Crime of him, who is only Tenant for Life. By this Act also, Tortures were condemned, and the Queen was empowered to grant Commissions of *Oyer and Terminer* as in *England*, for trying Treasons: The *Scotch* insisted on this, that the Justiciary or the Criminal Court being preserved by an Article of the Union, this broke in upon that. It was answered, the Criminal Court was still to sit, in the

Of the Forfeitures in Cases of Treason.

Times regulated : But these Commissions were granted upon special Occasions. In the Intervals, between the Terms, it might be necessary upon some Emergency not to delay Trials too long: But to give some content, it was provided by a Clause, that a Judge of the Criminal Court should be always one of the *Quorum*, in these Commissions: So the Bill passed in the House of Lords, notwithstanding the Opposition of all the *Scotch* Lords, with whom many of the Tories concurred; they being disposed to oppose the Court in every thing, and to make Treason as little to be dreaded as possible.

The Bill met with the same Opposition in the House of Commons; yet it passed with two Amendments: By one, the Names of the Witnesses, that had appeared before the Grand Jury, were ordered to be sent to the Prisoner, ten Days before his Trial: The other was, that no Estate in Land was to be forfeited, upon a Judgment of High-Treason: This came up fully to the Motion I had made. Both these Amendments were looked on as such popular things, that it was not probable, that the House of Commons would recede from them: Upon that, the Whigs in the House of Lords did not think fit to oppose them, or to lose the Bill: So it was moved to agree to these Amendments, with this Proviso, that they should not take place till after the Death of the *Pretender*: It was said, that since he assumed the Title of King of *Great Britain*, and had so lately attempted to invade us, it was not reasonable to lessen the Punishment, and the Dread of Treason, as long as he lived. Others objected to this, that there would be still a Pretender after him, since so many Persons stood in the Lineal Descent before the House of *Hanover*; so that this Proviso seemed to be, upon the Matter, the rejecting the Amendment: but it was observed, that to pretend to the Right of succeeding, was a different thing from assuming the Title, and attempting an Invasion. The Amendment was received by the House of Lords with this Proviso; those who were against the whole Bill, did not agree to it. The House of Commons consented to the Proviso, which the Lords had added to their Amendment, with a further Addition, that it should not take place till three Years after the House of *Hanover* should succeed to the Crown.

This met with great Opposition, it was considered as a distinguishing Character of those, who were for or against the present Constitution, and the Succession; the *Scots* still opposing it on the account of their formal Laws: Both Parties mustered up their Strength, and many, who had gone into the Country, were brought up on this occasion: So that the Bill, with all the Amendments and Proviso's, was carried by a small Majority; the

1709.

Amend-
ments to the
Act.

It passed in
both
Houses.

1709. the Lords agreeing to this new Amendment. The *Scotch* Members in both Houses seemed to apprehend, that the Bill would be very odious in their Country; so to maintain their Interest at home, they, who were divided in every thing else, did agree in opposing this Bill.

An Act of
Grace.

The Court apprehended from the Heat, with which the Debates were managed, and the Difficulty in carrying the Bill thro' both Houses, that ill-disposed Men would endeavour to possess People, with Apprehensions of bad Designs and Severities, that would be set on foot; so they resolved to have an Act of Grace immediately upon it: It was the first the Queen had sent, tho' she had then reigned above seven Years: The Ministers, for their own sake, took care that it should be very full; it was indeed fuller than any former Act of Grace, all Treasons committed before the signing the Act, which was the 19th of *April*, were pardoned, those only excepted that were done upon the Sea: By this, those who had embarked with the Pretender were still at mercy. This Act, according to form, was read once in both Houses, and with the usual Complements of Thanks, and with that the Session ended.

An Enlarge-
ment of the
Bank.

Other things of great Importance passed during this Session: The House of Commons voted an Enlargement of the *Bank*, almost to three Millions, upon which, the Books were opened to receive new Subscriptions: and to the Admiration of all *Europe*, as well as of our selves at home, the whole Sum was subscribed in a few Hours time: This shewed both the Wealth of the Nation, and the Confidence that all People had in the Government. By this Subscription, and by a further Prolongation of the General Mortgage of the Revenue, they created good Funds, for answering all the Money, that they had voted in the beginning of the Session.

Great
Riches in
Portugal.

Our Trade was now very high; and was carried on every where with advantage, but no where more than at *Lisbon*: For the *Portuguese* were so happy, in their Dominions in *America*, that they discovered vast Quantities of Gold in their Mines, and we were assured that they had brought home to *Portugal*, the former Year, about four Millions *Sterling*, of which they, at that time, stood in great need, for they had a very bad Harvest: But Gold answers all things: They were supplied from *England* with Corn, and we had in return a large share of their Gold.

An Act for a
General Na-
turalization
of all Pro-
testants.

An Act passed in this Session, that was much desired, and had been often attempted, but had been laid aside in so many former Parliaments, that there was scarce any hopes left to encourage a new Attempt: It was for Naturalizing all foreign Protestants, upon their taking the Oaths to the Government, and their receiving the Sacrament in any Protestant Church. Those who were against the

the Act, soon perceived that they could have no Strength, if they should set themselves directly to oppose it; so they studied to limit Strangers in the receiving the Sacrament, to the way of the Church of *England*. This probably would not have hindered many, who were otherwise disposed to come among us: For the much greater part of the *French* came into the way of our Church. But it was thought best to cast the Door as wide open as possible, for encouraging of Strangers: And therefore since, upon their first coming over, some might chuse the Way, to which they had been accustomed beyond Sea, it seemed the more inviting method to admit of all who were in any Protestant Communion: This was carried in the House of Commons, with a great Majority; but all those, who appeared for this large and comprehensive way, were reproached for their Coldness and Indifference in the Concerns of the Church: And in that I had a large share; as I spoke copiously for it, when it was brought up to the Lords: the Bishop of *Chester* spoke as zealously against it, for he seemed resolved to distinguish himself, as a Zealot for that which was called High-Church. The Bill passed with very little Opposition.

There was all this Winter great talk of Peace; which the Miseries and Necessity of *France* seemed to drive them to: This gave occasion to a Motion, concerted among the Whigs, and opened by the Lord *Halifax*, that an Address should be made to the Queen, to conclude no Peace with *France*, till they should disown the Pretender, and send him out of that Kingdom, and till the Protestant Succession should be universally owned, and that a Guaranty should be settled among the Allies for securing it. None durst venture to oppose this, so it was easily agreed to, and sent down to the House of Commons, for their Concurrence. They presently agreed to it, but added to it, a Matter of great importance, that the demolishing of *Dunkirk* should be likewise insisted on, before any Peace were concluded: So both Houses carried this Address to the Queen, who received and answered it very favourably. This was highly acceptable to the whole Nation, and to all our Allies. These were the most considerable Transactions of this Session of Parliament, which was concluded on the 21st of *April*.

The Convocation was summoned, chosen, and returned as the Parliament was: But it was too evident, that the same ill Temper, that had appeared in former Convocations, did still prevail, tho' not with such a Majority: When the day came, in which it was to be opened, a Writ was sent from the Queen to the Archbishop, ordering him to prorogue the Convocation for some Months: and at the end of these, there came another Writ, ordering a further

1709.

An Address to the Queen when a Treaty of Peace should be opened.

The Convocation was put off by a Prorogation.

1709. ther Prorogation: So the Convocation was not opened during this Session of Parliament; by this, a present Stop was put to the factious Temper of those, who studied to recommend themselves by embroiling the Church.

A Faction among the Clergy of Ireland.

An ill Temper among our Clergy still kept up.

Negotiations for Peace.

It did not cure them; for they continued still by Libels and false Stories to animate their Party: and so catching a thing is this turbulent Spirit, when once it prevails among Clergymen, that the same ill Temper began to ferment and spread it self among the Clergy of *Ireland*; none of those Disputes had ever been thought of in that Church formerly, as they had no Records nor Minutes of former Convocations. The Faction here in *England* found out proper Instruments, to set the same Humour on foot, during the Earl of *Rocheſter's* Government, and, as was ſaid, by his Directions: And it being once ſet a going, it went on by reaſon of the Indolence of the ſucceeding Governours: So the Clergy were making the ſame bold Claim there, that had raiſed ſuch Diſputes among us; and upon that, the Party here publiſhed thoſe Pretenſions of theirs, with their uſual Confidence, as founded on a clear Poſſeſſion and Preſcription: And drew an Argument from that, to juſtify and ſupport their own Pretenſions, tho' thoſe in *Ireland* never dreamed of them, till they had the Pattern and Encouragement from hence. This was received by the Party with great Triumph, into ſuch indirec't Practices do Mens ill Deſigns and Animofities engage them: But tho' this whole Matter was well detected and made appear, to their ſhame, who had built ſo much upon it, yet Parties are never out of countenance; but when one Artifice fails, they will lay out for another. The ſecret Encouragement, with which they did moſt effectually animate their Party, was, that the Queen's Heart was with them: And that tho' the War, and the other Circumſtances of her Affairs, obliged her at preſent to favour the moderate Party, yet as ſoon as a Peace brought on a better Settlement, they promiſed themſelves all Favour at her hands. It was not certain, that they had then any ground for this, or that ſhe herſelf, or any by her order, gave them theſe Hopes; but this is certain, that many things might have been done to extinguiſh thoſe Hopes, which were not done: ſo that they ſeemed to be left to pleaſe themſelves with thoſe Expectations, which kept ſtill Life in their Party; and indeed it was but too viſible, that the much greater part of the Clergy, were in a very ill Temper, and under very bad Influences; Enemies to the Toleration, and ſoured againſt the Diſſenters.

I now muſt relate the Negotiations, that the *French* ſet on foot for a Peace. Soon after the Battle of *Ramellies*, the Elector of *Bavaria*

Bavaria gave out Hopes of a Peace; and that the King of *France* 1709. would come to a Treaty of Partition; that *Spain* and the *West-Indies* should go to King *Charles*, if the Dominions of *Italy* were given to K. *Philip*. They hoped that *England* and the *States* would agree to this, as less concerned in *Italy*: But they knew, the Court of *Vienna* would never hearken to it; for they valued the Dominions in *Italy*, with the Islands near them, much more than all the rest of the *Spanish* Monarchy. But at the same time, that *Lewis* the XIVth was tempting us, with the Hopes of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*; by a Letter to the Pope, that King offered the Dominions in *Italy* to King *Charles*. The Parliament had always declared, the ground of the War to be, the restoring the whole *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Austria*, (which indeed the *States* had never done) so the Duke of *Marlborough* could not hearken to this: He convinced the *States* of the treacherous Designs of the Court of *France*, in this Offer, and it was not entertained.

The Court of *Vienna* was so alarmed at the Inclinations, some had expressed towards the entertaining this Project, that this was believed to be the secret Motive of the Treaty, the succeeding Winter, for evacuating the *Milanese*, and of their persisting so obstinately, the Summer after, in their Designs upon *Naples*; for by this means they became Masters of both. The *French*, being now reduced to great Extremities, by their constant ill Success, and by the Miseries of their People, resolved to try the *States* again; and when the Duke of *Marlborough* came over to *England*, Mr. *Rouillé* was sent to *Holland*, with general Offers of Peace, desiring them to propose what it was they insisted on: And he offered them, as good a Barrier for themselves as they could ask. The *States*, contrary to their Expectation, resolved to adhere firmly to their Confederates, and to enter into no separate Treaty, but in conjunction with their Allies: so, upon the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Return, they, with their Allies, began to prepare Preliminaries, to be first agreed to, before a general Treaty should be opened: They had been so well acquainted with the perfidious Methods of the *French* Court, when a Treaty was once opened, to divide the Allies, and to create Jealousies among them, and had felt so sensibly the ill Effects of this, both at *Nimeguen* and *Ryswick*, that they resolved to use all necessary Precautions for the future; so Preliminaries were prepared, and the Duke of *Marlborough* came over hither, to concert them with the Ministry at home.

In this second Absence of his, Mr. *de Torcy*, the Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, was sent to the *Hague*, the better to dispose
the

1709. the *States* to Peace, by the Influence of so great a Minister; no Methods were left untried, both with the *States* in general, and with every Man they spoke with in particular, to beget in them a full Assurance of the King's sincere Intentions for Peace: But they knew the Artifices of that Court too well, to be soon deceived; so they made no Advances till the Duke of *Marlborough* came back, who carried over the Lord Viscount *Townshend*, to be conjunct Plenipotentiary with himself, reckoning the Load too great to bear it wholly on himself. The Choice was well made; for as Lord *Townshend* had great Parts, had improved these by Travelling, and was by much the most shining Person of all our young Nobility, and had, on many Occasions, distinguished himself very eminently; so he was a Man of great Integrity, and of good Principles in all respects, free from all Vice, and of an engaging Conversation.

The Preliminaries agreed on.

The Foundation of the whole Treaty was, the restoring of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy to King *Charles*, within two Months: *Torcy* said, the Time was too short, and that perhaps it was not in the King of *France's* power to bring that about; for the *Spaniards* seemed resolved to stick to King *Philip*. It was, upon this, insisted on, that the King of *France* should be obliged to concur with the Allies, to force it by all proper Methods: But this was not farther explained, for the Allies were well assured, that if it was sincerely intended by *France*, there would be no great difficulty in bringing it about. This therefore, being laid down as the Basis of the Treaty, the other Preliminaries related to the restoring all the Places in the *Netherlands*, except *Cambray* and *St. Omer*; the demolishing or restoring of *Dunkirk*; the restoring of *Strasbourg*, *Brisack*, and *Huningen* to the Empire; *Newfoundland* to *England*; and *Savoy* to that Duke, besides his continuing possessed of all, he then had in his hands; the acknowledging the King of *Prussia's* Royal Dignity; and the Electorate in the House of *Brunswick*; the sending the *Pretender* out of *France*, and the owning the Succession to the Crown of *England*, as it was settled by Law. As all the great Interests were provided for, by these Preliminaries; so all other Matters were reserved to be considered, when the Treaty of Peace should be opened: A Cessation of all Hostilities was to begin, within two Months, and to continue till all was concluded by a compleat Treaty, and ratified: provided the *Spanish* Monarchy was then intirely restored. The *French* Plenipotentiaries seemed to be confounded at these Demands. *Torcy* excepted to the leaving *Exilles* and *Fenestrella* in the Duke of *Savoy's* hands; for he said, he had no Instructions relating to them: But in conclusion, they seemed to submit to them,

them, and *Torcy* at parting desired the Ratifications might be returned with all possible haste, and promised that the King of *France*'s final Answer should be sent, by the fourth of *June*; but spoke of their Affairs as a Man in despair: He said, he did not know but he might find King *Philip* at *Paris*, before he got thither, and said all that was possible, to assure them of the Sincerity of the King of *France*, and to divert them from the Thoughts of opening the Campaign; but at the same time King *Philip* was getting his Son, the Prince of *Asturias*, to be acknowledged, by all the Towns and Bodies of *Spain*, as the Heir of that Monarchy.

Upon this outward Appearance of agreeing to the Preliminaries, all People looked upon the Peace to be as good as made; and Ratifications came from all the Courts of the Allies, but the King of *France* refused to agree to them: He pretended some Exceptions to the Articles, relating to the Emperor, and the Duke of *Savoy*; but insisted chiefly on that, of not beginning the Suspension of Arms, till the *Spanish* Monarchy should be all restored; he said, that was not in his power to execute; he ordered his Minister afterwards to yield up all but this last; and by a third Person, one *Pettecum*, it was offered, to put some more Towns into the hands of the Allies, to be kept by them, till *Spain* was restored. It appeared by this, that the *French* had no other Design in all this Negotiation, but to try if they could beget an ill Understanding among the Allies, or, by the seeming great Concessions, for the Security of the *States*, provoke the People of *Holland* against their Magistrates, if they should carry on the War, when they seemed to be safe; and they reckoned, if a Suspension of Arms could be once obtained, upon any other Terms, than the restoring of *Spain*, then *France* would get out of the War, and the Allies must try, how they could conquer *Spain*. *France* had so perfidiously broke all their Treaties, during this King's Reign, that it was a Piece of inexcusable Folly, to expect any other from them. In the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, where the Interest of *France* was not so deeply engaged, to preserve *Portugal* from falling under the Yoke of *Castile*, as it was now to preserve *Spain* in the hands of a Grandson; after the King had sworn to give no Assistance to *Portugal*, yet, under the pretence of breaking some Bodies, he suffered them to be entertained by the *Portuguese* Ambassador, and sent *Schomberg* to command that Army; pretending he could not hinder one, that was a *German* by Birth, to go and serve where he pleased: Under these Pretences, he had broke his Faith, where the Consideration was not so strong, as in the present Case. Thus it was

The King of *France* refuses to ratify them.

1709. { visible no Faith, that King could give, was to be relied on, and that unless *Spain* was restored, all would prove a fatal Delusion: Besides, it came afterwards to be known, that the Places in *Brabant* and *Hainault*, commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, would not have been evacuated by him, unless he had Orders for it from the King of *Spain*, under whom he governed in them; and that was not to be expected: So the Easiness, with which the *French* Ministers yielded to the Preliminaries, was now understood to be an Artifice, to slacken the Zeal of the Confederates, in advancing the Campaign, as the least Effect it would have: But in that, their Hopes failed them, for there was no time lost, in preparing to take the Field.

I do not mix, with the relation that I have given upon good Authority, the uncertain Reports we had of Distractions in the Court of *France*, where it was said, that the Duke of *Burgundy* pressed the making a Peace, as necessary to prevent Ruin of *France*, while the *Dauphin* pressed more vehemently the continuance of the War, and the supporting of the King of *Spain*: It was said, that Madam *Maintenon* appeared less at Court; *Chamillard*, who had most of her Favour, was dismiss'd: but it is not certain, what Influence that had on the publick Councils; and the Conduct of this whole Negotiation shewed plainly, that there was nothing designed in it, but to divide, or to deceive the Confederates; and, if possible, to gain a separate Peace for *France*; and then to let the Allies conquer *Spain* as they could. But the Allies kept firm to one another, and the Treachery of the *French* appeared so visible, even to the People in *Holland*, that all the Hopes they had, of inflaming them against their Magistrates, likewise failed. The People in *France* were much wrought on, by this pretended Indignity, offered to their Monarch, to oblige him to force his Grandson to abandon *Spain*; and even, here in *England*, there wanted not many, who said it was a cruel Hardship put on the *French* King, to force him into such an unnatural War: But if he was guilty of the Injustice, of putting him in possession of that Kingdom, it was but a reasonable piece of Justice, to undo what he himself had done: And it was so visible, that King *Philip* was maintained on that Throne, by the Councils and Assistance of *France*, that no doubt was made, but that, if the King of *France* had really designed it, he could easily have obliged him to relinquish all Pretensions to that Crown.

The War
went on,

Thus the Negotiations came soon to an end; without producing any ill effect among the Allies; and all the Ministers at the *Hague* made great Acknowledgments to the Pensioner *Heinsius*,

Heinsius, and to the *States*, for the Candor and Firmness they had expressed on that occasion. The Miseries of *France* were represented, from all Parts, as extreme great; the Prospect both for Corn and Wine was so low, that they saw no Hope nor Relief. They sent to all places for Corn, to preserve their People, many of the Ships that brought it to them, were taken by our Men of War; but this did not touch the Heart of their King, who seemed to have hardened himself, against the Sense of the Miseries of his People. *Villars* was sent to command the Armies in *Flanders*, of whom the King of *France* said, that he was never beaten; *Harcourt* was sent to command on the *Rhine*, and the Duke of *Berwick* in *Dauphiny*. This Summer passed over, without any considerable Action in *Spain*: There was an Engagement on the Frontier of *Portugal*, in which the *Portuguese* behaved themselves very ill, and were beaten; but the *Spaniards* did not pursue the Advantage they had by this Action: for they, apprehending that our Fleet might have a Design upon some part of their Southern Coast, were forced to draw their Troops from the Frontiers of *Portugal*, to defend their own Coast; tho' we gave them no Disturbance on that side.

The King of *France*, to carry on the show of a Design for Peace, withdrew his Troops out of *Spain*, but at the same time took care, to encourage the *Spanish* Grandees, and to support his Grandson: And since it was visible, that either the *Spaniards*, or the Allies, were to be deceived by him, it was much more reasonable to believe that the Allies, and not the *Spaniards*, were to feel the Effects of this fraudulent way of proceeding. The *French* General *Besons*, who commanded in *Arragon*, had indeed Orders not to venture on a Battle, for that would have been too gross a thing, to be in any wise palliated; but he continued all this Summer commanding their Armies. Nothing of any Importance passed on the side of *Dauphiny*: The Emperor continued still to refuse complying with the Duke of *Savoy's* Demands; so he would not make the Campaign in Person, and his Troops kept on the defensive. On the other hand, the *French*, as they saw they were to be feebly attacked, were too weak to do any thing more, than cover their own Country. Little was expected on the *Rhine*; the *Germans* were so weak, so ill furnished, and so ill paid, that it was not easy for the Court of *Vienna*, to prevail on the Elector of *Brunswick* to undertake the Command of that Army; yet he came at last: And upon his coming, the *French*, who had passed the *Rhine*, thought it was safest for them to repass that River, and to keep within their Lines. The Elector sent Count *Mercy*, with a considerable Body, to pass the *Rhine*

1709. near *Bafil*, and on design to break into *Franche Comté*; but a detached Body of the *French*, lying in their way, there followed a very sharp Engagement; 2000 Men were reckoned to be killed on each side; but tho' the loss of Men was reckoned equal, yet the Design miscarried, and the *Germans* were forced to repass the *Rhine*. The rest of the Campaign went over there, without any Action.

And in *Flanders*.

The chief Scene was in *Flanders*; where the Duke of *Marlborough* trusting little to the Shews of Peace, had every thing in readiness to open the Campaign, as soon as he saw what might be expected from the Court of *France*. The Army was formed near *Lisle*, and the *French* lay near *Doway*; the Train of Artillery was, by a Feint, brought up the *Lys* to *Courtray*; so it was believed the Design was upon *Ypres*, and there being no Apprehension of any Attempt on *Tournay*, no particular care was taken of it; but it was on the sudden invested, and the Train was sent back to *Ghendt*, and brought up the *Scheld* to *Tournay*. The Siege was carried on regularly: No Disturbance was given to the Works by Sallies, so the Town capitulated within a Month, the Garrison being allowed to retire into the Citadel, which was counted one of the strongest in *Europe*, not only fortified with the utmost Exactness, but all the Ground was wrought into Mines; so that the Resistance of the Garrison was not so much apprehended, as the Mischief they might do by blowing up their Mines. A Capitulation was proposed, for delivering it up on the fifth of *September*, if it should not be relieved sooner, and that all Hostilities should cease till then. This was offered by the Garrison, and agreed to by the Duke of *Marlborough*; but the King of *France* would not consent to it, unless there were a general Suspension, by the whole Army, of all Hostilities; and that being rejected, the Siege went on. Many Men were lost in it, but the Proceeding by Sap prevented much Mischief; in the end no Relief came, and the Garrison capitulated in the beginning of *September*, but could obtain no better Conditions, than to be made Prisoners of War.

Tournay is besieged and taken.

After this Siege was over, *Mons* was invested, and the Troops marched thither, as soon as they had levelled their Trenches about *Tournay*: But the Court of *France* resolved to venture a Battle, rather than to look on, and see so important a Place taken from them. *Boufflers* was sent from Court to join with *Villars*, in the Execution of this Design: They possessed themselves of a Wood, and intrenched themselves so strongly, that in some places there were three Intrenchments cast up, one within another. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* saw plainly, it was not possible to carry on the Siege of *Mons*, while the *French* Army lay
so

so near it; so it was necessary to dislodge them. The Attempt was bold, and they saw the Execution would be difficult, and cost them many Men. This was the sharpest Action in the whole War, and lasted the longest. The *French* were posted so advantageously, that our Men were oft repulsed; and indeed the *French* maintained their Ground better, and shewed more Courage, than appeared in the whole Course of the War: Yet in conclusion they were driven from all their Posts, and the Action ended in a compleat Victory. The number of Slain was almost equal on both sides, about 12000 of a side. We took 500 Officers Prisoners, besides many Cannon, Standards, and Ensigns. *Villars* was disabled by some Wounds he received, so *Boufflers* made the Retreat in good order. The Military Men have always talked of this, as the sharpest Action in the whole War, not without reflecting on the Generals, for beginning so desperate an Attack. The *French* thought it a sort of a Victory, that they had animated their Men, to fight so well behind Entrenchments, and to repulse our Men so often, and with so great Loss. They retired to *Valenciennes*, and secured themselves by casting up strong Lines, while they left our Army to carry on the Siege of *Mons*, without giving them the least Disturbance. As soon as the Train of Artillery was brought from *Brussels*, the Siege was carried on with great Vigour, tho' the Season was both cold and rainy: The Outworks were carried with little Resistance, and *Mons* capitulated about the end of *October*; with that the Campaign ended, both Armies retiring into Winter Quarters.

1709.
The Battle
of *Blarignies*.

Mons be-
sieged and
taken.

The most important thing, that relates to *Italy*, was, that the Pope delayed acknowledging King *Charles*, by several pretended Difficulties; his Design being to stay and see the Issue of the Campaign; but when he was threatened, towards the end of it, that if it was not done, the Imperial Army should come and take up their Winter Quarters in the Ecclesiastical State, he submitted, and acknowledged him. He sent also his Nephew *Albano*, first to *Vienna*, and then to *Poland*; he furnished him with a magnificent Retinue, and seemed to hope, that by the Services he should do to the Papal Interests there, he should be pressed to make him a Cardinal, notwithstanding the Bull against Nepotism.

Affairs in
Italy.

In *Catalonia*, *Staremborg*, after he received Reinforcements from *Italy*, advanced towards the *Segra*, and having for some days amused the Enemy, he passed the River: The *Spaniards* designed to give him Battle, but *Besons*, who commanded the *French* Troops, refused to engage; this provoked the *Spaniards* so much, that King *Philip* thought it was necessary to leave *Madrid*, and go to the Army; *Besons* produced his Orders from the

Affairs in
Spain.

1709. King of *France*, to avoid all Engagements, with which he seemed much mortified. *Staremburg* advanced and took *Balaguer*, and made the Garrison Prisoners of War; and with that the Campaign on that side was at an end.

The King of
Sweden's
Defeat.

This Summer brought a Catastrophe on the Affairs of the King of *Sweden*: He resolved to invade *Muscovy*, and engaged himself so far into the *Ukrain*, that there was no possibility of his retreating, or of having Reinforcements brought him. He engaged a great Body of *Cossacks* to join him, who were easily drawn to revolt from the *Czar*: He met with great Misfortunes, in the end of the former Year, but nothing could divert him from his Designs against *Muscovy*: He passed the *Nieper*, and besieged *Pultowa*: The *Czar* marched to raise the Siege, with an Army in number much superiour to the *Swedes*; but the King of *Sweden* resolved to venture on a Battle, in which he received such a total Defeat, that he lost his Camp, his Artillery, and Baggage: A great Part of his Army got off, but being closely pursued by the *Muscovites*, and having neither Bread nor Ammunition, they were all made Prisoners of War.

The King
flies into
Turkey.

The King himself, with a small number about him, passed the *Nieper*, and got into the *Turkish* Dominions, and settled at *Bender*, a Town in *Moldavia*. Upon this great Reverse of his Affairs, King *Augustus* pretended, that the Resignation of the Crown of *Poland* was extorted from him by Force, and that it was not in his power to resign the Crown, by which he was tied to the Republick of *Poland*, without their Consent: so he marched into *Poland*, and *Stanislaus* was not able to make any Resistance, but continued under the Protection of the *Swedes*, waiting for another Reverse of Fortune. A Project was formed to engage the Kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia*, with King *Augustus* and the *Czar*, to attack the *Swedes* in so many different Places, that the extravagant Humour of their King was like now to draw a heavy Storm upon them; if *England* and the *States*, with the Court of *Vienna*, had not crushed all this, and entred into a Guaranty, for preserving the Peace of the Empire, and by consequence, of the *Swedish* Dominions in *Germany*. *Dantzick* was at this time severely visited with a Plague, which swept away almost one half of their Inhabitants, tho' few of the better sort died of the Infection. This put their Neighbours under great Apprehensions, they feared the spreading of the Contagion; but it pleased God, it went no farther. This sudden, and, as it seemed, total Reverse of all the Designs of the King of *Sweden*, who had been for many Years the Terror of all his Neighbours, made me write to Dr. *Robinson*, who had lived above thirty Years in that Court, and is now

now Bishop of *Bristol*, for a particular Character of that King. 1709.
I shall set it down in his own Words.

He is now in the 28th Year of his Age, tall and slender, stoops a little, and in his walking discovers, tho' in no great degree, the effect of breaking his Thigh-bone about eight Years ago: He is of a very vigorous and healthy Constitution, takes a pleasure in enduring the greatest Fatigues, and is little curious about his Repose: His chief and almost only Exercise has been riding, in which he has been extremely excessive: He usually eats, with a good Appetite, especially in the Morning, which is the best of his three Meals: He never drinks any thing but small Beer, and is not much concerned whether it be good or bad: He speaks little, is very thoughtful, and is observed to mind nothing so much as his own Affairs, laying his Designs, and contriving the ways of acting, without communicating them to any, till they are to be put in execution: He holds few or no Councils of War; and tho' in Civil Affairs his Ministers have leave to explain their Thoughts, and are heard very patiently; yet he relies more on his own Judgment, than on theirs, and frequently falls on such Methods, as are farthest from their Thoughts: So that, both his Ministers and Generals have hitherto had the Glory of Obedience, without either the Praise or Blame of having advised prudently or otherwise. The reason of his Reservedness in consulting others may be thus accounted for; he came, at the Age of Fifteen, to succeed, in an Absolute Monarchy, and by the forward Zeal of the States of the Kingdom, was in a few Months declared to be of Age: There were those about him, that magnified his Understanding, as much as his Authority, and insinuated that he neither needed Advice, nor could submit his Affairs to the Deliberation of others, without some Diminution of his own supreme Power. These Impressions had not all their effect, till after the War was begun, in the course of which, he surmounted so many Impossibilities (as those about him thought them) that he came to have less value for their Judgments, and more for his own, and at last to think nothing impossible. So it may be truly said, that under God, as well all his glorious Successes, as the late fatal Reverse of them, have been owing solely to his own Conduct. As to his Piety, it cannot be said but that the outward Appearances have highly recommended it, only it is not very easy to account for the excess of his Revenge against King *Augustus*, and some other Instances; but he is not suspected of any bodily Indulgencies. It is most certain, he has all along wished well to the Allies, and not at all to *France*, which he never intended to serve by any Steps he has made. We hear the *Turks* use him well, but
Time

1709. Time must shew what use they will make of him, and how he will get back into his own Kingdom. If this Misfortune does not quite ruin him, it may temper his Fire, and then he may become one of the greatest Princes of the Age. Thus I leave him and his Character.

Affairs in
Denmark.

The King of *Denmark* spent a great part of this Summer in a very expensive course of travelling, thro' the Courts of *Germany* and *Italy*, and it was believed he intended to go to *Rome*, where great Preparations were making, for giving him a splendid Reception; for it was given out, that he intended to change his Religion: But whether these Reports were altogether groundless, or whether their being so commonly believed, was like to produce some Disorders in his own Kingdom, is not certainly known; only thus much is certain, that he stopt at *Florence*, and went no further, but returned home; and upon the King of *Sweden's* Misfortunes, entered into Measures to attack *Sweden*, with King *Augustus*; who had called a Diet in *Poland*, in which he was acknowledged their King, and all things were settled there, according to his Wishes. The King of *Denmark*, upon his return home, sent an Army over the *Sound* into *Schonen*; but his Counsels were so weak, and so ill conducted, that he did not send a Train of Artillery, with other Necessaries, after them: Some Places, that were not tenable, were yielded up by the *Swedes*, and by the Progress, that he made at first, he seemed to be in a fair way of recovering that Province; but the *Swedes* brought an Army together, tho' far inferiour to the *Danes* in number, and falling on them, gave them such an entire Defeat, that the King of *Denmark* was forced to bring back, as well as he could, the broken Remnants of his Army, by which an end was put to that inglorious Expedition.

The *Swedish* Army, that was in *Poland*, having got into *Pomerania*, the *French* studied to engage them to fall into *Saxony*, to embroil the Affairs of *Germany*, and by that means engage the neighbouring Princes, to recall the Troops that were in the Queen's Service, and that of the other Allies in *Flanders*; but the Queen and the *States* interposed effectually in this Matter, and the *Swedes* were so sensible, how much they might need their Protection, that they acquiesced in the Propositions, that were made to them; so the Peace of the Northern Parts of the Empire was secured. A Peace was likewise made up, between the *Grand Seignior* and the *Czar*: The King of *Sweden* continued still at *Bender*; the War in *Hungary* went still on. The Court of *Vienna* published ample Relations of the great Successes they had there; but an *Hungarian* assured me, these were given out, to make

make the Malecontents seem an inconsiderable and ruined Party. 1709. There were secret Negotiations still going on, but without effect.

Nothing of Importance pass'd on the Sea: The *French* put out no Fleet, and our Convoys were so well ordered, and so happy, that our Merchants made no Complaints: Towards the end of the Year, the Earl of *Pembroke* found the Care of the Fleet a Load too heavy for him to bear, and that he could not discharge it, as it ought to be done; so he desired leave to lay it down. It was offered to the Earl of *Orford*; but tho' he was willing to serve at the Head of a Commission, he refused to accept of it singly; so it was put in Commission, in which he was the first.

Our Fleet well conducted.

I now come to give an account of the Session of Parliament, that came on this Winter. All the Supplies, that were asked, for carrying on the War, were granted, and put on good Funds; in this there was a general unanimous Concurrence: But the great Business of this Session, that took up most of their time, and that had great Effects in conclusion, related to Dr. *Sacheverel*: This being one of the most extraordinary Transactions in my Time, I will relate it very copiously. Dr. *Sacheverel* was a bold insolent Man, with a very small measure of Religion, Virtue, Learning, or Good Sense, but he resolved to force himself into Popularity and Preferment, by the most petulant Railings at Dissenters, and Low-Churchmen, in several Sermons and Libels, wrote without either Chastness of Style, or Liveliness of Expression: All was one unpractised Strain of indecent and scurrilous Language. When he had pursued this Method for several Years without effect, he was at last brought up by a popular Election to a Church in *Southwark*, where he began to make great Reflections on the Ministry, representing that the Church was in danger, being neglected by those who governed, while they favoured her most inveterate Enemies. At the Assizes in *Derby* (where he preached before the Judges) and on the fifth of *November* (preaching at *St. Paul's* in *London*) he gave a full vent to his Fury, in the most virulent Declamation, that he could contrive, upon these Words of *St. Paul's*, *Perils from False Brethren*; in which, after some short Reflections upon Popery, he let himself loose into such Indecencies, that both the Man and the Sermon were universally condemned: He asserted the Doctrine of Non-Resistance in the highest strain possible, and said, that to charge the Revolution with Resistance, was to cast black and odious Imputations on it; pretending, that the late King had disowned it, and cited for the Proof of that, some Words in his Declaration, by which he vindicated himself from a Design of Conquest. He poured out much Scorn and Scurrility on the Dissenters, and reflected severely on the Toleration; and said the

A Session of Parliament.

Sacheverel's Sermon.

1709.

Church was violently attack'd by her Enemies, and loosely defended by her pretended Friends: He animated the People, to stand up for the Defence of the Church, for which he said he founded the Trumpet, and desired them to put on the whole Armour of God. The Court of Aldermen refused to desire him to print his Sermon; but he did print it, pretending it was upon the Desire of *Garrard*, then Lord Mayor, to whom he dedicated it, with an inflaming Epistle at the head of it. The Party, that opposed the Ministry, did so magnify the Sermon, that, as was generally reckoned, about 40000 of them were printed, and dispersed over the Nation. The Queen seemed highly offended at it, and the Ministry looked on it as an Attack made on them, that was not to be despised. The Lord Treasurer was so described, that it was next to the naming him, so a Parliamentary Impeachment was resolved on; *Eyre*, then Solicitor General, and others thought the short way of burning the Sermon, and keeping him in Prison during the Session, was the better method; but the more solemn way was unhappily chosen.

Many Books
wrote a-
gainst the
Queen's
Title.

There had been, ever since the Queen came to the Crown, an open Revival of the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, by one *Lesley*, who was the first Man that began the War in *Ireland*; saying, in a Speech solemnly made, that King *James*, by declaring himself a Papist, could no longer be our King, since he could not be the Defender of our Faith, nor the Head of our Church, Dignities so inherent in the Crown, that he, who was incapable of these, could not hold it: A Copy of which Speech, the present Archbishop of *Dublin* told me he had, under his own hand. As he animated the People with this Speech, so some Actions followed under his Conduct, in which, several Men were killed; yet this Man changed sides quickly, and became the violentest Jacobite in the Nation, and was engaged in many Plots, and in writing many Books against the Revolution, and the present Government. Soon after the Queen was on the Throne, he, or his Son as some said, published a Series of weekly Papers under the Title of the *Rehearsal*, pursuing a Thread of Arguments in them all, against the Lawfulness of Resistance, in any Case whatsoever; deriving Government wholly from God, denying all Right in the People, either to confer, or to coerce it: The Ministers connived at this, with what intention God knows.

1710.

Dr. Hoadly's
Writings in
Defence
thereof.

Whilst these seditious Papers had a free course for many Years, and were much spread and magnified; one *Hoadly*, a pious and judicious Divine, being called to preach before the Lord Mayor, chose for his Text the first Verses of the 13th Chapter to the
Romans,

Romans, and fairly explained the Words there, that they were to be understood only against resisting good Governours, upon the *Jewish* Principles; but, that those Words had no relation to bad and cruel Governours: and he asserted, that it was not only lawful, but a Duty incumbent on all Men, to resist such; concluding all, with a Vindication of the Revolution, and the present Government. Upon this, a great Outcry was raised, as if he had preached up Rebellion; several Books were wrote against him, and he justified himself, with a visible Superiority of Argument, to them all, and did so solidly overthrow the Conceit of one *Filmer*, now espoused by *Lesley* (that Government was derived by Primogeniture from the first Patriarchs) that for some time, he silenced his Adversaries: but it was an easier thing to keep up a Clamour, than to write a solid Answer. *Sacheverel* did, with great Virulence, reflect on him, and on me, and several other Bishops, carrying his Venom as far back as to Archbishop *Grindal*, whom, for his Moderation, he called a perfidious Prelate, and a false Son of the Church. When it was moved to impeach him, the Lord Mayor of *London*, being a Member of the House of Commons, was examined to this Point, whether the Sermon was printed at his desire or order; upon his owning it, he would have been expelled the House; but he denied he had given any such order, tho' *Sacheverel* affirmed it, and brought Witnesses to prove it: Yet the House would not enter upon that Examination; but it was thought more decent to seem to give credit to their own Member, tho' indeed few believed him.

Some opposition was made to the Motion, for impeaching *Sacheverel*, but it was carried by a great Majority: The Proceedings were slow; so those, who intended to inflame the City, and the Nation upon that occasion, had time sufficient given them, for laying their Designs: They gave it out boldly, and in all Places, that a Design was formed by the Whigs, to pull down the Church, and that this Prosecution was only set on foot to try their Strength; and that, upon their Success in it, they would proceed more openly. Tho' this was all Falsehood and Forgery, yet it was propagated with so much Application and Zeal, and the Tools imployed in it, were so well supplied with Money (from whom, was not then known) that it is scarce credible how generally it was believed.

Sacheverel
was im-
peached by
the House of
Commons.

Some things concurred to put the Vulgar in ill humour; it was a time of Dearth and Scarcity, so that the Poor were much pinched: The Summer before, ten or twelve Thousand poor People of the *Palatinate*, who were reduced to great Misery, came into
England;

1710. *England*; they were well received and supplied, both by the Queen, and by the voluntary Charities of good People: This filled our own Poor with great Indignation; who thought those Charities, to which they had a better Right, were thus intercepted by Strangers; and all who were ill affected, studied to heighten these their Resentments. The Clergy did generally espouse *Sacheverel*, as their Champion, who had stood in the Breach; and so they reckoned his Cause was their own. Many Sermons were preached, both in *London* and in other Places, to provoke the People, in which they succeeded beyond expectation. Some Accidents concurred to delay the Proceedings; much time was spent in preparing the Articles of Impeachment: And the Answer was, by many shifts, long delayed: It was bold, without either Submission or common Respect; he justified every thing in his Sermon, in a very haughty and assuming Stile. In conclusion, the Lords ordered the Trial to be at the Bar of their House; but those who found, that by gaining more time, the People were still more inflamed, moved that the Trial might be publick in *Westminster Hall*; where the whole House of Commons might be present: This took so with unthinking People, that it could not be withstood, tho' the Effects it would have, were well foreseen: The preparing *Westminster Hall* was a Work of some Weeks.

And tried in
Westminster
Hall.

At last, on the 27th of *February*, the Trial begun. *Sacheverel* was lodged in the *Temple*, and came every day with great Solemnity, in a Coach to the *Hall*; great Crouds ran about his Coach with many Shouts expressing their Concern for him, in a very rude and tumultuous manner. The Trial lasted three Weeks, in which all other Business was at a stand; for this took up all Mens Thoughts: The Managers for the Commons opened the Matter very solemnly: Their Performances were much and justly commended: *Jekyll*, *Eyre*, *Stanhope*, *King*, but above all *Parker*, distinguished themselves in a very particular manner: They did copiously justify both the Revolution, and the Present Administration. There was no need of Witnesses; for the Sermon being owned by him, all the Evidence was brought from it, by laying his Words together, and by shewing his Intent and Meaning in them, which appeared from comparing one place with another. When his Council, *Sir Simon Harcourt*, *Dodd*, *Phipps*, and two others, came to plead for him, they very freely acknowledged the Lawfulness of Resistance in extreme Cases, and plainly justified the Revolution, and our Deliverance by King *William*: But they said, it was not fit, in a Sermon, to name such an Exception; that the Duties of Morality ought to be delivered in
their

their full extent, without supposing an extraordinary Case: And therefore *Sacheverel* had followed Precedents, set by our greatest Divines, ever since the Reformation, and ever since the Revolution. Upon this, they opened a great Field; they began with the Declarations made in King *Henry* the VIIIth's Time; they insisted next, upon the Homilies, and from thence instanced in a large Series of Bishops and Divines, who had preached the Duty of Submission and Non-Resistance, in very full Terms, without supposing any Exception; some excluding all Exceptions, in as positive a manner, as he had done: They explained the Word *Revolution*, as belonging to the new Settlement upon King *James's* withdrawing; tho', in the common Acceptation, it was understood of the whole Transaction, from the landing of the *Dutch* Army, till the Settlement made by the Convention. So they understanding the Revolution in that Sense, there was indeed no *Resistance* there: If the Passage, quoted from the Declaration, given out by the late King, while he was Prince of *Orange*, did not come up to that, for which he quoted it; he ought not to be censured because his Quotation did not fully prove his Point. As for his Invektive against the Dissenters and the Toleration, they laboured to turn that off, by saying, he did not reflect on what was allowed by Law, but on the permission of, or the not punishing many, who published impious and blasphemous Books: And a Collection was made, of Passages in Books, full of crude Impiety and of bold Opinions. This gave great offence to many, who thought that this was a solemn publishing of so much Impiety to the Nation, by which more mischief would be done, than by the Books themselves; for most of them had been neglected, and known only to a small number, of those who encouraged them: And the Authors, of many of these Books, had been prosecuted and punished for them. As to those Parts of the Sermon, that set out the Danger the Church was in, tho' both Houses had some Years ago voted it a great Offence, to say it was in danger, they said it might have been in none four Years ago, when these Votes pass'd, and yet be now in danger: The greatest of all Dangers was to be apprehended, from the Wrath of God for such Impieties. They said, the Reflections on the Administration were not meant of those, employed immediately by the Queen, but of Men in inferior Posts: If his Words seemed capable of a bad Sense, they were also capable of a more innocent one; and every Man was allowed to put any Construction on his Words, that they could bear. When the Counsel had ended their Defence, *Sacheverel* concluded it with a Speech, which he read with much bold Heat; in which, with many solemn Asseverations, he justified

1710. his Intentions towards the Queen and her Government; he spoke with respect, both of the Revolution and the Protestant Succession; he insisted most on condemning all Resistance, under any Pretence whatsoever, without mentioning the exception of extreme Necessity, as his Counsel had done: he said, it was the Doctrine of the Church, in which he was bred up; and added many pathetical Expressions, to move the Audience to Compassion. This had a great effect on the weaker sort, while it possessed those, who knew the Man and his ordinary Discourses, with Horror, when they heard him affirm so many Falsehoods, with such solemn Appeals to God. It was very plain the Speech was made for him by others; for the Style was correct, and far different from his own.

A great Disorder at that time.

During the Trial, the Multitudes that followed him, all the way as he came, and as he went back, shewed a great concern for him, pressing about him, and striving to kiss his Hand: Money was thrown among them; and they were animated to such a pitch of Fury, that they went to pull down some Meeting-houses, which was executed on five of them, as far as burning all the Pews in them. This was directed by some of better Fashion, who followed the Mob in Hackney Coaches, and were seen sending Messages to them: The Word, upon which all shouted, was *The Church and Sacheverel*: And such, as joined not in the Shout, were insulted and knocked down: Before my own Door, One, with a Spade, cleft the Skull of another, who would not shout as they did. There happened to be a Meeting-house near me, out of which they drew every thing, that was in it, and burned it before the Door of the House. They threatened to do the like Execution on my House; but the Noise of the Riot coming to Court, Orders were sent to the Guards to go about, and disperse the Multitudes, and secure the publick Peace. As the Guards advanced, the People ran away; some few were only taken; these were afterwards prosecuted; but the Party shewed a violent concern for them; two of them were condemned as guilty of High Treason; small Fines were set on the rest; but no Execution followed; and after some Months, they were pardoned: and indeed this Remissness, in punishing so great a Disorder, was looked on as the preparing and encouraging Men to new Tumults. There was a secret Management in this Matter, that amazed all People: for tho' the Queen, upon an Address made to her by the House of Commons, set out a Proclamation, in which this Riot was, with severe Words, laid upon Papists and Nonjurors, who were certainly the chief Promoters of it; yet the Proceedings afterwards did not answer the Threatnings of the Proclamation. When

When *Sacheverel* had ended his Defence, the Managers for the House of Commons replied, and shewed very evidently, that the Words of his Sermon could not reasonably bear any other Sense, but that for which they had charged him; this was an easy Performance, and they managed it with great life: but the humour of the Town was turned against them, and all the Clergy appeared for *Sacheverel*. Many of the Queen's Chaplains stood about him, encouraging and magnifying him; and it was given out, that the Queen herself favoured him: Tho', upon my first coming to Town, which was after the Impeachment was brought up to the Lords, she said to me, that it was a bad Sermon, and that he deserved well to be punished for it. All her Ministers, who were in the House of Commons, were named to be Managers, and they spoke very zealously for publick Liberty, justifying the Revolution. *Holt*, the Lord Chief Justice of the *King's Bench*, died during the Trial: He was very learned in the Law, and had upon great Occasions shewed an intrepid Zeal in asserting its Authority; for he ventured on the Indignation of both Houses of Parliament by turns, when he thought the Law was with him: He was a Man of good Judgment and great Integrity, and set himself with great Application to the Functions of that important Post. Immediately upon his Death, *Parker* was made Lord Chief Justice: This great Promotion seemed an evident Demonstration of the Queen's approving the Prosecution; for none of the Managers had treated *Sacheverel* so severely as he had done; yet secret Whispers were very confidently set about, that tho' the Queen's Affairs put her on acting the Part of one, that was pleased with this Scene, yet she disliked it all, and would take the first occasion to shew it.

1710.

Continuation of the Trial.

Sir John Holt's Death and Character.

Parker made Lord Chief Justice.

After the Trial was ended, the Debate was taken up in the House of Lords: It stuck long on the first Article; none pretended to justify the Sermon, or to assert absolute Non-Resistance: All who favoured him, went upon this, that the Duty of Obedience ought to be delivered in full and general Words, without putting odd Exceptions, or supposing odious Cases: This had been the Method of all our Divines. Pains were also taken to shew, that his Sermon did not reflect on the Revolution: On the other hand, it was said, that since the Revolution had happened so lately, and was made still the Subject of much Controversy, those absolute Expressions did plainly condemn it. The Revolution was the whole Progress of the Turn, from the Prince of *Orange's* landing, till the Act of Settlement pass'd. The Act of Parliament expressed, what was meant, by the Abdication and the Vacancy of the Throne; that it did not only relate to King *James's* withdrawing

Debates in the House of Lords after the Trial.

1710. withdrawing himself, but to his ceasing to govern according to our Constitution and Laws, setting up his meer Will and Pleasure, as the Measure of his Government: This was made plainer, by another Clause in the Acts then pass'd, which provided, that if any of our Princes should become Papists, or marry Papists, the Subjects were, in those Cases, declared to be free from their Allegiance. Some of the Bishops spoke in this Debate on each side; *Hooper*, Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, spoke in excuse of *Sacheverel*: But *Talbot*, Bishop of *Oxford*; *Wake*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; and *Trimnel*, Bishop of *Norwich*, and myself, spoke on the other side. We shewed the Falsehood of an Opinion too commonly received, that the Church of *England* had always condemned Resistance, even in the Cases of extreme Tyranny: The Books of the *Maccabees*, bound in our Bibles, and approved by our Articles, (as containing Examples of Life and Instruction of Manners, tho' not as any Part of the Canon of the Scripture) contained a full and clear Precedent for resisting and shaking off extreme Tyranny: The *Jews*, under that brave Family, not only defended themselves against *Antiochus*, but formed themselves into a free and new Government. Our Homilies were only against wilful Rebellion, such as had been then against our Kings, while they were governing by Law: But at that very time, Queen *Elizabeth* had assisted, first the *Scotch*, and then the *French*, and to the end of her Days continued to protect the *States*, who not only resisted, but, as the *Maccabees* had done, shook off the *Spanish* Yoke, and set up a new Form of Government: In all this she was not only justified by the best Writers of that time, such as *Jewel* and *Bilson*, but was approved and supported in it: Both her Parliaments and Convocations gave her Subsidies, to carry on those Wars. The same Principles were kept up all King *James's* Reign: In the beginning of King *Charles's* Reign, he protected the *Rocbellers*, and asked Supplies from the Parliament, to enable him to do it effectually; and ordered a Fast and Prayers to be made for them. It is true, soon after that, new Notions of absolute Power, derived from God to Kings, were taken up; at the first Rise given to these by *Manwaring*, they were condemned by a Sentence of the Lords; and tho' he submitted, and retracted his Opinion, yet a severe Censure passed upon him: But during the long Discontinuance of Parliaments that followed, this Doctrine was more favoured; it was generally preached up, and many things were done pursuant to it, which put the Nation into the great Convulsions, that followed in our Civil Wars. After these were over, it was natural to return to the other Extreme, as
Courts

Courts naturally favour such Doctrines. K. James trusted too much to it; yet the very Assertors of that Doctrine were the first, who pleaded for Resistance, when they thought they needed it. Here was Matter for a long Debate: It was carried by a Majority of Seventeen, that the first Article was proved. The Party, that was for *Sacheverel*, made no Opposition to the Votes upon the following Articles; but contented themselves, with protesting against them: The Lords went down to the Hall, where the Question being put upon the whole Impeachment, *Guilty* or *Not Guilty*, Fifty-two voted him *Not Guilty*, and Sixty-nine voted him *Guilty*. 1710.

The next Debate was, what Censure ought to pass upon him: And here a strange Turn appeared; some seemed to apprehend the Effects of a Popular Fury, if the Censure was severe; to others it was said, that the Queen desired it might be mild; so it was proposed to suspend him from preaching for one Year; others were for six Years; but by a Vote it was fixed to three Years. It was next moved, that he should be incapable of all Preferment for those three Years; upon that, the House was divided, Fifty-nine were for the Vote, and Sixty were against it: so that being laid aside, the Sermon was ordered to be burnt, in the presence of the Lord Mayor, and the Sheriffs of *London*, and this was done; only the Lord Mayor, being a Member of the House of Commons, did not think he was bound to be present. The Lords also voted, that the Decrees of the University of *Oxford*, passed in 1683, in which the absolute Authority of Princes, and the Unalterableness of the Hereditary Right of succeeding to the Crown, were asserted in a very high Strain, should be burnt with *Sacheverel's* Sermon: The House of Commons likewise ordered the impious Collection of blasphemous Expressions, that *Sacheverel* had printed as his Justification, to be also burnt. He is censured very gently.

When this mild Judgment was given, those, who had supported him during the Trial, expressed an inconceivable Gladness, as if they had got a Victory; Bonfires, Illuminations, and other Marks of Joy appeared, not only in *London*, but over the whole Kingdom.

This had yet greater Effects; Addresses were set on foot, from all the Parts of the Nation, in which the Absolute Power of our Princes was asserted, and all Resistance was condemned, under the Designation of Antimonarchical and Republican Principles; the Queen's Hereditary Right was acknowledged, and yet a Zeal for the Protestant Succession was likewise pretended, to make those Addresses pass the more easily, with unthinking Multitudes: Most of these concluded, with an Intimation of their Hopes, that the Queen would dissolve the present Parliament, giving Assurances Addresses against the Parliament.

1710. ^{furances,} that in a new Election, they would choose none, but such as should be faithful to the Crown, and zealous for the Church: These were at first more coldly received; for the Queen either made no Answer at all, or made them in very general Words. Addresses were brought upon the other hand, magnifying the Conduct of the Parliament, and expressing a Zeal for maintaining the Revolution and the Protestant Succession.

The Queen's
Speech.

In the beginning of *April* the Parliament was prorogued, and the Queen, in her Speech thereupon, expressed her concern, that there was Cause given for that, which had taken up so much of their Time, wishing that all her People would be quiet, and mind their own Business; adding, that in all Times there was too much occasion given to complain of Impiety, but that she would continue that Zeal, which she had hitherto expressed for Religion, and for the Church: This seemed to look a different way from the Whispers that had been set about. Soon after that, she made a Step that revived them again: The Duke of *Shrewsbury* had gone out of *England* in the end of the former Reign, thinking, as he gave out, that a warmer Climate was necessary for his Health: He staid several Years at *Rome*, where he became acquainted with a *Roman* Lady: And she, upon his leaving *Rome* to return to *England*, went after him to *Augsbourg*, where she overtook him, and declared herself a Protestant; upon which, he married her there, and came with her back to *England*, in the Year 1706. Upon his Return, the Whigs lived in Civilities with him; but they thought his leaving *England*, and his living so long out of it, while we were in so much danger at home, and his strange Marriage, gave just cause of Suspicion. The Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, lived still in Friendships with him, and studied to overcome the Jealousies, that the Whigs had of him; for they generally believed, that he had advised the late King to the Change he made in his Ministry, towards the end of his Reign. He seemed not to be concerned at the distance, in which he was kept from Business; but in the late Trial, he left the Whigs in every Vote; and a few days after the Parliament was prorogued, the Queen, without communicating the Matter to any of her Ministers, took the *Chamberlain's* White Staff from the Marquis of *Kent*, (whom, in recompence for that, she advanced to be a Duke) and gave it to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. This gave a great Alarm; for it was upon that concluded, that a total change of the Ministry would quickly follow; the change of Principles, that he had discovered in the Trial, was imputed to a secret Management between him and *Harley*, with the new Favourite. The Queen's Inclination to her, and her Alienation

Duke of
Shrewsbury
made Lord
Chamberlain.

nation from the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*, did encrease, and broke out in many little things, not worth naming: Upon that, the Dutcheſs retired from the Court, and appeared no more at it. The Duke of *Shrewsbury* gave the Miniſters very poſitive Affurances, that his Principles were the ſame they had been during the laſt Reign, and were in no reſpect altered: Upon which, he deſired to enter into Confidences with them; but there was now too much ground given for Suſpicion.

During this Winter, I was encouraged by the Queen, to ſpeak more freely to her of her Affairs, than I had ever ventured to do formerly; I told her what Reports were ſecretly ſpread of her, thro' the Nation, as if ſhe favoured the Deſign of bringing the *Pretender*, to ſucceed to the Crown, upon a Bargain that ſhe ſhould hold it during her Life: I was ſure theſe Reports were ſpread about by Perſons, who were in the Confidence of thoſe, that were believed to know her Mind; I was well aſſured, that the *Jacobites* of *Scotland* had, upon her coming to the Crown, ſent up one *Ogilby* of *Boyne*, who was in great eſteem among them, to propoſe the Bargain to her; he, when he went back, gave the Party full Affurances that ſhe accepted of it: this I had from ſome of the Lords of *Scotland*, who were then in the Secret with the profeſſed *Jacobites*. The Earl *Cromarty* made a Speech in Parliament, as was formerly mentioned, contradicting this, and alluding to the Diſtinction of the *Calviniſts*, made between the ſecret and the revealed Will of God; he aſſured them, the Queen had no ſecret Will, contrary to that which ſhe declared: Yet at the ſame time his Brother gave the Party Affurances to the contrary. I told the Queen all this; and ſaid, if ſhe was capable of making ſuch a Bargain for herſelf, by which her People were to be delivered up, and ſacrificed after her Death, as it would darken all the Glory of her Reign, ſo it muſt ſet all her People to conſider of the moſt proper ways of ſecuring themſelves, by bringing over the Proteſtant Succeſſors; in which, I told her plainly I would concur, if ſhe did not take effectual means to extinguiſh thoſe Jealouſies. I told her, her Miniſters had ſerved her with that Fidelity, and ſuch Succeſs, that her making a change among them would amaze all the World. The Glory of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign aroſe from the Firmneſs of her Counſels, and the Continuance of her Miniſters, as the three laſt Reigns, in which the Miniſtry was often changed, had ſuffered extremely by it. I alſo ſhewed her, that if ſhe ſuffered the *Pretender's* Party to prepare the Nation, for his ſucceeding her, ſhe ought not to imagine, that when they thought they had fixed that Matter, they would ſtay for the natural End of her Life; but that they would find

The Queen
was ſpoke to
with great
Freedom.

1710. find ways to shorten it: nor did I think it was to be doubted, but that in 1708, when the *Pretender* was upon the Sea, they had laid some Assassins here, who, upon the News of his landing, would have tried to dispatch her. It was certain, that their Interest led them to it, as it was known that their Principles did allow of it. This, with a great deal more to the same purpose, I laid before the Queen; she heard me patiently; she was for the most part silent: yet, by what she said, she seemed desirous to make me think, she agreed to what I laid before her; but I found afterwards it had no effect upon her: Yet I had great quiet in my own Mind, since I had, with an honest Freedom, made the best use I could of the Access I had to her.

Doway besieged and taken.

The Duke of *Marlborough* went beyond Sea in *February*, to prepare all Matters for an early Campaign, designing to open it in *April*, which was done: The *French* had wrought so long upon their Lines, that it was thought, they would have taken as much care in maintaining them; but upon the Advance of our Army, they abandoned them. And tho' they seemed resolved to make a stand upon the *Scarp*, yet they ran from that likewise; and this opened the way all on to *Doway*: So that was invested. The Garrison was 8000 strong, well furnished with every thing necessary to make a brave Defence; the Besieged sallied out often, sometimes with Advantage, but much oftener with Loss; it was the middle of *May* before the *French* could bring their Army together; it appeared, that they resolved to stand upon the defensive, tho' they had brought up together a vast Army of two Hundred Battalions, and three Hundred Squadrons: They lay before *Arras*, and advanced to the Plains of *Lens*; *Villars* commanded, and made such Speeches to his Army, that it was generally believed, he would venture on a Battle, rather than look on and see *Doway* lost. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* posted their Army so advantageously, both to cover the Siege, and to receive the Enemy, that he durst not attack them; but after he had looked on a few Days, in which the two Armies were not above a League distant, he drew off: So the Siege going on, and no Relief appearing, both *Doway* and the *Fort Escarp* capitulated on the 14th of *June*.

The History continued to the Peace.

I have now compleated my first Design in Writting, which was to give a History of our Affairs for fifty Years, from the 29th of *May* 1660: So if I confined myself to that, I should here give over: But the War seeming now to be near an end, and the Peace, in which it must end, being that which will probably give a new Settlement to all *Europe*, as well as to our Affairs, I resolve

resolve to carry on this Work to the Conclusion of the War. And therefore I begin with the Progress of the Negotiations for Peace, which seemed now to be prosecuted with warmth. 1710.

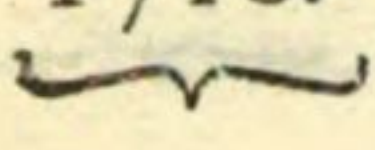
All the former Winter, an Intercourse of Letters was kept up between *Pettecum* and *Torcy*, to try if an Expedient could be found, to soften that Article, for the Reduction of *Spain*, to the Obedience of King *Charles*; which was the Thirty-seventh Article of the Preliminaries: It still was kept in agitation upon the foot of offering three Towns, to be put into the hands of the Allies, to be restored by them, when the Affairs of *Spain* should be settled; otherwise to be still retained by them. The meaning of which was no other, than that *France* was willing to lose three more Towns, in case King *Philip* should keep *Spain* and the *West-Indies*: The Places therefore ought to have born some Equality to that, for which they were to be given in pawn; but the Answers the *French* made to every Proposition, shewed they meant nothing but to amuse and distract the Allies. The first Demand the Allies made, was of the Places in *Spain*, then in the hands of the King of *France*; for the delivering up these, might have been a good step to the Reduction of the whole: But this was flatly refused; and, that the King of *France* might put it out of his power to treat about it, he ordered his Troops to be drawn out of all the strong Places in *Spain*, and soon after out of that Kingdom, pretending he was thereby evacuating it; tho' the *French* Forces were kept still in the Neighbourhood: So a shew was made of leaving *Spain* to defend itself. And upon that, King *Philip* prevailed on the *Spaniards*, to make great Efforts, beyond what was ever expected of them. This was done by the *French* King, to deceive both the Allies and his own Subjects, who were calling loudly for a Peace: And it likewise eased him of a great part of the Charge, that *Spain* had put him to. But while his Troops were called out of that Kingdom, as many deserted, by a visible Connivance, as made up several Battalions: And all the *Walloon* Regiments, as being Subjects of *Spain*, were sent thither: So that King *Philip* was not weakened by the recalling the *French* Troops; and by this means, the Places in *Spain* could not be any more demanded. The next, as most important towards the Reduction of *Spain*, was the Demand that *Bayonne* and *Perpignan* might be put into the hands of the Allies, with *Thionville* on the side of the Empire. By the two former, all Communication between *France* and *Spain* would be cut off, and the Allies would be enabled to send Forces thither, with less Expence and Trouble: But it was said, these were the Keys of *France*, which the King could not part with; so it remained to treat of Towns on the Frontier of the

Negotiations for a Peace.

1710. *Netherlands*; and even there they excepted *Doway*, *Arras*, and *Cambrai*: so that all their Offers appeared illusory; and the Intercourse by Letters was for some time let fall. But in the end of the former Year, *Torcy* wrote to *Pettecum*, to desire, either that Passes might be granted to some Ministers to come to *Holland*, to go on with the Negotiation, or that *Pettecum* might be suffered to go to *Paris*, to see if an Expedient could be found: and the *States* consented to the last. In the mean while, King *Philip* published a *Manifesto*, protesting against all that should be transacted at the *Hague*, to his prejudice; declaring his Resolution to adhere to his faithful *Spaniards*: He also named Plenipotentiaries, to go in his name to the Treaty, who gave the *States* notice of their Powers and Instructions; and, in a Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, they gave Intimations, how grateful King *Philip* would be to him, if by his means these his Desires might be complied with; as the like Insinuations had been often made by the *French* Agents: But no notice was taken of this Message from King *Philip*, nor was any Answer given to it. *Pettecum*, after some days stay at *Paris*, came back without the pretence of offering any Expedient, but brought a Paper, that seemed to set aside the Preliminaries: yet it set forth, that the King was willing to treat on the Foundation of the Concessions made in them to the Allies; and that the Execution of all the Articles should begin after the Ratification. This destroyed all that had been hitherto done; and the distinction, the King had formerly made, between the Spirit and the Letter of the *Partition Treaty*, shewed how little he was to be relied on: So the *States* resolved to insist, both on the Preliminaries, and on the Execution of them, before a general Treaty should be opened. By this Message, all Thoughts of a Treaty were at a full stand. In the beginning of *February* another Project was sent, which was an Amplification of that, brought by *Pettecum*; only the restoring the two Electors was insisted on as a Preliminary, as also the restoring the Upper Palatinate to the Elector of *Bavaria*; but the Allies still insisted on the former Preliminaries. The Court of *France* seeing, that the *States* were not to be wrought on, to go off from the Preliminaries, sent another Message to them, that the King agreed to all the Preliminaries, except the Thirty-seventh; and if they would consent, that his Ministers should come and confer with them upon that Article, he did not doubt, but what should be proposed from him, would be to their Satisfaction. This seemed to give some Hopes, so the *States* resolved to send the Passports; but they foresaw the ill Effects, of suffering the *French* Ministers to come into their Country, who, by their Agents, were every where

where stirring up the People against the Government, as if they were prolonging the War without necessity; so they appointed *Gertruydenburg* to be the Place, to which the *French* Ministers were to come, to treat with the Deputies they should send to meet them. 1710.

The Ministers sent by *France*, were the Marquis *d'Uxelles* and the Abbot *de Polignac*; and those from the *States*, were *Buys* and *Vanderdussen*: The Conferences began in *March*. The *French* proposed, that the Dominions in *Italy*, with the Islands, should be given to one of the Competitors for the *Spanish* Monarchy, without naming which; but it was understood, that they meant King *Philip*: The Deputies did not absolutely reject this; but shewed, that the Emperor would never consent to parting with *Naples*, nor giving the *French* such footing in *Italy*; the *French* seemed to be sensible of this: The first Conference ended, upon the return of the Courier, whom they sent to *Versailles*. They moved for another Conference; and upon several Propositions, there were several Conferences renewed. The King of *France* desisted from the Demand of *Naples*, but insisted on that of the Places on the Coast of *Tuscany*: At last they desisted from that too, and insisted only on *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: So now the Partition seemed as it were settled. Upon which, the Deputies of the *States* pressed the Ministers of *France* to give them solid Assurances of King *Philip's* quitting *Spain* and the *West-Indies*; to this (upon Advertisement given to the Court of *France*) they answered, that the King would enter into Measures with them to force it. Many Difficulties were started, about the Troops to be employed, what their number should be, and who should command them; all which shewed the Execution would prove impracticable. Then they talked of a Sum of Money, to be paid annually, during the War; and here new Difficulties arose, both in settling the Sum, and in securing the Payment: They offered the Bankers of *Paris*; but these must all break, whenever the King had a mind they should: So it plainly appeared, all was intended only to divide the Allies, by this Offer of a Partition, to which the *States* consented; and at which, the *French* hoped the House of *Austria* would have been provoked against them. The *French* asked an Assurance of the Deputies, that no other Articles should be insisted on, but those in the Preliminaries; this the Deputies positively refused; for they had, by one of the Preliminaries, reserved a Power to all the Allies to make farther Demands, when a general Treaty should be opened; they said, they themselves would demand no more, but they could not limit the rest, from their just Demands. This was another Artifice,

1710.  Artifice, to provoke the Empire, and the Duke of *Savoy*, as if the *States* intended to force them to accept of such a Peace, as they should prescribe: In another Conference, the *States* rejected the Offer of a Sum of Money, for carrying on the War in *Spain*, and therefore demanded, that the *French* would explain themselves upon the Subject of evacuating *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, in favour of King *Charles*, before they could declare their Intentions, with relation to the Partition; and added, that all further Conferences would be to no purpose, till that was done.

All came to
no Conclu-
sion.

The *French* were now resolved to break off the Negotiation; and so they were pleased to call this Demand of the *States*, a formal Rupture of the Treaty; and upon the return of an Express, that they sent to *Versailles*, they wrote a long Letter to the Pensioner, in the form of a Manifesto; and so returned back to *France*, in the end of *July*. This is the Account, that both our Ministers here, and the *States* have published of that Affair: The *French* have published nothing; for they would not own to the *Spaniards*, that they ever entered upon any Treaty, for a Partition of their Monarchy, much less for evacuating *Spain*. Whether *France* did ever design any thing, by all this Negotiation, but to quiet their own People, and to amuse and divide the Allies, is yet to us a Secret; but if they ever intended a Peace, the Reason of their going off from it, must have been the Account they then had of our Distractions in *England*; which might make them conclude, that we could not be in a condition to carry on the War.

A Change
of the Mi-
nisty in
England.

The Queen's Intentions to make a change in her Ministry now began to break out; in *June* she dismissed the Earl of *Sunderland* from being Secretary of State, without pretending any Maleversation in him, and gave the Seals to the Lord *Dartmouth*. This gave the Alarm, both at home and abroad; but the Queen, to lessen that, said to her Subjects here, in particular to the Governours of the Bank of *England*, and wrote to her Ministers abroad, that they should assure her Allies, that she would make no other Changes; and said this herself to the Minister, whom the *States* had here: All these concurred to express their Joy in this Resolution, and joined to it their Advice, that she would not dissolve the Parliament. This was represented by those, who had never been versed in the Negotiations of Princes in an Alliance, as a bold intruding into the Queen's Councils; tho' nothing is more common than for Princes to offer mutual Advices, in such Cases. Two Months after the change of the Secretary of State, the Queen dismissed the Earl of *Godolphin*, from being Lord Treasurer, and put the Treasury in Commission: Lord *Powlet* was the first in
form,

form, but Mr. *Harley* was the Person, with whom the Secret was lodged; and it was visible, he was the Chief Minister: and now it appeared, that a total Change of the Ministry, and the Dissolution of the Parliament, were resolved on. 1710.

In the mean while *Sacheverel*, being presented to a Benefice in *North Wales*, went down to take possession of it; as he passed thro' the Counties, both going and coming, he was received and followed by such Numbers, and entertained with such Magnificence, that our Princes in their Progresses have not been more run after, than he was: Great Fury and Violence appeared, on many occasions, tho' care was taken to give his Followers no sort of Provocation; he was looked on as the Champion of the Church; and he shewed as much Insolence on that occasion, as his Party did Folly. No notice was taken, by the Government, of all these Riots; they were rather favoured and encouraged than check'd; all this was like a Prelude to a greater Scene, that was to be acted at Court. The Queen came in *October* to Council, and called for a Proclamation, dissolving the Parliament, which *Harcourt* (now made Attorney-General in the room of *Montague*, who had quitted that Post) had prepared: when it was read, the Lord Chancellor offered to speak; but the Queen rose up, and would admit of no Debate, and ordered the Writs for a new Parliament to be prepared. At that time she dismissed the Lord *Somers*, and in his room made the Earl of *Rochester* Lord President of the Council: She sent to the Duke of *Devonshire*, for the Lord Steward's Staff, and gave it to the Duke of *Buckingham*; Mr. *Boyle* was dismissed from being Secretary of State, and Mr. *St. John* had the Seals: The Earl of *Derby* was removed from being Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and was succeeded by the Lord *Berkeley*. The Lord Chancellor came, upon all these Removes, and delivered up the Great Seal; the Queen did not look for this, and was surprized at it; and not knowing how to dispose of it, she, with an unusual Earnestness, pressed him to keep it one day longer; and the day following, she having considered the Matter with her Favourites Mrs. *Massam* and Mr. *Harley*, received it very readily; and it was soon given to Sir *Simon Harcourt*. The Earl of *Wharton* delivered up his Commission of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and that was given to the Duke of *Ormond*: and the Earl of *Orford*, with some of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, withdrew from that Board, in whose room others were put. So sudden, and so entire a Change of the Ministry, is scarce to be found in our History, especially where Men of great Abilities had served, both with Zeal and Success, insomuch, that the Administration of all Affairs, at home and abroad, in their hands, was not only

1710. without exception, but had raised the Admiration of all *Europe*. All this rose purely from the great Credit of the new Favourites, and the Queen's personal Dislike to the old ones. The Queen was much delighted with all these Changes, and seemed to think she was freed from the Chains the old Ministry held her in: She spoke of it to several Persons as a Captivity, she had been long under. The Duke of *Somerset* had very much alienated the Queen from the old Ministry, and had no small share in their Disgrace; but he was so displeased with the Dissolution of the Parliament, and the new Model of the Ministry, that, tho' he continued some time Master of the Horse, he refused to sit any more in Council, and complained openly of the Artifices, had been used, to make him instrumental to other People's Designs, which he did among others to myself.

The Elec-
tions of Par-
liament-
Men.

The next, and indeed the greatest Care of the new Ministry was, the managing the Elections to Parliament. Unheard-of Methods were used to secure them; in *London*, and in all the Parts of *England*, but more remarkably in the great Cities, there was a vast Concourse of rude Multitudes brought together, who behaved themselves in so boisterous a manner, that it was not safe, and in many places not possible, for those who had a Right to vote, to come and give their Votes for a Whig; open Violence was used in several Parts: this was so general, thro' the whole Kingdom, all at the same time, that it was visible the thing had been for some time concerted, and the proper Methods and Tools had been prepared for it. The Clergy had a great share in this; for besides a Course, for some Months, of inflaming Sermons, they went about from House to House, pressing their People to shew, on this great occasion, their Zeal for the Church, and now or never to save it: They also told them, in what ill hands the Queen had been kept, as in Captivity, and that it was a Charity, as well as their Duty, to free her from the Power the late Ministry exercised over her.

While the Poll was taken in *London*, a new Commission for the Lieutenancy of the City was sent in; by which a great Change was made; Tories were put in, and Whigs were left out; in a word, the Practice and Violence used now in Elections, went far beyond any thing, that I had ever known in *England*: And by such means, above three Parts in four of the Members returned to Parliament, may at any time be packed: And, if free Elections are necessary to the Being of a Parliament, there was great reason to doubt, if this was a true Representative duly elected.

The

The Bank was the Body, to which the Government of late 1710. had recourse, and was always readily furnished by it; but their Credit was now so sunk, that they could not do as they had done formerly; Actions, that some Months before were at 130, sunk now so low as to 95, and did not rise above 101 or 102, all the following Winter. The new Ministers gave it out, that they would act moderately at home, and steadily abroad, maintain our Alliances, and carry on the War. But before I enter on the Session of Parliament, I will give an account of Affairs abroad.

King *Philip* went to *Arragon* to his Army, and gave it out, that he was resolved to put all to the Decision of a Battle with King *Charles*, who was likewise come to head his Army; they lay so near one another, that King *Philip* cannonaded the Camp of his Enemies, but his Men were beat off with loss, and drew away to a greater distance; however, before the end of *July*, there was an Action of great Importance near *Almanara*: The main Body of King *Philip*'s Horse designed to cut off a Part of King *Charles*'s Foot, that was separated from the Cavalry, commanded by *Stanhope*: He drew his whole Body together; and tho' he was much inferiour in number, yet he sent to King *Charles* for Orders, to engage the Enemy. It was not without some difficulty, and after some re-iterated pressing Instances, that he got leave to fall on.

As the two Bodies were advancing one against another, *Stanhope* rode at the head of his Body, and the *Spanish* General advanced at the head of his Troops: The two Generals began the Action; in which, very happily for *Stanhope*, he killed the *Spaniard*: And his Men, animated with the Example and Success of their General, fell on and broke the *Spanish* Horse so entirely, that King *Philip* lost the best part of his Cavalry in that Action; upon which, he retired towards *Saragoza*; but was closely followed by King *Charles*: And on the 20th of *August*, they came to a total Engagement, which ended in an entire Defeat: And by this means *Arragon* was again in King *Charles*'s hands. King *Philip* got off with a very small Body to *Madrid*. But he soon left it, and retired with all the Tribunals following him to *Validolid*; and sent his Queen and Son to *Victoria*. Some of his Troops got off in small Bodies; and these were, in a little time brought together, to the number of about 10000 Men; the Troops, that they had on the Frontier of *Portugal*, were brought to join them, with which they soon made up the Face of an Army.

King

1710.

K. Charles
at Madrid.

King *Charles* made all the haste he could to *Madrid*, but found none of the *Grandeess* there; and it appeared, that the *Castilians* were firmly united to King *Philip*, and resolved to adhere to him, at all hazards. The King of *France* now shewed, he was resolved to maintain his Grandson, since if he had ever intended to do it, it was now very easy to oblige him to evacuate *Spain*. On the contrary, he sent the Duke of *Vendome*, to command the Army there; and he ordered some Troops to march into *Catalonia*, to force King *Charles* to come back, and secure that Principality. King *Charles* continued till the beginning of *December* in *Castile*. In all that time, no care was taken by the Allies, to supply or support him: We were so engaged in our Party-Matters at home, that we seemed to take no thought of things abroad, and without us nothing could be done: The Court of *Vienna* was so apprehensive of the Danger from a War, like to break out, between the *Grand Seignior* and the *Czar*, that they would not diminish their Army in *Hungary*. After King *Charles* left his Army, *Starembergh* seemed resolved to take his Winter Quarters in *Castile*, and made a shew of fortifying *Toledo*; but for want of Provision, and chiefly for fear that his Retreat to *Arragon* might be cut off, he resolved to march back to the *Ebro*: King *Philip* marched after him. *Starembergh* left *Stanbope* some Hours March behind him, and he took up his Quarters in an unfortified Village, called *Bribuega*: But finding King *Philip* was near him, he sent his *Aid de Camp* to let *Starembergh* know his Danger, and to desire his Assistance. *Starembergh* might have come in time to have saved him; but he moved so slowly, that it was conjectured, he envied the Glory *Stanbope* had got, and was not sorry to see it eclipsed; and therefore made not that haste, he might and ought to have done.

The Battle
of *Villa Vi-*
siosa.

Stanbope and his Men cast up Entrenchments, and defended these very bravely, as long as their Powder lasted; but in conclusion they were forced to surrender themselves Prisoners of War: Some Hours after that, *Starembergh* came up; and tho' the Enemy were more than double his number, yet he attack'd them with such Success, that he defeated them quite, killed 7000 of their Men, took their Cannon and Baggage, and staid a whole Day in the Field of Battle. The Enemy drew back; but *Starembergh* had suffered so much in the Action, that he was not in a condition to pursue them; nor could he carry off their Cannon for want of Horses; but he nailed them up, and by slow Marches got to *Saragoza*, the Enemy not thinking it convenient to give him any Disturbance. As he did not judge it safe, to stay long in *Arragon*, so, in the beginning of *January*, he marched into *Catalonia*; but his Army had suffered so much, both in the last Action

at

at *Villa Viciosa*, and in the March, that he was not in a condition to venture on raising the Siege of *Gironne*; which was then carried on by the Duke of *Noailles*: And no Relief coming, the Garrison, after a brave Defence, was forced to capitulate; and by this means *Catalonia* was open to the Enemy on all sides. 1710.

The *Spanish* Grandees seemed to be in some apprehensions, of their being given up by the *French*; and there was a Suspicion of some Caballing among them: Upon which, the Duke of *Medina Celi*, King *Philip's* chief Minister, was sent a close Prisoner to the Castle of *Segovia*, and was kept there very strictly, none being admitted to speak to him: He was not brought to any Examination; but after he had been for some Months in Prison, being oft removed from one place to another, it was at last given out, that he died in Prison, not without the Suspicion of ill Practices. Nothing passed on the side of *Piedmont*, the Duke of *Savoy* complaining still of the Imperial Court, and upon that refusing to act vigorously. The Disgrace of the Duke of Medina Celi.

After *Doway* was taken, our Army sat down before *Bethune*; and that Siege held them a Month, at the end of which the Garrison capitulated: And our Army sat down at one and the same time, before *Aire* and *St. Venant*, to secure the Head of the *Lys*. *St. Venant* was taken in a few Weeks; but the marshy Ground about *Aire*, made that a slower Work: so that the Siege continued there about two Months, before the Garrison capitulated. This Campaign, tho' not of such Lustre as the former, because no Battle was fought, yet was by military Men looked on as a very extraordinary one in this respect, that our Men were about an hundred and fifty Days in open Trenches; which was said to be a thing without example. During these Sieges, the *French* Army posted themselves in sure Camps; but did not stir out of them; and it was not possible to engage them into any Action. Nothing considerable passed on the *Rhine*, they being equally unable to enter upon Action on both sides. Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant are taken.

The *Czar* carried on the War in *Livonia* with such Success, that he took both *Riga* and *Revel*; and to add to the Miseries of *Sweden*, a great Plague swept away many of their People. *Sweden* itself was left exposed to the *Danes* and the *Czar*; but their Dominions in *Germany* were secured by the Guaranty of the Allies: Yet, tho' the Government of *Sweden* did accept of this provisionally, till the King's Pleasure should be known, it was not without difficulty, that he was prevailed on to give way to it. Affairs in the North.

I come now to give an Account of the Session of Parliament, which was opened the 25th of *November*: The Queen, in her Speech, took no notice of the Successes of this Campaign, as she had always done in her former Speeches; and instead of promising The new Parliament opened.

1710. to maintain the Toleration, she said she would maintain the Indulgence granted by Law to scrupulous Consciences; this change of Phrase into *Sacheverel's* Language was much observed. The Lords made an Address of an odd Composition to her, which shewed it was not drawn by those, who had penned their former Addresses: Instead of promising, that they would do all that was possible, they only promised to do all that was reasonable, which seemed to import a Limitation, as if they had apprehended, that unreasonable things might be asked of them: And the Conclusion was in a very cold strain of Rhetorick; they ended with saying, *They had no more to add.* The Commons were more hearty in their Address; and in the end of it, they reflected on some late Practices against the Church and State. *Bromley* was chosen Speaker without any Opposition; there were few Whigs returned, against whom Petitions were not offered; there were in all about an Hundred; and by the first steps, the Majority made it appear, that they intended to clear the House of all, who were suspected to be Whigs. They passed the Bill for four Shillings in the Pound, before the short Recess at *Christmas*.

1711. During that time, the News came of the ill Success in *Spain*; and this giving a handle to examine into that part of our Conduct, the Queen was advised to lay hold on it; so, without staying till she heard from her own Ministers or her Allies, as was usual, she laid the Matter before the Parliament, as the publick News brought it from *Paris*; which was afterwards found to be false in many Particulars; and told them, what Orders she had given upon it, of which she hoped they would approve. This was a mean Expression from the Sovereign, not used in former Messages; and seemed to be below the Dignity of the Crown. She ordered some Regiments to be carried over to *Spain*, and named the Earl of *Peterborough*, to go to the Court of *Vienna*, to press them to join in the most effectual measures, for supporting King *Charles* there. The Lords, in their Answer to this Message, promised that they would examine into the Conduct of the War in *Spain*, to see if there had been any Mismanagement, in any part of it: And they entred immediately into that Enquiry. They began it with an Address to the Queen, to delay the Dispatch of the Earl of *Peterborough*, till the House might receive from him such Informations of the Affairs of *Spain*, as he could give them. This was readily granted, and he gave the House a long Recital of the Affairs of *Spain*, loading the Earl of *Gallway* with all the Miscarriages in that War. And in particular he said, that in a Council of War in *Valencia*, in the middle of *January*

The Conduct in *Spain* censured by the Lords.

1706-7, the Earl of *Gallway* had pressed the pushing an offensive War for that Year; and that the Lord *Tyrawly* and *Stanhope* had concurred with him in that: Whereas he himself was for lying on a defensive War for that Year in *Spain*: He said, this Resolution was carried by those three, against the King of *Spain's* own Mind; and he imputed all the Misfortunes that followed in *Spain*, to this Resolution so taken. *Stanhope* had given an Account of the Debates in that Council to the Queen; and the Earl of *Sunderland*, in answer to his Letter, had wrote by the Queen's Order, that she approved of their pressing for an offensive War; and they were ordered to persist in that. The Earl of *Sunderland* said, in that Letter, that the Queen took notice, that they three (meaning the Earl of *Gallway*, Lord *Tyrawly*, and *Stanhope*) were the only Persons that were for acting offensively: And that little regard was to be had to the Earl of *Peterborough's* Opposition. Upon the Strength of this Letter the Earl of *Peterborough* affirmed, that the whole Council of War was against an offensive War: He laid the blame, not only of the Battle of *Almanza*, and all that followed in *Spain*, upon those Resolutions, but likewise the Miscarriage of the Design on *Toulon*; for he told them of a great Design, he had concerted with the Duke of *Savoy*, and of the use that might have been made of some of the Troops in *Spain*, if a defensive War had been agreed to there. The Earl of *Gallway* and the Lord *Tyrawly* were sent for; and they were asked an Account of that Council at *Valencia*: They said, there were many Councils held there about that time; and that both the *Portuguese* Ambassador and General, and the Envoy of the *States* agreed with them in their Opinions, for an offensive War; and they named some *Spaniards*, that were of the same mind: They also said, that all along, even to the Battle of *Almanza*, in all their Resolutions, the Majority of the Council of War voted for every thing that was done, and that they were directed to persist in their Opinions, by Letters wrote to them, in the Queen's Name, by the Secretaries of State: That as to the Words, in the Earl of *Sunderland's* Letter, that spoke of them, as the only Persons that were of that Opinion; these were understood by them, as belonging only to the Queen's Subjects, and that they related more immediately to the Earl of *Peterborough*, who opposed that Resolution, but not to the rest of the Council of War; for the Majority of them was of their mind.

The Earl of *Gallway* gave in two Papers; the one related to his own Conduct in *Spain*; the other was an Answer to the Relation given in writing by the Earl of *Peterborough*. The House of Lords was so disposed, that the Majority believed every thing that was said

1711. said by the Earl of *Peterborough*; and it was carried, that his Account was honourable, faithful, and just; and that all the Misfortunes in *Spain* were the Effect and Consequence of those Resolutions, taken in the middle of *January*.

From this Censure on the Earl of *Gallway*, the Debate was carried to that, which was chiefly aimed at, to put a Censure on the Ministry here. So it was moved, that an Address should be made to the Queen, to free those, who were under an Oath of Secrecy, from that Tie, that a full Account might be laid before the House, of all their Consultations: The Queen granted this readily; and came to the House, which was understood to be on design to favour that, which was aimed at. Upon this the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Earls of *Godolphin* and *Sunderland*, and the Lord *Cowper* shewed that, considering the Force sent over to *Spain* under the Lord *Rivers*, they thought an offensive War was advisable; that the Expence of that War was so great, and the Prospect was so promising, that they could not but think an offensive War necessary; and that to advise a defensive one, would have made them liable to a just Censure, as designing to protract the War. The Design on *Toulon* was no way intermix'd with the Affairs of *Spain*; the Earl of *Peterborough* fancied he was in that Secret, and had indeed proposed the bringing over some Troops from *Spain* on that Design, and had offered a Scheme to the Duke of *Savoy*, in which that was mentioned, and had sent that over to *England*. But tho' the Duke of *Savoy* suffered that Lord to amuse himself, with his own Project, which he had concerted for the Attempt on *Toulon*; that Duke had declared he would not undertake it, if it was not managed with the utmost Secrecy, which was sacredly kept, and communicated only to those, to whom it must be trusted for the Execution of it. No Troops from *Spain* were to be employed in that Service, nor did it miscarry for want of Men. These Lords farther said, they gave their Opinions in Council, according to the best of their Judgment; their Intentions were very sincere, for the Service of the Queen, and to bring the War to a speedy Conclusion. Yet a Vote pass'd, that they were to blame for advising an offensive War in *Spain*, upon which the loss of the Battle of *Almanza* followed; and that this occasioned the miscarrying of the Design upon *Toulon*.

Reflections
made on it.

Here was a new and strange Precedent, of censuring a Resolution taken in Council; and of desiring the Queen to order all, that had pass'd in Council, to be laid before the House: In all the hot Debates in King *Charles* the First's Reign, in which many Resolutions taken in Council were justly censurable, yet the passing any Censure on them was never attempted by Men, who were no way
partial

partial in favour of the Prerogative: But they understood well what our Constitution was in that point: A Resolution in Council is only the Sovereign's Act, who, upon hearing his Counsellors deliver their Opinions, forms his own Resolution: A Counsellor may indeed be liable to Censure, for what he may say at that Board; but the Resolution taken there has been hitherto treated with a silent Respect: but by this Precedent, it will be hereafter subject to a Parliamentary Enquiry. The Queen was so desirous to have a Censure fix'd on her former Ministry, that she did not enough consider the Wound given to the Prerogative, by the way in which it was done.

After this was over, another Enquiry was made into the Force we had in *Spain*, at the time of the Battle of *Almanza*; and it was found not to exceed 14000 Men, tho' the Parliament had voted 29000 for the War in *Spain*. This seemed to be a crying thing; tragical Declamations were made upon it: But in truth that Vote had pass'd here only in the *January* before the Battle of *Almanza*, which was fought on the 14th of *April*. Now it was not possible to levy and transport Men in so short a time: It was made appear, that all the Money, given by the Parliament for that Service, was issued out and applied to it, and that extraordinary Diligence was used, both in forwarding the Levies and in their Transportation: They were sent from *Ireland*, the Passage from thence being both safest and quickest. All this, and a great deal more to the same purpose, was said: But it signified nothing; for when Resolutions are taken up beforehand, the Debating concerning them is only a piece of Form used to come at the Question with some Decency: And there was so little of that observed at this time, that the Duke of *Buckingham* said in plain Words, that they had the Majority, and would make use of it, as he had observed done by others, when they had it on their side. So, tho' no Examination had been made, but into that single point of the Numbers at *Almanza*, they came to a general Vote, That the late Ministry had been negligent, in the Management of the War in *Spain*, to the great prejudice of the Nation; and they then ordered all their Proceedings and Votes to be put in an Address, and laid before the Queen: And tho' they had made no Enquiry into the Expence of that War, nor into the Application of the Money, given by the Parliament for it, yet in their Address they mentioned the great Profusion of Money in that Service. This they thought would touch the Nation very sensibly; and they hoped the thing would be easily believed on their Word. Protests were made against every Vote, in the whole

1711.

Progress of this Matter: Some of these carried such Reflections, on the Votes of the House, that they were expunged.

A strange
way of Pro-
ceeding.

I never saw any thing carried on, in the House of Lords, so little to their Honour as this was; some, who voted with the rest, seemed ashamed of it: They said, somewhat was to be done, to justify the Queen's change of the Ministry; and every thing elsewhere had been so well conducted, as to be above all Censure: So the Misfortune of *Almanza*, being a visible thing, they resolved to lay the Load there. The Management of the publick Treasure was exact and unexceptionable: so that the single Misfortune of the whole War was to be magnified; some were more easily drawn to concur in these Votes, because by the Act of Grace, all those, who had been concerned in the Administration, were covered from Prosecution and Punishment: So this was represented to some, as a Compliment that would be very acceptable to the Queen, and by which no Person could be hurt. They loaded singly the Earl of *Galloway*, with the loss of the Battle of *Almanza*, tho' it was resolved on in a Council of War, and he had behaved himself in it, with all the Bravery and Conduct that could be expected from a great General, and had made a good Retreat, and secured *Catalonia* with unexpressible Diligence. They also censured him for not insisting on the Point of Honour, in the Precedence to be given to the *English* Troops, as soon as the *Portuguese* Army entered into *Spain*: But, by our Treaty with that Crown, the Army was to be commanded by a *Portuguese* General; so it was not in his power to change the Order of the Army: If he had made the least Struggle about it, the *Portuguese*, who were not easily prevailed on to enter into *Spain*, would have gladly enough laid hold of any occasion, which such a Dispute would have given them, and have turned back upon it: And so by his insisting on such a Punctilio, the whole Design would have been lost. We had likewise, in our Treaty with them, yielded expressly the Point of the Flag in those Seas, for which alone, on other occasions, we have engaged in Wars; so he had no reason to contest a lesser point: Yet a Censure was likewise laid on this. And this was the conclusion of the Enquiries, made by the House of Lords this Session.

Some
Abuses cen-
sured in the
House of
Commons.

Harley, in the House of Commons, led them to enquire into some Abuses in the Victualling the Navy: They had been publicly practised for many Years, some have said ever since the Restoration: The Abuse was visible, but connived at, that several Expences might be answered that way: Some have said, that the Captains Tables were kept out of the Gain made in it. Yet a Member of the House, who was a Whig, was complained of for

for this, and expelled the House; and a Prosecution was ordered against him: But the Abuse goes on still, as avowedly as ever; here was a shew of Zeal, and a seeming Discovery of fraudulent Practices, by which the Nation was deceived. 1711.

The Money did not come into the Treasury so readily as formerly, neither upon the Act of four Shillings in the Pound, nor on the Duty laid on Malt: So, to raise a quick Supply, there were two Bills pass'd, for raising three Millions and a half by two Lotteries, the first of 1,500,000*l.* and the second of two Millions, to be paid back in thirty-two Years; and for a Fund, to answer this, Duties were laid on Hops, Candles, Leather, Cards and Dice, and on the Postage on Letters. In one Branch of this, the House of Commons seemed to break in upon a Rule, that had hitherto passed for a sacred one. When the Duty upon Leather was first proposed, it was rejected by a Majority, and so, by their usual Orders, it was not to be offered again, during that Session: But after a little Practice upon some Members, the same Duty was proposed, with this Variation, that Skins and Tanned Hides should be so charged; this was Leather in another Name. The Lotteries were soon filled up; so, by this means, Money came into the Treasury: and indeed this Method has never yet failed of raising a speedy Supply. There was no more asked, tho' in the beginning of this Session, the House had voted a Million more, than these Bills amounted to; which made some conclude, there was a secret Negotiation and Prospect of a Peace.

As the Duke of *Marlborough* was involved in the general Censure passed on the former Ministry, so he had not the usual Compliment of Thanks for the Successes of the former Campaign: When that was moved in the House of Lords, it was opposed with such Eagerness by the Duke of *Argyle* and others, that it was let fall: For this the Duke of *Marlborough* was prepared by the Queen; who, upon his coming over, told him that he was not to expect the Thanks of the two Houses, as had been formerly: She added, that she expected he should live well with her Ministers, but did not think fit to say any thing of the Reasons she had, for making those Changes in her Ministry. Yet he shewed no Resentments, for all the ill Usage he met with; and, having been much pressed by the *States* and our other Allies, to continue in the Command of the Army, he told me, upon that account, he resolved to be patient, and to submit to every thing, in order to the carrying on the War; and finding the Queen's Prepossession against his Dutcheſs was not to be overcome, he carried a Surrender of all her Places to the Queen: She was Groom of the Stole, had the Robes, and the Privy Purse; in all which, she

Supplies given for the War.

The Duke of *Marlborough* still commanded our Armies.

1711. she had served with great Oeconomy and Fidelity to the Queen, and Justice to those, who dealt with the Crown. The Dutchess of *Somerset* had the two first of these Employments, and Mrs. *Massam* had the last.

Complaints
upon the Fa-
vour shewed
the *Palatines*.

The House of Commons found the Encouragement given the *Palatines*, was so displeasing to the People, that they ordered a Committee to examine into that Matter. The Truth of this Story was, that in the Year 1708, about fifty *Palatines*, who were *Lutherans*, and were ruined, came over to *England*: These were so effectually recommended to Prince *George's* Chaplains, that the Queen allowed them a Shilling a-day, and took care to have them transported to the Plantations: They, ravished with this good Reception, wrote over such an Account of it, as occasioned a general Disposition among all the Poor of that Country to come over, in search of better Fortunes: And some of our Merchants, who were concerned in the Plantations, and knew the Advantage of bringing over great numbers to people those desert Countries, encouraged them with the Promises of Lands and Settlements there. This being printed, and spread thro' those Parts, they came to *Holland* in great Bodies: The Anabaptists there were particularly helpful to them, both in subsisting those in *Holland*, and in transporting them to *England*. Upon their coming over, the Queen relieved them at first; and great Charities were sent to support them: All the Tories declared against the good Reception that was given them, as much as the Whigs approved of it. It happened at a bad Season, for Bread was then sold at double the ordinary Price; so the Poor complained, that such Charities went to support Strangers, when they needed them so much: The time of our Fleet's sailing to the Plantations was likewise at a great distance. The *Palatines* expected to be all kept together in a Colony, and became very uneasy, when they saw that could not be compassed: Some of them were both unactive and mutinous; and this heightened the Outcry against them: Some Papists mixed among them, and came over with them; but they were presently sent back. Great numbers were sent to *Ireland*; but most of them to the Plantations in *North America*, where it is believed their Industry will quickly turn to a good account. The Design was now formed, to load the late Administration all that was possible; so it was pretended, that in all that Affair, there was a Design against the Church, and to encrease the Numbers and Strength of the Dissenters. It has indeed passed for an established Maxim, in all Ages, and in all Governments, that the drawing of Numbers of People to any Nation, did increase its intrinsic Strength; which is only to be measured

measur'd, by the Multitude of the People, that inhabit and cultivate it: Yet the House of Commons came to a sudden Vote, ^{1711.} That those who had encourag'd and brought over the *Palatines*, were Enemies to the Nation: And, because a Letter, wrote by the Earl of *Sunderland*, in the Queen's Name, to the Council of Trade, was laid before them, by which they were order'd to consider of the best Methods of disposing of them, it was moved to lay the Load of that Matter on him, in some severe Votes: Yet this was put off for that time; and afterwards by several Adjournments delay'd, till at last it was let fall.

But while the Heat, rais'd by this Enquiry, was kept up; the Commons pass'd a Bill to repeal the Act for a general Naturalization of all Protestants, which had pass'd two Years before; pretending that it gave the Encouragement to the *Palatines* to come over, tho' none of them had made use of that Act, in order to their Naturalization. This was sent up to the Lords; and the Lord *Guernsey*, and some others, entertained them with tragical Declamations on the Subject; yet, upon the first reading of the Bill, it was rejected. A Bill, that was formerly often attempted, for disabling Members of the House of Commons to hold Places, had the same Fate.

A Bill to repeal the general Naturalization rejected by the Lords.

Another Bill, for qualifying Members, by having 600 *l.* a-year for a Knight of the Shire, and 300 *l.* a-year for a Burgess, succeeded better: The Design of this was to exclude Courtiers, Military Men, and Merchants, from sitting in the House of Commons, in hopes that this being settled, the Land Interest would be the prevailing Consideration, in all their Consultations. They did not extend these Qualifications to *Scotland*; it being pretended that Estates there, being generally small, it would not be easy to find Men so qualified, capable to serve. This was thought to strike at an essential Part of our Constitution, touching the Freedom of Elections: And it had been, as oft as it was attempted, opposed by the Ministry, tho' it had a fair Appearance of securing Liberty, when all was lodged with Men of Estates: Yet our Gentry was become so ignorant, and so corrupt, that many apprehended the ill Effects of this; and that the Interest of Trade, which indeed supports that of the Land, would neither be understood nor regarded. But the new Ministers resolved to be popular with those who promoted it; so it pass'd, and was much magnified, as a main part of our Security for the future.

A Bill qualifying Members to be chosen passed.

Another Bill pass'd, not much to the honour of those who promoted it, for the Importation of the *French* Wine: The Interest of the Nation lay against this so visibly, that nothing but the delicate Palates of those, who loved that Liquor, could have

An Act for French Wine.

1711. carried such a Motion thro' the two Houses. But, tho' the Bill pass'd, it was like to have no effect: For it was provided, that the Wine should be imported in neutral Vessels; and the King of *France* had forbid it to be exported, in any Vessels but his own: it seems he reckoned, that our desire of drinking his Wine, would carry us to take it on such Terms, as he should prescribe. In the House of Commons there appeared a new Combination of Tories, of the highest form, who thought the Court was yet in some Management with the Whigs, and did not come up to their height, which they imputed to Mr. *Harley*; so they began to form themselves in opposition to him, and expressed their Jealousy of him on several occasions, sometimes publickly. But an odd Accident, that had almost been fatal, proved happy to him; it fell out on the 8th of *March*, the Day of the Queen's Accession to the Crown: One *Guiscard*, who was an Abbot in *France*, had for some enormous Crimes made his escape out of that Kingdom; he printed a formal Story of a Design he was laying, to raise a general Insurrection in the Southern Parts of *France* (in conjunction with those, who were then up in the *Cevennes*) for recovering their ancient Liberties, as well as for restoring the Edicts in favour of the *Huguenots*: And he seemed very zealous for publick Liberty. He insinuated himself so into the Duke of *Savoy*, that he recommended him to our Court, as a Man capable of doing great Service: He seemed forward to undertake any thing, that he might be put on; he had a Pension assigned him for some Years, but it did not answer his Expence; so when he was out of hope of getting it increased, he wrote to one at the Court of *France*, to offer his Service there; and it was thought, he had a Design against the Queen's Person; for he had tried, by all the ways that he could contrive, to be admitted to speak with her in private; which he had attempted that very Morning: but his Letter being opened at the Post-house, and brought to the Cabinet Council, a Messenger was sent from the Council, to seize on him. He found him walking in *St. James's Park*; and having disarmed him, carried him to the Lords, who were then sitting: As he waited without, before he was called in, he took up a Penknife, which lay among Pens in a Standish; when he was questioned upon his Letter, he desired to speak in private with Secretary *St. John*, who refused it; and he being placed out of his reach, whereas *Harley* sat near him, he struck him in the Breast with the Penknife, again and again, till it broke; and indeed wounded him as much as could be done, with so small a Tool. The other Counsellors drew their Swords, and stabbed *Guiscard* in several Places; and their Attendants being called in, they

An Attempt
on *Harley*
by *Guiscard*.

they dragged him out. *Harley's* Wound was presently searched; ^{1711.} it appeared to be a slight one, yet he was long in the Surgeon's hands: some imputed this to an ill Habit of Body; others thought it was an Artifice, to make it seem more dangerous than indeed it was. *Guiscard's* Wounds were deeper, and not easily managed; for at first he was fullen, and seemed resolved to die; yet after a day, he submitted himself to the Surgeons: But did not complain of a Wound in his Back, till it gangreened; and of that he died. It was not known, what Particulars were in his Letter, for various Reports went of it; nor was it known what he confessed.

This Accident was of great use to *Harley*; for the Party formed against him, was ashamed to push a Man, who was thus assassinated by one, that was studying to recommend himself to the Court of *France*, and who was believed to have formed a Design against the Queen's Person. Her Health was at this time much shaken. She had three Fits of an Ague; the last was a severe one: but the Progress of the Disease was stopped by the Bark.

The Tories continued still to pursue the Memory of *K. William*; they complained of the Grants made by him, tho' these were far short of those, that had been made by King *Charles* the Second; but that they might distinguish between those, whom they intended to favour, and others, against whom they were set, they brought in a Bill, empowering some Persons to examine all the Grants made by him, and to report both the Value of them, and the Considerations upon which they were made: This was the Method, that had succeeded with them before, with relation to *Ireland*; so the bringing in this Bill was looked on, as a sure step, for carrying the Resumption of all the Grants, that they had a mind to make void. When it was brought up to the Lords, the Design appeared to be an unjust Malice against the Memory of our Deliverer, and against those, who had served him best; so upon the first reading of the Bill, it was rejected.

A Design
against King
William's
Grants mis-
carries.

Their Malice turned next against the Earl of *Godolphin*: They found, that the Supplies given by Parliament were not all returned, and the Accounts of many Millions were not yet passed in the *Exchequer*; so they passed a Vote, that the Accounts of Thirty-five Millions yet stood out. This was a vast Sum; but to make it up, some Accounts in King *Charles's* time were thrown into the heap; the Lord *Ranelagh's* Accounts of the former Reign were the greatest part; and it appeared, that in no time Accounts were so regularly brought up, as in the Queen's Reign. Mr. *Bridges's* Accounts, of fourteen or fifteen Millions, were the great Item, of which, not above half a Million was passed: But there

Enquiries
into the Ac-
counts.

1711. there were Accounts of above eleven Millions brought in, tho' not pass'd in form, thro' the great Caution and Exactness of the Duke of *Newcastle*, at whose Office they were to pass; and he was very slow, and would allow nothing, without hearing Counsel on every Article. The truth is, the Methods of passing Accounts were so sure, that they were very slow; and it was not possible, for the proper Officer, to find Time and Leisure to pass the Accounts that were already in their hands. Upon this, tho' the Earl of *Godolphin* had managed the Treasury, with an Un-corruptness, Fidelity, and Diligence, that were so unexceptionable, that it was not possible to fix any Censure on his Administration; yet, because many Accounts stood out, they passed some angry Votes on that: But since nothing had appeared, in all the Examination they had made, that reflected on him, or on any of the Whigs, they would not consent to the Motion that was made, for printing that Report; for by that, it would have appeared, who had served well, and who had served ill.

When this Session drew near an end, some were concerned to find, that a Body, chosen so much by the Zeal and Influence of the Clergy, should have done nothing for the good of the Church; so it being apparent, that in the Suburbs of *London*, there were about 200,000 People more, than could possibly worship God in the Churches built there, upon a Message to them from the Queen (to which the Rite was given by an Address to her from the Convocation) they voted that fifty more Churches should be built; and laid the Charge of it, upon that part of the Duty on Coals, that had been reserved for building of *St. Paul's*, which was now finished.

The *Dauphin's* Death,
and the Em-
peror's.

In the begining of *April*, the *Dauphin* and the Emperor both died of the Small Pox; the first on the third, the second on the sixth of the Month: Time will shew what Influence the one or the other will have on publick Affairs. The Electors were all resolved to chuse King *Charles* Emperor. A little before the Emperor's Death, two great Affairs were fully settled; the Differences between that Court and the Duke of *Savoy* were composed, to the Duke's satisfaction: The other was of more importance; Offers of Amnesty and Concessions were sent to the Malecontents in *Hungary*, with which they were so well satisfied, that a full Peace was like to follow on it: And, lest the News of the Emperor's Death should be any stop to that Settlement, it was kept up from them, till a Body of 10,000 came in and delivered up their Arms, with the Fort of *Cassaw*, and took an Oath of Obedience to King *Charles*, which was the first notice they had of *Joseph's* Death.

The

The Effects of this will probably go farther, than barely to the quieting of *Hungary*: For the King of *Sweden*, the *Crim Tartar*, and the Agents of *France* had so animated the *Turks* against the *Muscovites*; that tho' the Sultan had no mind to engage in a new War, till the Affairs of that Empire should be put in a better State; yet he was so apprehensive of the Janizaries, that, much against his own Inclinations, he was brought to declare War against the *Czar*: But both the *Czar* and he seemed inclined to accept the Mediation, that was offered by *England* and by the *States*; to which very probably the *Turks* may the more easily be brought, when they see no hope of any Advantage to be made, from the Distractions in *Hungary*.

1711.

War breaking out between the Turk and the Czar.

It did not yet appear, what would be undertaken on either side in *Spain*: King *Philip* had not yet opened the Campaign; but it was given out, that great Preparations were made for a Siege: On the other hand, King *Charles* had great Re-inforcements sent him; so that his Force was reckoned not inferiour to King *Philip*'s: Nor was it yet known, what Resolutions he had taken, since he received the News of the Emperor's Death.

The Campaign was now opened on both sides in the *Netherlands*, tho' later than was intended: The Season continued long so rainy, that all the Ways in those parts were impracticable: Nothing was yet attempted on either side; both Armies lay near one another; and both were so well posted, that no Attack was yet made: And this was the present State of Affairs abroad, at the end of *May*. At home Mr. *Harley* was created Earl of *Oxford*, and then made Lord High Treasurer, and had now the supreme Favour: The Session of Parliament was not yet at an end. There had been a great Project carried on, for a Trade into the *South Sea*; and a Fund was projected, for paying the Interest of nine Millions, that were in Arrear for our Marine Affairs.

From our temporal Concerns, I turn to give an account of those, which related to the Church: The Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury* was opened, the 25th of *November*, the same day in which the Parliament met: And *Atterbury* was chosen Prolocutor. Soon after, the Queen sent a Licence to the Convocation, empowering them to enter upon such Consultations, as the present State of the Church required, and particularly to consider of such Matters, as she should lay before them; limiting them to a *Quorum*, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, or the Bishop of *Bath and Wells* should be present, and agree to their Resolutions. With this Licence, there was a Letter directed to the Archbishop, in which the Convocation was ordered, to lay before the Queen an Account of the late excessive growth

The Convocation met.

1711. growth of Infidelity and Herefy among us ; and to confider how to redrefs Abuses in Excommunications ; how rural Deans might be made more effectual ; how Terriers might be made and preferved more exactly ; and how the Abuses in Licences for Marriage might be corrected.

Exceptions
to the Li-
cence fent
them.

In this whole Matter, neither the Archbishop nor any of the Bifhops were fo much as confulted with ; and fome things in the Licence were new : The Archbishop was not named the Prefident of the Convocation, as was ufual in former Licences ; and in thefe, the Archbishop's Prefence and Consent alone was made neceffary, except in cafe of Sicknefs, and then the Archbishop had named fome Bifhops to prefide, as his Commiffaries : And in that cafe, the Convocation was limited to his Commiffaries, which ftill lodged the Prefidentfhip and the Negative with the Archbishop : This was according to the primitive Pattern, to limit the Clergy of a Province to do nothing, without the Consent of the Metropolitan ; but it was a thing new and unheard-of, to limit the Convocation to any of their own Body, who had no Deputation from the Archbishop. So a Report of this being made, by a Committee that was appointed to fearch the Records, it was laid before the Queen : And ſhe fent us a Message to let us know, that ſhe did not intend, that thofe whom ſhe had named to be of the *Quorum*, ſhould either prefide or have a Negative upon our Deliberations, tho' the contrary was plainly infinuated in the Licence. The Archbishop was fo ill of the Gout, that after our firft Meetings, he could come no more to us ; fo was the Bifhop of *London* : upon which, the Bifhop of *Bath and Wells*, feeing how invidioufly he was diftinguiſhed from his Brethren, in which he had not been confulted, pretended ill Health ; and we were at a ſtand, till a new Licence was ſent us, in which the Bifhops of *Wincheſter*, *Bristol*, and *St. Davids*, were added to be of the *Quorum*. The two laſt were newly confecrated, and had been in no Functions in the Church before : So the Queen, not only paſſed over all the Bifhops, made in King *William's* Reign, but a great many of thoſe named by herſelf, and ſet the two laſt in a Diſtinction above all their Brethren. All this was directed by *Atterbury*, who had the Confidence of the chief Miniſter ; and becauſe the other Bifhops had maintained a good Correſpondence with the former Miniſtry, it was thought fit to put Marks of the Queen's Diſtruſt upon them, that it might appear, with whom her Royal Favour and Truſt was lodged.

A new Li-
cence.

A Repreſen-
tation drawn
for the
Queen.

The Convocation entred on the Conſideration of the Matters referred to them by the Queen : And a Committee was appointed, to draw a Representation of the preſent State of the Church, and of

of Religion among us; but after some Heads were agreed on, *Atterbury* procured, that the drawing of this might be left to him: And he drew up a most virulent Declamation; defaming all the Administration, from the time of the Revolution: Into this he brought many impious Principles and Practices, that had been little heard of or known, but were now to be published, if this should be laid before the Queen. The Lower House agreed to his Draught; but the Bishops laid it aside, and ordered another Representation to be drawn, in more general and more modest Terms. It was not settled, which of these Draughts should be made use of, or whether any Representation at all should be made to the Queen: For it was known, that the Design in asking one was only to have an Aspersion cast, both on the former Ministry and on the former Reign. Several Provisions were prepared, with relation to the other Particulars in the Queen's Letter: But none of these were agreed to by both Houses.

An Incident happened, that diverted their Thoughts to another matter: Mr. *Whiston*, the Professor of Mathematicks in *Cambridge*, a learned Man, of a sober and exemplary Life, but much set on hunting for Paradoxes, fell on the reviving the *Arian* Heresy, tho' he pretended to differ from *Arius*, in several Particulars: Yet upon the main he was partly *Apollinarist*, partly *Arian*; for he thought the *Nous* or *Word* was all the Soul that acted in our Saviour's Body. He found his Notions favoured by the Apostolical Constitutions; so he reckoned them a Part, and the chief Part of the Canon of the Scriptures. For these Tenets, he was censured at *Cambridge*, and expelled the University: Upon that, he wrote a Vindication of himself and his Doctrine, and dedicated it to the Convocation, promising a larger Work on these Subjects. The uncontested way of proceeding in such a case was, that the Bishop of the Diocese, in which he lived, should cite him into his Court, in order to his Conviction or Censure, from whose Sentence an Appeal lay to the Archbishop, and from him to the Crown: Or the Archbishop might proceed in the first instance in a Court of Audience: But we saw no clear Precedents, of any Proceedings in Convocation, where the Jurisdiction was contested; a Reference made by the High Commission to the Convocation, where the Party submitted to do Penance, being the only Precedent that appeared in History; and even of this we had no Record: so that it not being thought a clear Warrant for our proceeding, we were at a stand. The Act, that settled the course of Appeals in King *Henry* the Eighth's Time, made no mention of Sentences in Convocation; and yet, by the Act in the first of Queen *Elizabeth*, that defined what

Whiston revived *Arianism*.

1711. what should be judged Heresy, that Judgment was declared to be in the Crown: By all this (which the Archbishop laid before the Bishops in a Letter, that he wrote to them on this occasion) it seemed doubtful, whether the Convocation could, in the first instance, proceed against a Man for Heresy: And their Proceedings, if they were not warranted by Law, might involvethem in a *Præmunire*. So the Upper House, in an Address, prayed the Queen to ask the Opinions of the Judges, and such others as she thought fit, concerning these Doubts, that they might know how the Law stood in this matter.

The different Opinions of the Judges concerning the Power of the Convocation.

Eight of the Judges, with the Attorney and Solicitor-General, gave their Opinion, that We had a Jurisdiction, and might proceed in such a case; but brought no express Law nor Precedent to support their Opinion: They only observed, that the Law-Books spoke of the Convocation, as having Jurisdiction; and they did not see that it was ever taken from them: They were also of Opinion, that an Appeal lay from the Sentence of Convocation to the Crown; but they reserved to themselves a Power to change their mind, in case, upon an Argument that might be made for a Prohibition, they should see cause for it. Four of the Judges were positively of a contrary Opinion, and maintained it from the Statutes made at the Reformation. The Queen, having received these different Opinions, sent them to the Archbishop, to be laid before the two Houses of Convocation; and, without taking any notice of the diversity between them, she wrote that, there being now no doubt to be made of our Jurisdiction, she did expect, that we should proceed in the Matter before us. In this it was visible, that Those who advised the Queen to write that Letter, considered more their own Humours than her Honour. Yet two great Doubts still remained, even supposing we had a Jurisdiction: The first was, of whom the Court was to be composed; whether only of the Bishops, or what share the Lower House had in this Judiciary Authority: The other was, by what Delegates, in case of an Appeal, our Sentence was to be examined: Were no Bishops to be in the Court of Delegates? Or was the Sentence of the Archbishop and his twenty-one Suffragan Bishops, with the Clergy of the Province, to be judged by the Archbishop of *York* and his three Suffragan Bishops? These Difficulties appearing to be so great, the Bishops resolved to begin with that, in which they had, by the Queen's Licence, an Undisputable Authority; which was to examine and censure the Book, and to see if his Doctrine was not contrary to the Scriptures, and the first four General Councils, which is the Measure set by Law, to judge Heresy. They drew out some Propositions

positions from his Book, which seemed plainly to be the reviving of *Arianism*; and censured them as such. These they sent down to the Lower House, who, tho' they excepted to one Proposition, yet censured the rest in the same manner. This the Archbishop (being then disabled by the Gout) sent by one of the Bishops to the Queen for her Assent, who promised to consider of it: But to end the matter at once, at their next meeting in Winter, no Answer being come from the Queen, two Bishops were sent to ask it; but she could not tell, what was become of the Paper, which the Archbishop had sent her; so a new Extract of the Censure was again sent to her: But she has not yet thought fit, to send any Answer to it. So *Whiston's* Affair sleeps, tho' he has published a large Work in four Volumes in Octavo, justifying his Doctrine, and maintaining the Canonicalness of the Apostolical Constitutions, preferring their Authority not only to the Epistles, but even to the Gospels. In this last I do not find he has made any *Prose-lytes*, tho' he has set himself much to support that Paradox.

1711.

Whiston's
Doctrines
condemned.

The Lower House would not enter into the Consideration of the Representation, sent down to them by the Bishops; so none was agreed on, to be presented to the Queen: But both were printed, and severe Reflections were made, in several Tracts, on that which was drawn by the Lower House, or rather by *Atterbury*. The Bishops went thro' all the Matters, recommended to them by the Queen; and drew up a Scheme of Regulations on them all: But neither were These agreed to, by the Lower House; for their Spirits were so exasperated, that nothing sent by the Bishops could be agreeable to them. At last the Session of Parliament and Convocation came to an end.

The last thing settled by the Parliament was, the creating a new Fund for a Trade in the *South Sea*: There was a great Debt upon the Navy, occasioned partly, by the Deficiency of the Funds appointed for the Service at Sea, but chiefly by the necessity of applying such Supplies as were given, without Appropriating Clauses, to the Service abroad; where it was impossible to carry it on by Credit, without ready Money, so it was judged necessary to let the Debt of the Navy run on upon Credit: This had risen up to several Millions; and the Discount on the Navy-Bills ran high. All this Debt was thrown into one Stock; and a Fund was formed, for paying the Interest at 6 *per Cent*.

An Act for
the *South-*
Sea Trade.

The Flatterers of the new Ministers made great use of this, to magnify them, and to asperse the old Ministry: But a full Report of that matter was soon after published, by which it appeared, that the publick Money had been managed with the utmost fidelity and frugality; and it was made evident, that when there was not

Reflections
on the old
Ministry
fully cleared

1711. Money enough to answer all the Expence of the War, it was necessary to apply it to that, which pressed most, and where the Service could not be carried on by Credit: So this Debt was contracted by an inevitable Necessity; and all reasonable Persons were fully satisfied with this Account of the Matter. The Earl of *Gordolphin*'s unblemish'd Integrity was such, that no Imputation of any sort could be fastened on him; so, to keep up a Clamour, they reflected on the Expence he had run the Nation into, upon the early Successes in the Year 1706; which were very justly acknowledged, and cleared in the succeeding Session, as was formerly told: But that was now revived; and it was said to be an Invasion of the great Right of the Commons in giving Supplies, to enter on Designs and to engage the Nation in an Expence, not provided for by Parliament. This was aggravated, with many tragical Expressions, as a Subversion of the Constitution; so with this, and that of the thirty-five Millions, of which the Accounts were not yet pass'd, and some other Particulars, they made an inflaming Address to the Queen, at the end of the Sessions. And this was artificially spread thro' the Nation, by which weaker Minds were so possessed, that it was not easy to undeceive them, even by the fullest and clearest Evidences; the Nation seemed still infatuated beyond the power of Conviction. With this the Session ended, and all considering Persons had a very melancholy Prospect, when they saw what might be apprehended from the two Sessions, that were yet to come of the same Parliament.

Affairs in
Spain.

I now turn to Affairs abroad. The Business of *Spain* had been so much pressed from the Throne, and so much insisted on all this Session, and the Commons had given 1,500,000 *l.* for that Service (a Sum far beyond all that had been granted in any preceding Session) so that it was expected, Matters would have been carried there in another manner than formerly. The Duke of *Argyle* was sent to command the Queen's Troops there, and he seemed full of Heat: But all our Hopes failed. The Duke of *Vendome*'s Army was in so ill a condition, that if *Staremborgh* had been supported, he promised himself great Advantages: It does not yet appear what made this to fail; for the Parliament has not yet taken this into Examination. It is certain the Duke of *Argyle* did nothing; neither he nor his Troops were once named, during the whole Campaign; he wrote over very heavy Complaints, that he was not supported, by the failing of the Remittances, that he expected: But what ground there was for that, does not yet appear: For, tho' he afterwards came over, he was very silent, and seemed in a good Understanding with the Ministers. *Staremborgh* drew out his Forces; and the two Armies lay

lay for some time looking on one another, without coming to any Action: *Vendome* ordered a Siege to be laid to two small Places, but without Success. That of *Cardona* was persisted in obstinately, till near the end of *December*, and then *Starembergh* sent some Bodies to raise the Siege, who succeeded so well in their Attempt, that they killed 2000 of the Besiegers, and forced their Camp; so that they not only raised the Siege, but made themselves Masters of the Enemies Artillery, Ammunition, and Baggage; and the Duke of *Vendome's* Army was so diminished, that if *Starembergh* had received the Assistance, which he expected from *England*, he would have pierced far into *Spain*. But we did nothing, after all the Zeal we had express'd for retrieving Matters on that side.

The Emperor's Death, as it presently opened to King *Charles* the Succession to the Hereditary Dominions; so a Disposition appeared unanimously, among all the Electors, to chuse him Emperor: Yet he staid in *Barcelona* till *September*; and then leaving his Queen behind, to support his Affairs in *Spain*, he sailed over to *Italy*: He staid some Weeks at *Milan*, where the Duke of *Savoy* came to him; and we were told, that all Matters in debate were adjusted between them. We hoped this Campaign would have produced somewhat in those Parts, of advantage to the common Cause, upon the Agreement made before the Emperor *Joseph's* Death. And Mr. *St. John*, when he moved in the House of Commons, for the Subsidies to the Duke of *Savoy*, said, all our hopes of Success this Year lay in that Quarter; for in *Flanders* we could do nothing. The Duke came into *Savoy*, and it was given out that he was resolved to press forward; but upon what Views, it was not then known, he stop'd his Course; and after a short Campaign, repass'd the Mountains.

The Election of the Emperor came on at *Francfort*, where some Electors came in Person, others sent their Deputies; some Weeks were spent in preparing the Capitulations; great Applications were made to them, to receive Deputies from the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*; but they were rejected, for they were under the *Ban* of the Empire; nor were they pleased, with the Interposition of the Pope's *Nuntio*, who gave them much trouble in that Matter; but they persisted in refusing to admit them. *Francfort* lay so near the Frontier of the Empire, that it was apprehended, the *French* might have made an Attempt that way; for they drew some Detachments from their Army in *Flanders*, to encrease their Forces on the *Rhine*. This obliged Prince *Eugene*, after he, in conjunction with the Duke of *Marlborough*, had opened the Campaign in *Flanders*, to draw off a Detachment from

1711.
The Election of King Charles to be Emperor.

1711. from thence, and march with it towards the *Rhine*; and there he commanded the Imperial Army; and came in good time, to secure the Electors at *Francfort*; who being now safe, from the fear of any Insult, went on slowly in all that they thought fit to propose, previous to an Election; and concluded unanimously to chuse *Charles*, who was now declared Emperor by the Name of *Charles* the Sixth: He went from *Milan* to *Innsbruck*, and from thence to *Francfort*, where he was crowned with the usual Solemnity. Thus that Matter was happily ended, and no Action happened on the *Rhine* all this Campaign.

The Duke of Marlborough passed the French Lines.

The Duke of *Marlborough's* Army was not only weakened by the Detachment, that Prince *Eugene* carried to the *Rhine*, but by the calling over 5000 Men of the best Bodies of his Army, for an Expedition designed by Sea; so that the *French* were superiour to him in number: They lay behind Lines, that were looked on as so strong, that the forcing them was thought an impracticable thing; and it was said, that *Villars* had wrote to the *French* King, that he had put a *Ne plus ultra* to the Duke of *Marlborough*: But, contrary to all expectation, he did so amuse *Villars* with feint Motions, that at last, to the surprize of all *Europe*, he pass'd the Lines near *Bouchain*, without the loss of a Man.

This raised his Character, beyond all that he had done formerly; the Design was so well laid, and was so happily executed, that in all Mens Opinions, it pass'd for a Master-piece of military Skill; the honour of it falling entirely on the Duke of *Marlborough*, no other Person having any share, except in the Execution. When our Army was now so happily got within the *French* Lines, the *Dutch* Deputies proposed the attacking the *French*, and venturing a Battle, since this Surprize had put them in no small Disorder. The Duke of *Marlborough* differed from them, he thought there might be too much Danger in that Attempt; the Army was much fatigued with so long a March, in which their Cavalry had been eight and forty Hours on horseback, alighting only twice, about an Hour at a time, to feed their Horses; for they marched eleven Leagues in one Day: The *French* were fresh; and our Army was in no condition to enter upon Action, till some time was allowed for Refreshment: And the Duke of *Marlborough* thought that, in case of a Misfortune, their being within the *French* Lines might be fatal.

He besieged Bouchain.

He proposed the besieging *Bouchain*; which he thought might oblige the *French* to endeavour to raise the Siege; and that might give occasion to their fighting on more equal Terms; or it would bring both a Disreputation and a Disheartening on their Army,

1711.

if a Place of such Importance should be taken in their fight: Both the *Dutch* Deputies and the General Officers thought the Design was too bold, yet they submitted to him in the Matter: It seemed impracticable to take a Place, situated in a Morass, well fortified, with a good Garrison in it, in the sight of a superior Army; for the *French* lay within a Mile of them: There was also great danger from the Excursions, that the Garrisons of *Valenciennes* and *Condé* might make, to cut off their Provisions, which were to come to them from *Tournay*. All about the Duke studied to divert him from so dangerous an Undertaking; since a Misfortune in his Conduct would have furnished his Enemies with the Advantages, that they waited for. He was sensible of all this, yet he had laid the Scheme so well, that he resolved to venture on it: The *French* tried to throw more Men into the Place, by a narrow Causeway thro' the Morass, but he took his Measures so well, that he was guarded against every thing: He saw what the Event of the Siege might be; so he bestirred himself with unusual Application, and was more fatigued in the course of this Siege, than he had been at any time, during the whole War. He carried on the Trenches, and by his Batteries and Bombs the Place was soon laid in Ruins. *Villars* seemed to be very busy, but to no purpose; yet, seeing he could not raise the Siege, he tried to surprize *Doway*; but they discovered the Design, and forced the Body that was sent thither, to retreat in all haste. After twenty Days, from the opening the Trenches, the Garrison of *Bouchain* capitulated; and could have no better Terms than to be made Prisoners of War. As this was reckoned the most extraordinary thing in the whole History of the War, so the Honour of it was acknowledged to belong wholly to the Duke of *Marlborough*; as the Blame of a Mis-carriage in it must have fallen singly on him. *Villars's* Conduct on this occasion was much censured; but it was approved by the King of *France*: And with this the Campaign ended in those parts.

And took it.

No Action happened at Sea, for the *French* had no Fleet out: An Expedition was designed by Sea for taking *Quebec* and *Placentia*; and for that end, 5000 Men were brought from *Flanders*: *Hill*, who was Brother to the Favourite, had the Command. There was a strong Squadron of Men of War ordered, to secure the Transport Fleet; they were furnished from hence with Provisions, only for three Months; but they designed to take in a second Supply at *New England*. A Commissioner of the Victualing then told me, he could not guess what made them be sent out so ill furnished; for they had Stores, lying on their hands, for a full Supply. They sailed, soon after the end of the Session, and

An Expedition by Sea to Canada.

1711. had a quick Passage to *New England*; but were forced to stay many Weeks on that Coast, before they could be supplied with Provisions: They sailed near the end of *August* into the River of *Canada*, which was thirty Miles broad: But they were ill served with Pilots; and at that Season, Storms were ordinary in those parts: One of these broke upon them, by which several Ships were overset, and about 2500 Men were lost. Thus the Design of *Quebec* miscarried; and their Provisions were too scanty, to venture an Attempt on *Placentia*: So they returned home unprosperous.

It miscarried.

This was a great Mortification to the new Ministry; it being their first Undertaking, ill projected, and worse executed, in every step of it: It was the more liable to Censure, because at the very time, that the old Ministry were charged with entering on Designs, that had not been laid before the Parliament, and for which no Supplies had been given, they projected this, even while a Session was yet going on, without communicating it to the Parliament; whereas, what the former Ministry had done this way, was upon Emergents, and Successes, after the end of the Session: But this Matter has not yet been brought under a Parliamentary Examination, so the Discoveries, that may be made if that happens, must be referred to their proper place. This was the State of our Affairs during this Campaign; the Merchants complained of great Losses made at Sea, by the ill Management of Convoys and Cruizers.

Affairs in Turkey.

The War between the *Turk* and the *Czar* came to a quick end: The *Czar* advanced with his Army so far into *Moldavia*, that he was cut off from his Provisions: An Engagement followed, in which both sides pretended they had the advantage. It is certain, the *Czar* found he was reduced to great Extremities; for he proposed, in order to a Peace, to surrender *Azuph*, with some other Places, and demanded that the King of *Sweden* might be sent home to his own Country. The *Grand Vizier* was glad to arrive at so speedy a Conclusion of the War; and, notwithstanding the great Opposition made by the King of *Sweden*, he concluded a Peace with the *Muscovite*, not without suspicion of his being corrupted by Money to it. The King of *Sweden* being highly offended at this, charged the *Grand Vizier*, for neglecting the great Advantages he had over the *Czar*, since he and his whole Army were at mercy; and he prevailed so far at the *Port*, that upon it the *Grand Vizier* was deposed, and there was an appearance of a War ready to break out the next Year: for the *Czar* delayed the rendring *Azuph* and the other Places agreed to be delivered up; pretending that the King of *Sweden* was not sent

sent home, according to agreement; yet to prevent a new War, 1711. all the Places were at length delivered up: What Effect this may have, must be left to farther time.

Towards the end of the Year the *Danes* and *Saxons* broke in by concert upon *Pomerania*, resolving to besiege *Stralsund*; but every thing necessary for a Siege came so slowly from *Denmark*, that no Progress was made, tho' the Troops lay near the Place, for some Months; and in that time the *Swedes* landed a considerable Body of Men, in the Isle of *Rugen*: At last the Besiegers, being in want of every thing, were forced to raise the Siege, and to retire from that Neighbourhood, in the beginning of *January*. They fate down next before *Wismar*, but that Attempt likewise miscarried, which rendered the Conduct of the King of *Denmark* very contemptible; who thus obstinately carried on a War (at a time that a Plague swept away a third part of the People of *Copenhagen*) with as little Conduct as Success. Having thus given a short View of Affairs abroad;

I come next to give the best Account I can, of a secret and important Transaction at home: The Ministers now found, how hard it was to restore Credit, and by consequence to carry on the War; Mr. *Harley's* Wound gave the Queen the occasion, which she seemed to be waiting for; upon his Recovery she had created him an Earl, by a double Title, of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*. Preambles to Patents of Honour usually carry in them a short Account of the Dignity of the Family, and of the Services of the Person advanced: But his Preamble was very pompous, and set him out in the most extravagant Characters that Flatterers could invent; in particular it said, that he had redeemed the Nation from Robbery, had restored Credit, and had rendered the Publick great Service in a course of many Years: All this was set out in too fulsome Rhetorick, and being prepared by his own Direction, pleased him so much, that whereas all other Patents had been only read in the House of Lords, this was printed. He was at the same time made Lord Treasurer, and became the chief, if not sole Minister, for every thing was directed by him. It soon appeared, that his Strength lay in managing Parties, and in engaging weak People by Rewards and Promises, to depend upon him; but that he neither thoroughly understood the Business of the Treasury, nor the Conduct of foreign Affairs. But he trusted to his Interest in the Queen and in the Favourite.

He saw the Load, that the carrying on the War must bring upon him; so he resolved to strike up a Peace as soon as was possible. The Earl of *Jersey* had some Correspondence in *Paris* and at *St. Germains*, so he trusted the Conduct of the Negotiation to him. The Duke of *Newcastle*, who was Lord Privy Seal, died of

And in Pomerania.

Harley made an Earl, and Lord Treasurer.

Negotiations for a Peace with France.

1711. of an Apoplexy in *July*, being the richest Subject that had been in *England* for some Ages; he had an Estate of above 40000 *l.* a-year, and was much set on encreasing it. Upon his Death it was resolved to give the Earl of *Jersey* the Privy Seal; but he died suddenly the very day in which it was to be given him; upon that it was conferred on *Robinson*, Bishop of *Bristol*, who was designed to be the Plenipotentiary in the Treaty, that was projected. One *Prior*, who had been *Jersey's* Secretary, upon his Death, was employed to prosecute that, which the other did not live to finish. *Prior* had been taken a Boy, out of a Tavern, by the Earl of *Dorset*, who accidentally found him reading *Horace*; and he, being very generous, gave him an Education in Literature: He was sent to the Court of *France* in *September*, to try on what Terms we might expect a Peace; his Journey was carried on secretly; but upon his Return, he was stopt at *Dover*; and a Packet, that he brought, was kept, till an Order came from Court to set him free: And by this Accident the Secret broke out. Soon after that, one *Mesnager* was sent over from *France*, with Preliminaries; but very different from those, that had been concerted at the *Hague*, two Years before.

Preliminaries offered by *France*.

By these, the King of *France* offered, to acknowledge the Queen, and the Succession to the Crown, according to the present Settlement; and that he would *bona fide* enter into such Measures, that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* should never belong to the same Person; that he would settle a safe and proper Barrier to all the Allies; that he would raze *Dunkirk*, provided an Equivalent should be given, for destroying the Fortifications, he had made there, at so great an Expence; and that he would procure both to *England* and to the *States* the re-establishing of their Commerce. The Court was then at *Windsor*: These Propositions were so well entertained at our Court, that a Copy of them was ordered to be given to Count *Gallas*, the Emperor's Minister; he treated these Offers with much Scorn, and printed the Preliminaries in one of our News-Papers; soon after that, he was ordered to come no more to Court, but to make haste out of *England*.

Count *Gallas* sent away with Disgrace.

The proceeding was severe and unusual; for the common Method, when a Provocation was given by a Publick Minister, was to complain of him to his Master, and to desire him to be recalled. It was not then known upon what this was grounded; that which was surmized was, that his Secretary *Gaultier* (who was a Priest) betrayed him; and discovered his secret Correspondence, and the Advertisements he sent the Emperor, to give him ill Impressions of our Court; for which Treachery he was rewarded with an Abbey in *France*: But of this I have no certain Information.

When

When our Court was resolved on this Project; they knew the Lord *Townshend* so well, that they could not depend on his serving their ends; so he was both recalled and disgraced: And the Lord *Raby* was brought from the Court of *Prussia*, and advanced to be Earl of *Strafford*, and sent Ambassador to *Holland*. It was not then known, how far our Court carried the Negotiations with *France*; it was not certain, whether they only accepted of these Preliminaries, as a Foundation for a Treaty, to be opened upon them; or if any private Promise or Treaty was signed: This last was very positively given out, both in *France* and *Spain*. The very treating, without the concurrence of our Allies, was certainly an open Violation of our Alliances, which had expressly provided against any such Negotiation.

1711.
Earl of
Strafford
sent Amba-
sador to
Holland.

Many mercenary Pens were set on work, to justify our Proceedings, and to defame our Allies, more particularly the *Dutch*; this was done with much Art, but with no regard to Truth, in a Pamphlet entitled the *Conduct of the Allies, and of the late Ministry*; to which very full Answers were written, detecting the Thread of Falshood, that ran thro' that Work. It was now said, *England* was so exhausted, that it was impossible to carry on the War: And when King *Charles* was chosen Emperor, it was also said, he would be too great and too dangerous to all his Neighbours, if *Spain* were join'd to the Emperor and to the Hereditary Dominions: It was also zealously, tho' most falsely, infused into the Minds of the People, that our Allies, most particularly the *Dutch*, had imposed on us, and failed us on many occasions. The *Jacobites* did, with the greater Joy entertain this Prospect of Peace, because the *Dauphin* had, in a Visit to *St. Germain's*, congratulated that Court upon it; which made them conclude, that it was to have a happy effect, with relation to the *Pretender's* Affairs.

Many Libels
against the
Allies.

Our Court denied this; and sent the Earl of *Rivers* to *Hannover*, to assure the Elector, that the Queen would take especial care, to have the Succession to the Crown secured to his Family, by the Treaty that was to be opened: This made little impression on that Elector; for he saw clearly, that if *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were left to King *Philip*, the *French* would soon become the superiour Power to all the rest of *Europe*; that *France* would keep *Spain* in subjection, and by the Wealth they would fetch from the *Indies*, they would give Law to all about them, and set what King they pleased on the Throne of *England*. Earl *Rivers* staid a few days there, and brought an Answer from the Elector in Writing; yet the Elector apprehended, not without reason, that it might be stifled; therefore he

Earl *Rivers*
sent to *Hannover*, but
succeeded
not.

1711. ordered his Minister to give a full Memorial, to the same purpose, of which our Court took no notice: But the Memorial was translated and printed here, to the great satisfaction of all those, who were afraid of the ill Designs, that might be hid, under the pretence of the Treaty then proposed.

The States
are forced to
open a
Treaty.

The Earl of *Strafford* pressed the *States*, to comply with the Queen's Desire, of opening a Treaty: They answered very slowly, being desirous to see how the Parliament was inclined; but the Parliament was prorogued from the 13th to the 29th of *November*, and from that to the 7th of *December*. It was also reported in *Holland*, that the Earl of *Strafford* (seeing the *States* slow in granting the Passports, and upon that apprehending these Delays flowed from their expecting to see, how the Parliament of *England* approved of these Steps) told them plainly, that till they agreed to a Treaty, and granted the Passports, the Session should not be opened: So they granted them, and left the Time and Place of Treaty, to the Queen's Determination. She named *Utrecht* as the Place of Congress, and the first of *January* O. S. for opening it; and wrote a circular Letter to all the Allies, inviting them to send Plenipotentiaries to that Place. The Emperor set himself vehemently to oppose the Progress of this Matter; he sent Prince *Eugene*, to dissuade the *States* from agreeing to it, and offered a new Scheme of the War, that should be easier to the Allies, and lie heavier on himself: But the Passports were now sent to the Court of *France*; that Court demanded Passports likewise, for the Plenipotentiaries of King *Philip*, and of the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*: this was offered by our Court to the *States*, they refused it, but whether our Ministers then agreed to it or not, I cannot tell.

Endeavours
used by the
Court be-
fore they
opened the
Parliament.

Before the opening the Session, Pains were taken on many Persons, to persuade them to agree to the Measures the Court were in; the Duke of *Marlborough*, upon his coming over, spoke very plainly to the Queen against the Steps, that were already made; but he found her so possessed, that what he said made no Impression, so he desired to be excused from coming to Council, since he must oppose every step, that was made in that Affair. Among others, the Queen spoke to myself; she said, she hoped Bishops would not be against Peace: I said, a good Peace was what we prayed daily for, but the Preliminaries offered by *France* gave no hopes of such an one; and the trusting to the King of *France's* Faith, after all that had pass'd, would seem a strange thing. She said, we were not to regard the Preliminaries; we should have a Peace upon such a bottom, that we should not at all rely on the King of *France's* Word; but we ought to suspend our

our Opinions, till she acquainted us with the whole Matter. I ^{1711.} asked leave to speak my Mind plainly; which she granted: I said, any Treaty by which *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were left to King *Philip*, must in a little while deliver up all *Europe* into the hands of *France*; and, if any such Peace should be made, she was betrayed, and we were all ruined; in less than three Years time, she would be murdered, and the Fires would be again raised in *Smithfield*: I pursued this long, till I saw she grew uneasy; so I withdrew.

On the seventh of *December*, she opened the Parliament: In her Speech she said, notwithstanding the Arts of those who delighted in War, the Time and Place were appointed for treating a general Peace; her Allies, especially the *States*, had by their ready concurrence expressed an entire Confidence in her; and she promised, to do her utmost to procure reasonable satisfaction to them all: She demanded of the House of Commons the necessary Supplies, for carrying on the War; and hoped that none would envy her the Glory of ending it by a just and honourable Peace; she in particular recommended Unanimity, that our Enemies might not think us a divided People, which might prevent that good Peace, of which she had such reasonable Hopes, and so near a View.

The Queen's Speech to the two Houses.

The Speech gave occasion to many Reflections; *The Arts of those who delighted in War* seemed to be levelled at the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Preliminaries concerted at the *Hague*; her saying, that the Allies reposed an entire Confidence in her, amazed all those who knew, that neither the Emperor nor the Empire had agreed to the Congress, but were opposing it with great Vehemence; and that even the *States* were far from being cordial or easy, in the steps that they had made.

Reflections on it.

After the Speech, a Motion was made in the House of Lords, to make an Address of Thanks to the Queen for her Speech; upon this, the Earl of *Nottingham* did very copiously set forth the necessity of having *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, out of the hands of a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*; he moved that, with their Address of Thanks, they should offer that as their Advice to the Queen; he set forth the Misery that all *Europe*, but *England* most particularly, must be under, if the *West-Indies* came into a *French* Management; and that King *Philip*'s possessing them was, upon the Matter, the putting them into the hands of *France*. This was much opposed by the Ministers; they moved the referring that Matter to another occasion, in which it might be fully debated; but said, it was not fit to clog the Address with it. Some officious Courtiers said, that since Peace and War be-
longed

Earl of Nottingham moved, that no Peace could be safe, unless *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were taken from the House of *Bourbon*.

1711.

Agreed to
by the
Lords.

longed, as Prerogatives to the Crown, it was not proper to offer any Advice in those Matters, 'till it was asked: But this was rejected with Indignation, since it was a constant Practice in all Sessions of Parliament, to offer Advices; no Prerogative could be above Advice; this was the end specified in the Writ, by which a Parliament was summoned; nor was the Motion for a Delay received. The Eyes of all *Europe* were upon the present Session; and this was a Post-Night: So it was fit they should come to a present Resolution, in a matter of such importance. The Question was put, whether this Advice should be part of the Address; and the previous Question being first put, it was carried by one Voice to put it; and the main Question was carried by three Voices: so this Point was gained, tho' by a small Majority. The same Motion was made in the House of Commons, but was rejected by a great Majority; yet in other respects their Address was well couched: for they said, they hoped for a just, honourable, and lasting Peace, to her Majesty and to all her Allies.

When the Address of the Lords was reported to the House, by the Committee appointed to prepare it, the Court tried to get the whole matter to be contested over again, pretending that the Debate was not now, upon the matter, debated the day before, but only whether they should agree to the Draught, prepared by the Committee: But that part of it, which contained the Advice, was conceived in the very Words, in which the Vote had pass'd; and it was a standing Rule, that what was once voted, could never again be brought into question, during that Session. This was so sacred a Rule, that many of those, who voted with the Court the Day before, expressed their Indignation against it, as subverting the very Constitution of Parliaments, if things might be thus voted and unvoted again, from day to day: Yet even upon this a Division was called for, but the Majority appearing so evidently against the Motion, it was yielded, without counting the House.

The Queen's
Answer.

When the Address was presented to the Queen, her Answer was; she was sorry, that any should think, she would not do her utmost to hinder *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, from remaining in the hands of a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*: And the Lords returned her Thanks for this gracious Answer; for they understood, by the doing her utmost, was meant the continuing the War. The Court was much troubled to see the House of Lords so backward; and both sides studied to fortify themselves, by bringing up their Friends, or by getting their Proxies.

A Bill against
Occasional
Conformity.

The next Motion was made by the Earl of *Nottingham*, for leave to bring in a Bill against Occasional Conformity: He told those, with whom he now joined, that he was but One Man come

over

over to them, unless he could carry a Bill to that effect; but, if ^{1711.} they would give way to that, he hoped he should be able to bring many to concur with them in other things. They yielded this the more easily, because they knew that the Court had offered, to the high Men in the House of Commons, to carry any Bill that they should desire in that Matter: The Earl of *Nottingham* promised to draw it with all possible Temper. It was thus prepared; that all Persons in Places of Profit and Trust, and all the Common-Council Men in Corporations, who should be at any Meeting for Divine Worship (where there were above ten Persons, more than the Family) in which the Common Prayer was not used, or where the Queen and the Princess *Sophia* were not prayed for, should upon Conviction forfeit their Place of Trust or Profit, the Witnesses making Oath within ten Days, and the Prosecution being within three Months after the Offence; and such Persons were to continue incapable of any Employment, 'till they should depose, that for a whole Year together they had been at no Conventicle. The Bill did also enact, that the Toleration should remain inviolable, in all time to come; and that if any Person should be brought into Trouble, for not having observed the Rules, that were prescribed by the Act that first granted the Toleration, all such Prosecution should cease, upon their taking the Oath prescribed by that Act: And a Teacher, licensed in any one County, was by the Bill qualified, to serve in any licensed Meeting in any Part of *England*; and by another Clause, all who were concerned in the Practice of the Law in *Scotland* were required to take the *Abjuration*, in the Month of *June* next.

No opposition was made to this in the House of Lords; so it passed in three Days; and it had the same fate in the House of Commons; only they added a Penalty on the Offender of forty Pounds, which was to be given to the Informer: and so it was offered to the Royal Assent, with the Bill for four Shillings in the Pound. Great Reflections were made on the fate of this Bill, which had been formerly so much contested, and was so often rejected by the Lords, and now went thro' both Houses, in so silent a manner, without the least opposition: Some of the Dissenters complained much, that they were thus forsaken by their Friends, to whom they had trusted; and the Court had Agents among them, to inflame their Resentments, since they were sacrificed by those, on whom they depended. All the excuse that the Whigs made, for their easiness in this Matter, was, That they gave way to it, to try how far the yielding it might go toward quieting the Fears of those, who seemed to think the Church was still

Passed without opposition.

1711. in danger, 'till that Act pass'd; and thereby to engage these, to concur with them, in those important Matters that might come before them. It must be left to Time to shew, what good effect this Act may have on the Church, or what bad ones it may have on Dissenters.

Duke Hamilton's Patent examined.

The next point that occasioned a great Debate in the House of Lords, which was espoused by the Court with great Zeal, was a Patent creating Duke *Hamilton*, a Duke in *England*: Lawyers were heard for the Patent, the Queen's Prerogative in conferring Honours was clear; all the Subjects of the United Kingdom had likewise a Capacity of receiving Honour; the Commons of *Scotland* had it unquestionably; and it seemed a strange Assertion, that the Peers of that Nation should be the only Persons, incapable of receiving Honour: By the Act of Union the Peers of *Scotland* were, *by virtue of that Treaty*, to have a Representation of Sixteen, for their whole Body; these Words, *by virtue of that Treaty*, seemed to intimate, that by Creation or Succession they might be made capable. And, in the Debate that followed in the House, the *Scotch* Lords, who had been of the Treaty, affirmed that these Words were put in on that design: And upon this, they appealed to the *English* Lords: This was denied by none of them. It was also urged, that the House of Lords had already judged the Matter, when they not only received the Duke of *Queensbury*, upon his being created Duke of *Dover*; but had so far affirmed his being a Peer of *Great Britain*, that upon that account, they had denied him the Right of Voting in the Election of the Sixteen Peers of *Scotland*. But in opposition to all this, it was said, That the Prerogative could not operate when it was barred by an Act of Parliament; the Act of Union had made all the Peers of *Scotland*, Peers of *Great Britain*, as to all Intents, except the Voting in the House of Lords, or sitting in Judgment on a Peer; and as to their Voting, that was vested in their Representatives, by whom they voted: The Queen might give them what Titles she pleased; but this Incapacity of Voting, otherwise than by these Sixteen, being settled by Law, the Prerogative was by that limited as to them: They had indeed admitted the Duke of *Queensbury* to sit among them, as Duke of *Dover*; but that Matter was never brought into debate; so it was only passed over in silence: And he was mentioned in their Books, upon the occasion of his voting in the Choice of the Sixteen Peers of *Scotland*, in Terms that were far from determining this; for it was there said, that he claiming to be Duke of *Dover*, could not vote as a *Scotch* Peer. The *Scotch* Lords insisted, in arguing for the Patent, with great vehemence, not without Intimations

mations of the dismal Effects, that might follow, if it should go in the Negative. The Court put their whole Strength to support the Patent; this heightened the Zeal of those, who opposed it: For they apprehended, that considering the Dignity and the Antiquity of the *Scotch* Peers, and the Poverty of the greater part of them, the Court would always have recourse to this, as a sure Expedient to have a constant Majority in the House of Lords. There was no limitation indeed on the Prerogative, as to the Creation of new Peers, yet these were generally Men of Estates, who could not be kept in a constant dependance, as some of the *Scotch* Lords might be.

The Queen heard all the Debate, which lasted some Hours; in conclusion, when it came to the final Vote, fifty-two voted for the Patent, and fifty-seven against it. The Queen and the Ministers seemed to be much concerned at this, and the *Scotch* were enraged at it: They met together, and signed a Representation to the Queen, complaining of it as a Breach of the Union, and a Mark of Disgrace put on the whole Peers of *Scotland*, adding solemn Promises of maintaining her Prerogative, either in an united or separated State. This made the Ministers resolve on another Method to let the Peers, and indeed the whole World see, that they would have that House kept in a constant dependance on the Court, by creating such a number of Peers at once, as should give them an unquestionable Majority. On the twenty-second of *December* the Bill for four Shillings in the Pound was ready for the Royal Assent; yet the House of Commons adjourned to the fourteenth of *January*, which was a long Recess in so critical a time.

A Motion was made in the House of Lords, by the Duke of *Devonshire*, for leave to bring in a Bill, to give the Prince Electoral of *Hanover*, as Duke of *Cambridge*, the Precedence of all Peers; this was granted, and so was like to meet with no opposition. The Earl of *Nottingham* moved next, that before their Recess, they should make an Address to the Queen, desiring her to order her Plenipotentiaries to concert, with the Ministers of the Allies, the Grounds upon which they were to proceed in their Treaties, and to agree on a mutual Guaranty to secure them to us, as well as to all *Europe*, and in particular to secure the Protestant Succession to *England*. All the opposition that the Court made to this was, to shew it was needless, for it was already ordered: And the Lord Treasurer said, the Lords might, in order to their satisfaction, send to examine their Instructions. To this it was answered, that the offering such an Address would fortify the Plenipotentiaries, in executing their Instructions. The Court moved,

1711.

Judged against him.

The Lords Address that our Allies might be carried along with us in the Treaty.

1711. moved, that these Words might be put in the Address, *if the Queen had not ordered it*; so, this being agreed to, the thing passed; and the Lords adjourned to the second of *January*.

Discoveries
of Bribery
pretended.

But a new Scene was ready to be opened in the House of Commons; the Commissioners for examining the Publick Accounts made some Discoveries, upon which they intended to proceed, at their next Meeting. *Walpole*, who had been Secretary of War, and who had appeared with great Firmness in the defence of the late Ministry, was first aimed at; a Bill had been remitted to him of 500 *l.* by those who had contracted to forage the Troops, that lay in *Scotland*; this made way to a Matter of more Importance: A *Jew*, concerned in the Contract for furnishing Bread to the Army in *Flanders*, made a Present yearly to the Duke of *Marlborough* of between 5 and 6000 *l.* The General of the *States* had the like Present, as a Perquisite to support his Dignity, and to enable him to procure Intelligence: The Queen ordered 10000 *l.* a-year more to the Duke of *Marlborough*, for the same Service: The late King had also agreed, that Two and a half *per Cent.* should be deducted out of the Pay of the foreign Troops, which amounted to 15000 *l.* This the Queen had by a Warrant appointed the Duke of *Marlborough* to receive, on the same account.

The Duke
of *Marlbo-*
rough aimed
at.

He heard his Enemies had discovered the Present, made him by the *Jew*, while he was beyond Sea; so he wrote to them, and owned the whole Matter to be true, and added, that he had applied these Sums to the procuring good Intelligence, to which, next to the Blessing of God and the Bravery of the Troops, their constant Successes were chiefly owing. This did not satisfy the Commissioners; but, tho' no Complaints were brought from the Army, of their not being constantly supplied with good Bread, yet they saw here was Matter to raise a Clamour, which they chiefly aimed at; so this was reported to the House of Commons before their Recess.

He is turned
out of all his
Impley-
ments.

A few Days after this, the Queen wrote him a Letter, complaining of the ill Treatment she received from him, and discharged him of all his Employments: This was thought very extraordinary, after such long and eminent Services; such Accidents, when they happen, shew the Instability of all human things; this was indeed so little expected, that those who looked for Precedents, could find none since the Disgrace of *Belisarius* in *Justinian's* time: The only thing pretended to excuse it was, his being considered as the Head of those, who opposed the Peace, on which the Court seemed to set their Hearts.

Twelve new
Peers made.

But they, finding the Majority of the House of Lords could not be brought to favour their Designs, resolved to make an Experiment, that

that none of our Princes had ventured on in former times: A ^{1711.} Resolution was taken up very suddenly of making twelve Peers all at once; three of these were called up by Writ, being eldest Sons of Peers; and nine more were created by Patent. Sir *Miles Wharton*, to whom it was offered, refused it: He thought it looked like the serving a Turn; and that, whereas Peers were wont to be made for Services they had done, he would be made for Services to be done by him; so he excused himself, and the Favourite's Husband, Mr. *Massam*, was put in his room. And whereas formerly *Jefferies* had the Vanity to be made a Peer, while he was Chief Justice, which had not been practised for some Ages; yet the Precedent set by him was followed, and *Trevor*, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was now advanced to be a Peer. This was looked upon as an undoubted part of the Prerogative; so there was no ground in Law to oppose the receiving the new Lords into the House: Nor was it possible to raise, in the ancient Peers, a sense of the Indignity that was now put upon their House; since the Court did by this openly declare, that they were to be kept in absolute Submission and Obedience.

When the second of *January* came, they were all introduced ^{1712.} into the House of Lords without any opposition; and when that was over, the Lord Keeper delivered a Message from the Queen, commanding them to adjourn forthwith to the fourteenth; for by that time her Majesty would lay Matters of great Importance before the two Houses. Upon this a great Debate arose; it was said, that the Queen could not send a Message to any one House to adjourn, when the like Message was not sent to both Houses: the Pleasure of the Prince, in convening, dissolving, proroguing, or ordering the Adjournment of Parliaments, was always directed to both Houses; but never to any one House, without the same Intimation was made, at the same time, to the other. The consequence of this, if allowed, might be the ordering one House to adjourn, while the other was left to sit still; and this might end in a total disjointing of the Constitution: The Vote was carried for adjourning, by the weight of the twelve new Peers. It is true, the Odds in the Books is thirteen; but that was, because one of the Peers, who had a Proxy, without reflecting on it, went away when the Proxies were called for.

At this time Prince *Eugene* was sent by the Emperor to *Eng-* ^{Prince Eugene came to England.} *land*, to try if it was possible to engage our Court, to go on with the War; offering a new Scheme, by which he took a much larger share of it on himself, than the late Emperor would bear.

1712. That Prince's Character was so justly high, that all People for some Weeks pressed about the Places, where he was to be seen, to look on him; I had the honour to be admitted at several times, to much discourse with him; his Character is so universally known, that I will say nothing of him, but from what appeared to myself. He has a most unaffected Modesty, and does scarcely bear the Acknowledgments, that all the World pay him: He descends to an easy Equality with those, with whom he converses; and seems to assume nothing to himself, while he reasons with others: He was treated with great respect by both Parties; but he put a distinguished Respect on the Duke of *Marlborough*, with whom he passed most of his Time. The Queen used him civilly, but not with the Distinction, that was due to his high Merit: Nor did he gain much ground with the Ministers.

A Message
to both
Houses.

When the fourteenth of *January* came, the Houses were ordered to adjourn to the eighteenth, and then a Message was sent to both Houses; the Queen told them, the Congress was opened, and that she would set a day for ending it, as well as she had done for opening it. She had ordered her Plenipotentiaries, to agree with the Ministers of her Allies, according to all her Treaties with them; to obtain reasonable satisfaction to their Demands; in particular concerning *Spain* and the *West Indies*; by which, the false Reports of ill-designing Men, who, for evil ends, had reported that a separate Peace was treated, would appear, for there was never the least Colour given for this. She also promised, that the Articles of the Treaty should be laid before the Houses, before any thing should be concluded. Upon this, the House of Lords agreed to an Address, thanking her Majesty, for communicating this to them, and for the Promises she had made them, repeating the Words in which they were made: it was moved to add the Words, *Conform to her Alliance*; but it was said, the Queen assured them of that, so the repeating these Words seemed to intimate a Distrust; and that was not carried. But, because there seemed to be an Ambiguity in the mention made of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, the House expressed, in what sense they understood them, by adding these Words, *Which were of the greatest importance to the Safety and Commerce of these Nations*. The Commons made an Address to the same purpose, in which they only named *Spain* and the *West-Indies*.

A Bill giving
Precedence
to the House
of *Hanover*.

The Lord Treasurer prevented the Duke of *Devonshire*, who had prepared a Bill for giving Precedence to the Duke of *Cambridge*; for he offered a Bill, giving Precedence to the whole Electoral Family, as the Children and Nephews of the Crown; and

and it was intimated, that Bills relating to Honours and Precedence ought to come from the Crown: The Duke of *Devonshire* would make no dispute on this head; if the thing passed, he acquiesced in the manner of passing it, only he thought it lay within the Authority of the House. On this occasion, the Court seemed, even to an Affectation, to shew a particular Zeal in promoting this Bill: For it passed thro' both Houses in two Days, it being read thrice in a Day, in them both. For all this haste, the Court did not seem to design any such Bill, till it was proposed by others, out of whose hands they thought fit to take it. There were two other Articles, in the Queen's Message; by the one, she desired their Advice and Assistance, to quiet the Uneasiness, that the Peers of *Scotland* were under, by the Judgment lately given: By the other, she complained of the Licence of the Press, and desired some Restraint might be put upon it. The Lords entred upon the Consideration of that part of the Queen's Message, that related to the Peers of *Scotland*; and it took up almost a whole Week. The Court proposed, that an Expedient might be found, that the Peers of *Scotland* should not sit among them by Election, but by Descent, in case the rest of the Peers of that Nation should consent to it: A Debate followed concerning the Articles of the Union, which of them were fundamental and not alterable; it was said, that by the Union no private Right could be taken away, but by the Consent of the Persons concerned; therefore no Alteration could be made in the Right of the Peers of *Scotland*, unless they consented to it. It was afterwards debated, whether an Alteration might be made with this condition, in case they should consent to it; or whether the first Rise to any such Alteration ought not to be given, by a previous Desire. This was not so subject to an ill Management; the Court studied to have a subsequent Consent received as sufficient; but a previous Desire was insisted on, as visibly fairer and juster.

1712.

Debates concerning the Scotch Peers.

The House of Commons, after the Recess, entred on the Observations of the Commissioners for taking the Publick Accounts; and began with *Walpole*, whom they resolved to put out of the way of disturbing them in the House. The thing laid to his charge stood thus; after he, as Secretary of War, had contracted with some for Forrage to the Horse, that lay in *Scotland*; he, finding that the two Persons who contracted for it made some gain by it, named a Friend of his own as a third Person, that he might have a share in the Gain; but the other two had no mind to let him in, to know the Secret of their Management; so they offered him 500 £. for his Share; he accepted of it, and the Money was remitted. But they, not knowing his Address, directed their

Walpole's Case and Censure.

Bill

1712. Bill to *Walpole*, who endorsed it, and the Person concerned received the Money; this was found out, and *Walpole* was charged with it as a Bribe, that he had taken for his own use, for making the Contract. Both the Persons that remitted the Money, and he who received it were examined, and affirmed that *Walpole* was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the Matter; but the House insisted upon his having endorsed the Bill, and not only voted this a Corruption, but sent him to the Tower, and expelled him the House.

The Censure put on the Duke of *Marlborough*.

The next Attack was on the Duke of *Marlborough*: The Money received from the *Jews*, was said to be a Fraud; and that, deducted out of the Pay of the Foreign Troops, was said to be Publick Money, and to be accounted for: The Debate held long; it appeared, that during the former War, King *William* had 50000*l.* a-year for Contingencies; it was often reckoned to have cost much more. The Contingency was that Service, which could be brought to no certain head, and was chiefly for procuring Intelligence; the Duke of *Marlborough* had only 10000*l.* for the Contingencies; that and all the other *Items* joined together, amounted but to 30000*l.* a Sum much inferiour to what had been formerly given; and yet, with this moderate Expence, he had procured so good Intelligence, that he was never surprized, and no Party he sent out was ever intercepted or cut off. By means of this Intelligence, all his Designs were so well concerted, that he succeeded in every one of them, and by many Instances, the exactness of his Intelligence was fully demonstrated. It was proved, both by Witnesses, and by formal Attestations from *Holland*, that ever since the Year 1672, the *Jews* had made the like Present to the General of the *States* Army; and it was understood as a Perquisite belonging to that Command: No Bargain was made with the *Jews* for the *English* Troops, that made by the *States* being applied to them; so that it appeared, that the making such a Present to the General was customary; but that was denied: And they voted, the taking that Present to be illegal; and, tho' he had the Queen's Warrant to receive the Sixpence in the Pound, or Two and a half *per Cent.* deducted from the Pay of the Foreign Troops, yet that was voted to be unwarrantable, and that it ought to be accounted for. The Court espoused this with such Zeal, and paid so well for it, that it was carried by a great Majority: Upon this, many virulent Writers (whether set on to it, or officiously studying to merit by it, did not appear) threw out, in many defamatory Libels, a great deal of their Malice against the Duke of *Marlborough*: They compared him to *Catiline*, to *Crassus*, and to *Anthony*; and studied to represent him as a Robber of the Nation, and as a publick Enemy.

Many Libels against him.

Enemy. This gave an Indignation to all, who had a sense of ^{1712.} Gratitude, or a regard to Justice; in one of these scurrilous Papers, wrote on design to raise the Rabble against him, one of the Periods began thus, *He was perhaps once fortunate.* I took occasion to let Prince *Eugene* see the Spite of these Writers, and mentioned this Passage; upon which he made this pleasant Reflection, That it was the greatest Commendation could be given him, since he was always successful; so this implied, that in one single Instance he might be fortunate, but that all his other Successes were owing to his Conduct. I upon that said, that single Instance must be then his escaping out of the hands of the Party, that took him, when he was sailing down the *Maese* in the Boat. But their Ill-Will rested not in Defamation; the Queen was prevailed on to send an Order to the Attorney-General, to prosecute him for the 15000 *l.* that was deducted yearly out of the Pay of the Foreign Troops, which he had received by her own Warrant: But what this will end in, must be left to Time.

The Duke of *Ormond* was declared General, and had the first Regiment of Guards; and the Earl of *Rivers* was made Master of the Ordnance, in his room.

Secret Enquiries were made, in order to the laying more Load on the Duke of *Marlborough*, and to see whether Posts in the Army, or in the Guards were sold by him; but nothing could be found: He had suffered a Practice to go on, that had been begun in the late King's time, of letting Officers sell their Commissions; but he had never taken any part of the Price to himself: Few thought that he had been so clear in that Matter; for it was the only thing, in which now his Enemies were confident, that some Discoveries would have been made to his prejudice; so that the Endeavours used, to search into those Matters, producing nothing, raised the Reputation of his incorrupt Administration, more than all his Well-wishers could have expected. Thus happy does sometimes the Malice of an Enemy prove! In this whole Transaction we saw a new Scene of Ingratitude, acted in a most imprudent manner; when the Man, to whom the Nation owed more, than it had ever done in any Age to any Subject, or perhaps to any Person whatsoever, was for some Months pursued with so much Malice: He bore it with Silence and Patience, with an Exterieur that seemed always calm and cheerful; and, tho' he prepared a full Vindication of himself, yet he delayed publishing it, 'till the Nation should return to its Senses, and be capable of examining these Matters, in a more impartial manner.

The *Scotch* Lords, seeing no Redress to their Complaint, seemed resolved to come no more to sit in the House of Peers; but the

The Scotch
Lords put in
good Hopes.

1712. Court was sensible, that their Strength in that House consisted chiefly in them, and in the new Peers: So Pains were taken, and secret forcible Arguments were used to them, which proved so effectual, that after a few days Absence, they came back, and continued, during the Session, to sit in the House. They gave it out, that an Expedient would be found, that would be to the satisfaction of the Peers of *Scotland*: But, nothing of that appearing, it was concluded that the Satisfaction was private, and personal. The great Arrear, into which all the regular Payments, both of the Household and of Salaries and Pensions was left to run, made it to be generally believed, that the Income for the Civil List, tho' it exceeded the Establishment very far, was applied to other Payments, which the Ministers durst not own. And, tho' secret Practice on Members had been of a great while too common, yet it was believed, that it was at this time managed, with an extraordinary Profusion.

Those, who were suspected to have very bad Designs, applied themselves with great industry to drive on such Bills, as they hoped would give the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland* such Alarms, as might dispose them to remonstrate, that the Union was broken. They passed not all at once; but I shall lay them together, because one and the same Design was pursued in them all.

A Toleration
to the Eng-
lish Liturgy
in *Scotland*.

A Toleration was proposed for the Episcopal Clergy, who would use the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; this seemed so reasonable, that no opposition was made to it: one Clause put in it, occasioned great Complaints; the Magistrates, who by the Laws were obliged to execute the Sentences of the Judicatories of their *Kirk*, were by this Act required, to execute none of them. It was reasonable to require them to execute no Sentences, that might be passed on any, for doing what was tolerated by this Act; but the carrying this to a general Clause, took away the Civil Sanction, which in most Places is looked on as the chief, if not the only, Strength of Church Power. Those, who were to be thus Tolerated, were required, by a Day limited in the Act, to take the Oath of Abjuration; it was well known, that few, if any of them, would take that Oath; so to cover them from it, a Clause was put in this Act, requiring all the *Presbyterian* Ministers to take it; since it seemed reasonable, that those of the legal Establishment should be required to take that, which was now to be imposed on Those, who were only to be Tolerated. It was well understood, that there were Words in the Oath of Abjuration, to which the *Presbyterians* excepted. In the Act of Succession, one of the Conditions on which the Successor was to be received, was, his being of the Communion of the Church of *England*; and by

Designs to
provoke the
Presbyterians
there.

by the Oath of Abjuration, the Succession was sworn to, as limited ^{1712.} by that Act: The Word *Limitation* imported only the Entail of the Crown; but it was suggested, that the Particle *As*, related to all the Conditions in that Act. This was spread among so many of that Persuasion, that it was believed a great Party among them, would refuse to take it: So a small Alteration was made by the House of Lords of these Words, *As was limited*, into Words of the same sense, *Which was limited*; but those, who intended to excuse the Episcopal Party, who they knew were in the *Pretender's* Interests, from taking the Oath, were for keeping in those Words, which the *Presbyterians* scrupled. The Commons accordingly disagreed to the Amendment made by the Lords; and they receding from it, the Bill pass'd, as it had been sent up from the Commons. Another Act passed for discontinuing the Courts of Judicature, during some Days at *Christmas*, though the observing of Holidays was contrary to their Principles: This was intended only to irritate them.

After that, an Act was brought in, for the restoring of Patronages; these had been taken away by an Act in King *William's* Reign; it was set up by the *Presbyterians*, from their first Beginning, as a Principle, that Parishes had, from Warrants in Scripture, a Right to chuse their Ministers; so that they had always look'd on the Right of Patronage, as an Invasion made on that: it was therefore urged, that since, by the Act of Union, *Presbytery*, with all its Rights and Privileges, was inalterably secured, and since their Kirk-Session was a Branch of their Constitution, the taking from them the Right of chusing their Ministers was contrary to that Act: Yet the Bill passed thro' both Houses, a small opposition being only made in either. By these Steps the *Presbyterians* were alarmed, when they saw the Success of every Motion that was made, on design to weaken and undermine their Establishment.

Another Matter, of a more publick nature, was at this time set on foot; both Houses of Parliament had, in the Year 1709, agreed in an Address to the Queen, that the Protestant Succession might be secured by a Guaranty, in the Treaty of Peace; and this was settled at the *Hague*, to be one of the Preliminaries: But when an end was put to the Conferences at *Gertruydenberg*, the Lord *Townshend* was ordered to set on a Treaty with the *States* to that effect. They entertained it readily; but at the same time they proposed, that *England* should enter into a Guaranty with them, to maintain their Barrier; which consisted of some Places they were to garrison, the Sovereignty of which was still in the Crown of *Spain*; and of other Places, which had not belonged to

Patronages
restored.

The Barrier
Treaty.

1712. to that Crown, at the Death of King *Charles* the Second, but had been taken in the Progress of the War: for, by their Agreements with us, they bore the Charge of the Sieges, and so the Places taken were to belong to them: These were chiefly *Lisle*, *Tournay*, *Menin*, and *Doway*; and were to be kept still by them. But as for those Places, which, from the time of the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, belonged to the *Spaniards*; they had been so ill looked after, by the *Spanish* Governours of *Flanders*, who were more set on enriching themselves, and keeping a magnificent Court at *Brussels*, than on preserving the Country; that neither were the Fortifications kept in due Repair, nor the Magazines furnished, nor the Soldiers paid: So that whensoever a War broke out, the *French* made themselves very easily Masters of Places so ill kept. The *States* had therefore proposed, during this War, that the Sovereignty of those Places should continue still to belong to the Crown of *Spain*; but they should keep Garrisons in the strongest and the most exposed, in particular those that lay on the *Lys* and the *Scheld*; and for the maintaining this, they asked 100000*l.* a-year from those Provinces; by which means they would be kept better and cheaper than ever they had been, while they were in the hands of the *Spaniards*: They also asked a free Passage for all the Stores, that they should send to those Places. This seemed to be so reasonable, that since the Interest of *England*, as well as of the *States*, required that this Frontier should be carefully maintained, the Ministry were ready to hearken to it: It was objected, that in case of a War between *England* and the *States*, the Trade of those Provinces would be wholly in the hands of the *Dutch*; but this had been settled in the great Truce, which, by the Mediation of *France* and *England*, was made between the *Spaniards* and the *States*: There was a provisional Order therein made, for the Freedom of Trade in those Provinces; and that was turned to a perpetual one, by the Peace of *Munster*. King *Charles* of *Spain* had agreed to the main of the Barrier; some Places on the *Scheld* were not necessary for a Frontier, but the *States* insisted on them, as necessary to maintain a Communication with the Frontier; the King of *Prussia* excepted likewise to some Places in the *Spanish Guelder*. The Lord *Townshend* thought, that these were such inconsiderable Objections, that tho' his Instructions did not come up to every Particular, yet he signed the Treaty, known by the Name of the *Barrier Treaty*: By it the *States* bound themselves to maintain the Queen's Title to her Dominions and the Protestant Succession, with their whole Force; and *England* was reciprocally bound to assist them in maintaining this Barrier.

The

The mercenary Writers, that were hired to defend the Peace, 1712. then projected with *France*, attacked this Treaty with great Virulence, and by Arguments that gave just Suspicions of black Designs: They said, it was a Disgrace to this Nation, to engage any other State to secure the Succession among us, which perhaps we might see cause to alter: Whereas by this Treaty, the *States* had an Authority given them, to interpose in our Counsels. It was also said, that if the *States* were put in possession of all those strong Towns, they might shut us out from any share of Trade in them, and might erect our Manufactures in Provinces, very capable of them: But it was answered, that this could not be done, as long as this Treaty continued in force, unless the Sovereign of the Country should join with them against us. Some objected to the Settlement made at *Munster*, as a Transaction when we were in such Confusion at home, that we had no Minister there; but that Treaty had only rendred the Truce, and the provisional Settlement made before, by the Mediation of *England*, perpetual; and we had since acquiesced in that Settlement for above Sixty Years. By examining into the Particulars of the Treaty it appeared, that in some inconsiderable Matters the Lord *Townshend* had gone beyond the Letter of his Instructions, in which he had so fully satisfied the Ministry, that tho' upon his first signing it, some Exceptions had been taken, yet these were passed over, and the Treaty was ratified in form.

But the present Ministry had other Views: They designed to set the Queen at liberty from her Engagements by these Alliances, and to disengage her from Treaties. The House of Commons went now very hastily into several Resolutions, that were very injurious to the *States*: They pretended, they had failed in the Performance of all Agreements, with relation to the Service, both at Sea and Land; and as to the Troops, that were to have been furnished in *Portugal* and *Savoy*, as well as the Subsidies due to those Princes. They fell next on the *Barrier Treaty*; they gave it out, that the old Ministry designed to bring over an Army from *Holland*, whensoever they should, for other ends, pretend that the Protestant Succession was in danger; and it was said, there was no need of any foreign Assistance to maintain it. In the Debate, it was insisted on, that it could be maintained safely no other way; it was not to be doubted, but the King of *France* would assist the *Pretender*; *England* was not inclined to keep up a Standing Army, in time of Peace, to resist him: So that we could not be so safe any other way, as by having the *States* engaged, to send over their Army, if it should be necessary. But Reason is a feeble thing, to bear down Resolutions already taken;

It was complained of.

And condemned by the House of Lords.

1712. so the House of Commons voted the Treaty dishonourable, and injurious to *England*; and that the Lord *Townshend* had gone beyond his Instructions in signing it; and that he and all, who had advised and ratified that Treaty, were publick Enemies to the Kingdom. These Votes were carried by a great Majority, and were looked on as strange Preludes to a Peace. When the *States* heard, what Exceptions were taken to the *Barrier Treaty*, they wrote a very respectful Letter to the Queen, in which they offered to explain or mollify any part of it, that was wrong understood; but the Managers of the House of Commons got all their Votes to be digested, into a well-composed inflaming Representation, which was laid before the Queen; by it all the Allies, but most particularly the *States*, were charged for having failed in many Particulars, contrary to their Engagements: They also laid before the Queen the Votes they had made, with relation to the *Barrier Treaty*; and that they might name a great Sum, that would make a deep Impression on the Nation (which was ready to receive all things implicitly from them) they said *England* had been, during the War, overcharged nineteen Millions, beyond what they ought to have paid; all which was cast on the old Ministry.

The *States*
justify
themselves.

The *States*, in answer to all this, drew up a large Memorial, in which every Particular in the Representation was examined, and fully answered: They sent it over to their Envoy, who presented it to the Queen; but no notice was taken of it; the End was already served; and the entering into a Discussion about it, could have no other effect, but to confound those who drew it. The two first Heads of the *States* Memorial, that related to the Service at Sea and in *Flanders*, were printed here, and contained a full Answer to all that was charged on them, as to those Matters; to the ample Conviction of all, who examined the Particulars. The House of Commons saw the effect this was like to have; so they voted it a false, malicious, scandalous, and injurious Paper, and that the printing it was a Breach of Privilege: And to stop the printing the other Heads, they put the Printer in prison; this was a Confutation, to which no Reply could be made; yet it seemed to be a Confession, that their Representation could not be justified, when the Answer to it was so carefully stifled. The House of Commons went next to repeal the Naturalization Act, in which they met with no opposition.

The self-
denying Bill
lost.

The self-denying Bill was brought into the House of Commons, and, as was ordinary, it passed easily there: the Scandal of Corruption was now higher than ever; for it was believed Men were not only bribed for a whole Session, but had new Bribes for particular Votes. The twelve new Peers being brought into the House of

of Lords, had irritated so many there, that for two Days, by all the Judgments that could be made of the House, the Bill was likely to have pass'd that House: But upon some prevailing Arguments, secretly and dextrously applied to some Lords, an Alteration was made in it, by which it was lost: For whereas the Bill, as it stood, was to take place after the Determination of the present Parliament, this was altered, so as that it should take place after the Demise of the Queen; so it was no more thought on.

The House of Commons voted two Millions to be raised by a Lottery; for which a Fund was created that might pay both Principal and Interest in thirty-two Years.

I look next to *Utrecht*, where the Treaty was opened: The Emperor and the Empire sent their Ministers very late and unwillingly thither; but they submitted to the Necessity of their Affairs; yet with this Condition, that the *French* Proposals (for so the Propositions, that were formerly called Preliminaries, came to be named) should be no ground to proceed on; and that a new Treaty should be entred on, without any regard to them. It was also agreed, to save the loss of time in settling the Ceremonial, that the Plenipotentiaries should assume no Character of Dignity, 'till all matters were adjusted, and made ready for signing. The first of *January* was the Day named for opening the Congress; but they waited some time for the Allies: In the beginning of *February* O. S. the *French* made their Proposals in a very high strain.

They promised, that at the signing of the Treaty they would own the Queen and the Succession to the Crown, as she should direct; *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were to remain with King *Philip*; the Dominions in *Italy*, with the Islands, except *Sicily*, were to go to the Emperor, and the *Spanish Netherlands* to the Elector of *Bavaria*: The Trade was to be regulated, as it was before the War; some Places in *Canada* were to be restored to *England*, with the freedom of Fishery in *Newfoundland*; but *Placentia* was to remain with the *French*: *Dunkirk* was offered to be demolished; but *Lisle* and *Tournay* were to be given for it: The *States* were to have their Demands for the Barrier; and the Frontier between *France*, the Empire, and *Italy*, was to be the same, that it was before the War; by which *Landau*, *Fenestrella*, and *Exiles*, were to be restored to *France*. These Demands were as extravagant, as any that *France* could have made, in the most prosperous State of their Affairs: This filled the Allies with Indignation, and heightened the Jealousy they had of a secret Understanding, between the Courts of *England* and *France*.

But

1712.

The Death
of the two
Dauphins.

But a great Change happened in the Affairs of *France*, at this very time, that their Plenipotentiaries were making these Demands at *Utrecht*: The *Dauphiness* was taken suddenly ill of a Surfeit, as it was given out, and died in three days; and within three or four days after that, the *Dauphin* himself died; and in a few days after him, his eldest Son, about five or six Years old, died likewise; and his second Son, then about three Years old, was thought to be in a dying condition: These Deaths coming so quick one after another, struck that Court: The King himself was for some days ill, but he soon recovered. Such repeated Strokes were look'd on with amazement: Poison was suspected, as is usual upon all such occasions; and the Duke of *Orleans* was generally charged with it: He was believed to have dealt much in Chymistry, and was an ambitious Prince. While he was in *Spain*, at the head of King *Philip's* Army, he formed a Project to set him aside, and to make himself King of *Spain*; in which, as the Lord *Townshend* told me, he went so far, that he try'd to engage Mr. *Stanhope*, to press the Queen and the *States* to assist him, promising to break with *France*, and to marry King *Charles's* Dowager. This came to be discovered: He was upon that called out of *Spain*; and it was thought, that the only thing that saved him, was the King's kindness to his Natural Daughter, whom he had married. The King not only pass'd it over; but soon after, he obliged the Duke of *Berry* to marry his Daughter: such care had that old King taken, to corrupt the Blood of *France*, with the mixture of his spurious Issue. King *Philip* was not at all pleas'd with the Alliance; but wrote to his elder Brother, expostulating for his not opposing the Marriage more vigorously; with which he profess'd himself so displeas'd, that he could not be brought to congratulate upon it. This Letter was sent from *Madrid* to *Paris*; but was intercepted, and sent to *Barcelona*, and from thence to the *Hague*; Dr. *Hare* told me, he read the original Letter.

The Character of the
Dauphin.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, when he became *Dauphin*, upon his Father's death, had been let into the understanding the Secrets of Government; and, as was given out, he had on many occasions express'd a deep Sense of the Miseries of the People, with great Sentiments of Justice: He had likewise, in some Disputes that Cardinal *de Noailles* had with the Jesuits, espous'd his Interests, and protect'd him. It was also believed, that he retained a great Affection to the Archbishop of *Cambray*, whose Fable of *Tele-machus* carried in it the noblest Maxims possible, for the Conduct of a wise and good Prince, and set forth that Station in shining Characters, but which were the Reverse of *Lewis* the XIVth's whole Life and Reign. These things gave the *French* a just

Sense

Sense of the Loss they had in his Death; and the Apprehensions of a Minority, after such a Reign, struck them with a great Consternation. These Deaths, in so critical a time, seemed to portend, that all the vast Scheme which the King of *France* had formed, with so much perfidy and bloodshed, was in a fair way to be soon blasted. But I will go no further in so dark a prospect.

The *French* Propositions raised, among the true *English*, a just Indignation; more particularly their putting off the owning the Queen, 'till the Treaty came to be signed: The Lord Treasurer, to soften this said, he saw a Letter, in which the King of *France* acknowledged her Queen; this was a Confession that there was a private Correspondence between them; yet the doing it by a Letter was no legal Act. In excuse of this it was said, that the late King was not owned by the *French*, till the Treaty of *Ryswick* came to be signed: But there was a Mediator in that Treaty, with whom our Plenipotentiaries only negotiated; whereas there was no Mediator at *Utrecht*: so that the Queen was now, without any Interposition, treating with a Prince, who did not own her Right to the Crown. The Propositions made by the *French* were treated here with the greatest Scorn; nor did the Ministers pretend to say any thing in excuse for them: And an Address was made to the Queen, expressing a just Indignation at such a Proceeding, promising her all Assistance in carrying on the War, 'till she should arrive at a just and honourable Peace.

An Indignation, when the *French* Proposals came over, appeared in both Houses.

The Allies did offer their Demands next, which ran as high another way: The Emperor asked the whole *Spanish* Monarchy; *England* asked the restoring *Newfoundland*, and the demolishing of *Dunkirk*; the *States* asked their whole *Barrier*; and every Allie asked Satisfaction to all the other Allies, as well as to himself: *England* and the *States* declared, that they demanded *Spain* and the *West-Indies* for the Emperor; so the high Pattern set by the *French*, in their Demands, was to the full imitated by the Allies. The *French* set a Day, for offering their Answer; but when the Day came, instead of offering an Answer in Writing, they proposed to enter into verbal Conferences, upon the Demands made on both sides: This had indeed been practised in Treaties, where Mediators interposed; but that was not done, 'till the main Points were secretly agreed to. The Allies rejected this Proposition, and demanded specifick Answers in Writing; so, till the beginning of *May*, the Treaty went on in a very languid manner, in many fruitless Meetings, the *French* always saying, they had yet received no other Orders: so that the Negotiation there was at a full stand.

The Demands of the Allies.

1712.

Prepara-
tions for the
Campaign.

The Preparations for the Campaign were carried on, by the Emperor and the *States*, with all possible Vigour: Prince *Eugene* staid three Months in *England* in a fruitless Negotiation with our Court, and was sent back with general and ambiguous Promises: The *States* gave him the supreme Command of their Army, and assured him that, in the Execution of the Project that was concerted among them, he should be put under no restraint by their Deputies or Generals, and that no Cessation of Arms should be ordered, till all was settled by a General Peace. The Duke of *Ormond* followed him in *April*, well satisfied both with his Instructions and his Appointments; for he had the same Allowances, that had been lately Voted Criminal in the Duke of *Marlborough*.

The Pre-
tender's
Sister died.

At this time the *Pretender* was taken ill of the Small-Pox: He recovered of them; but his Sister, who was taken with the same Disease, died of it: She was, by all that knew her, admired as a most extraordinary Person in all respects; insomuch that a very great Character was spread of her, by those who talked but indifferently of the *Pretender* himself: Thus he lost a great Strength, which she procured to him, from all who saw or convers'd with her. I turn next to give an account of the Convocation.

Proceedings
in Convo-
cation.

There was a Doubt suggested, whether the Queen's Licence did still subsist, after a Prorogation by a Royal Writ: The Attorney General gave his Opinion, that it was still in force; upon which, the Bishops went on with the Resolution, in which the former Session had ended, and sent back to the Lower House a Paper, which had been sent to them from that House in the former Session, with such Amendments, as they thought proper: But then *Atterbury* started a new Notion, That as, in a Session of Parliament, a Prorogation put an end to all Matters not finished, so that they were to begin all a-new; the same Rule was to be applied to Convocations, in pursuance of his favourite Notion, that the Proceedings in Parliament were likewise to be observed amongst them. The Bishops did not agree to this; for, upon searching their Books, they found a Course of Precedents to the contrary: And the Schedule, by which the Archbishop prorogued them, when the Royal Writ was sent him, did in express Words continue all things, in the State in which they were then, to their next Meeting. Yet this did not satisfy *Atterbury* and his Party; so the Lower House ordered him to lay the Matter before the Attorney-General for his Opinion; he did that very partially, for he did not shew him the Paper sent down by the Bishops; he only gave him a very defective Abstract of it: whereupon the Attorney-General gave him such an Answer as he desired, by which it was very plain, that he was not rightly informed about it. The Bishops resolved

resolved to adhere to the method of former Convocations, and not to begin Matters afresh, that had been formerly near finished. By this means they were at a full stop, so that they could not determine those Points, which had been recommended to them by the Queen: But they entered upon new ones; there was then a Bill, in the House of Parliament, for building fifty new Churches, in and about *London* and *Westminster*; so an Office, for consecrating Churches and Church-yards, was prepared: and probably this will be all the Fruit, that the Church will reap from this Convocation.

The Censure that was pass'd on *Whiston's* Book, in the former Session, had been laid before the Queen in due form for her Approbation: But at the opening of this Session in *December*, the Bishops finding that no Return was come from the Throne in that Matter, sent two of their number, to receive her Majesty's Pleasure in it; the Archbishop being so ill of the Gout, that he came not among us all that Winter. The Queen had put the Censure, that we had sent her, into the hands of some of her Ministers, but could not remember to whom she gave it; so a new Extract of it was sent to her; and she said, she would send her Pleasure upon it very speedily: but none came during the Session, so all further Proceedings against him were stopped, since the Queen did not confirm the step, that we had made. This was not unacceptable to some of us, and to myself in particular; I was gone into my Diocese, when that Censure was pass'd; and I have ever thought, that the true Interest of the Christian Religion was best consulted, when nice disputing about Mysteries was laid aside and forgotten.

There appeared at this time an Inclination, in many of the Clergy, to a nearer Approach towards the Church of *Rome*; *Hicks*, an ill-temper'd Man, who was now at the Head of the *Jacobite* Party, had in several Books promoted a Notion, that there was a proper Sacrifice made in the *Eucharist*, and had on many occasions studied to lessen our Aversion to Popery: The Supremacy of the Crown in Ecclesiastical Matters, and the Method in which the Reformation was carried, was openly condemn'd; one *Brett* had preached a Sermon, in several of the Pulpits of *London*, which he afterwards printed; in which he press'd the necessity of Priestly Absolution, in a strain beyond what was pretended to even in the Church of *Rome*: He said no Repentance could serve without it, and affirmed, that the Priest was vested, with the same power of Pardoning, that our Saviour himself had. A Motion was made in the Lower House of Convocation, to censure this; but it was so ill supported, that it was let fall. Another Conceit was taken up, of the Invalidity of Lay-Baptism, on which several Books have been writ;

1712.

Censure on
Whiston's
Book not
confirmed
by the
Queen.

An Inclina-
tion in some
of the Cler-
gy towards
Popery.

1712. writ; nor was the Dispute a trifling one, since by this Notion, the Teachers among the Dissenters passing for Lay-Men, this went to the re-baptizing them and their Congregations.

Dodwell's
Notions.

Dodwell gave the Rise to this Conceit; he was a very learned Man, and led a strict Life; he seemed to hunt after Paradoxes in all his Writings, and broached not a few; he thought none could be saved, but those who, by the Sacraments, had a federal Right to it; and that these were the Seals of the Covenant: So that he left all, who died without the Sacraments, to the uncovenanted Mercies of God; and to this he added, that none had a Right to give the Sacraments, but those who were commissioned to it; and these were the Apostles, and after them Bishops and Priests ordained by them: It followed upon this, that Sacraments administered by others were of no Value. He pursued these Notions so far, that he asserted that the Souls of Men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing Virtue was conveyed by Baptism, given by Persons Episcopally ordained. And yet, after all this, which carried the Episcopal Function so high, he did not lay the Original of that Government, on any Instruction or Warrant in the Scripture: But thought it was set up, in the beginning of the second Century, after the Apostles were all dead. He wrote very doubtfully of the Time, in which the Canon of the New Testament was settled; he thought it was not before the second Century, and that an extraordinary Inspiration was continued in the Churches to that very Time, to which he ascribed the Original of Episcopacy. This strange and precarious System was in great credit among us; and the Necessity of the Sacrament, and the Invalidity of ecclesiastical Functions, when performed by Persons, who were not Episcopally ordained, were entertained by many with great Applause: This made the Dissenters pass for no Christians, and put all Thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view: And several little Books were spread about the Nation, to prove the necessity of re-baptizing them, and that they were in a State of Damnation 'till that was done; but few were, by these Arguments, prevailed upon to be re-baptized: This struck even at the Baptism by Midwives in the Church of *Rome*; which was practised and connived at here in *England*, 'till it was objected in the Conference, held at *Hampton-Court*, soon after King *James* the First's Accession to the Crown, and Baptism was not 'till then limited to Persons in Orders: Nothing of this kind was so much as mentioned in the Year 1660, when a great part of the Nation had been baptized by Dissenters; but it was now promoted with much heat.

The

The Bishops thought it necessary to put a stop to this new and extravagant Doctrine; so a Declaration was agreed to, first ^{1712.} against the Irregularity of all Baptism by Persons, who were not in Holy Orders; but that yet, according to the Practice of the Primitive Church, and the constant Usage of the Church of *England*, no Baptism (in or with Water, in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost) ought to be reiterated. The Archbishop of *York* at first agreed to this; so it was resolved to publish it, in the Name of all the Bishops of *England*; but he was prevailed on to change his Mind; and refused to sign it, pretending that this would encourage irregular Baptism: So the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with most of the Bishops of his Province, resolved to offer it to the Convocation. It was agreed to in the Upper House, the Bishop of *Rocheſter* only dissenting: But when it was sent to the Lower House, they would not so much as take it into consideration, but laid it aside; thinking that it would encourage those, who struck at the Dignity of the Priesthood. This was all that pass'd in Convocation.

The Bishops designed to condemn the re-baptizing Dissenters.

But the Clergy did not agree to it.

The Supplies demanded were given, in all about six Millions; there were two Lotteries of 1,800,000 *l.* a-piece, besides the Four Shillings in the Pound, and the Malt Bill. A Motion was made for a Clause, to be put in one of the Lottery Bills, for a Commission to enquire into the Value and Consideration of all the Grants, made by King *William*. The Ministers apprehended the difficulty of carrying a Money-Bill, with a Tack to it, thro' the House of Lords; so they prevailed to get it separated from the Money-Bill, and sent up in a particular one; and undertook to carry it. When it came up to the House of Lords, a great Party was made against it; those who continued to pay a Respect to the Memory of King *William*, thought it was a very unbecoming Return to him, who had delivered the Nation from Slavery and Popery, to cast so particular an Indignity on his Grants: The Bill made all its Steps thro' the House of Lords to the last, with a small Majority of one or two. The Earl of *Nottingham* was absent the first two Days, but came to the House on the last; he said, he always thought those Grants were too large, and very unseasonably made, but he thought there ought to be an equal way of proceeding in that Matter; they ought either to resume them all, or to bring all concerned in them, to an equal Composition: He therefore could not approve of this Bill, which by a very clear Consequence would put it in the power of a Fellow-Subject, to resume or to cover Grants, at his pleasure; and so it would put the Persons, concerned in the Grants, into too great

Great Supplies given.

A separate Bill was introduced by the Lord Treasurer.

1712. a Dependance on him. At the last reading of the Bill seventy-eight, in Person or by Proxy, were for the Bill; and as many were against it: The Votes being equal, by the Rule of the House, the Negative carried it: So, for that time, the Bill was lost.

The Duke of Ormond ordered not to act offensively.

During the Session, Reports were often given out, that all things were agreed, and that the Treaty was as good as finished: But new Stories were set on foot, and pretended Delays, to put off the Expectation of Peace; however, in the end of *May*, we were surprized with Letters from the Camp, which told us, that the Army of the Allies being joined, was 25000 Men stronger than the *French*; an Advantage that they never had before, during the whole course of the War. That Prince *Eugene* therefore proposed, that they should march towards the Head of the *Scheld*, where the *French* Army lay, and upon their advancing the *French* would be obliged, either to venture on Action, or to retire; and in that case *Cambray* would be left open to the Allies, to sit down before it. The Council of War agreed to this, but to their great surprize, the Duke of *Ormond* shewed Orders, not to act offensively against the *French*; he seemed to be very uneasy with these Orders, but said he must obey them. This was much resented by the whole Army, and by the Ministers of the Allies at the *Hague* and at *Utrecht*: And it struck us here in *England* with Amazement.

Motions were made upon it, in both Houses of Parliament; for it seemed, we were neither to have Peace nor War: So it was proposed, that an Address should be made to the Queen, that she would set the Duke of *Ormond* at liberty, to act in concurrence with the other Generals, and carry on the War, so as to obtain a good Peace. Those who opposed this, asked, what Proofs they had, of what was said, concerning the Duke of *Ormond*'s Orders; they had only private Letters, which were not produced: So, it was said, there was not ground enough to found an Address upon; which ought not to be made, on bare Reports. The Ministers would neither confess, nor deny the Matter, pretending the Oath of Secrecy; yet they affirmed the Duke of *Ormond* was at liberty to cover a Siege.

A separate Peace disowned by the Lord Treasurer.

That which prevailed in both Houses, to hinder the Address, was, that the Ministers in both did affirm, that the Peace was agreed on, and would be laid before them in three or four Days: It was upon that suggested, that this must be a separate Peace, since the Allies knew nothing of it. The Lord Treasurer said, a separate Peace was so base, so knavish, and so villainous a thing, that every one who served the Queen knew, they must answer it with their Heads to the Nation; but it would appear to be a safe and

and a glorious Peace, much more to the Honour and Interest of the Nation, than the Preliminaries that were agreed to, three Years before: He also affirmed, that the Allies knew of it, and were satisfied with it; so the Motion fell: And all were in great expectation, to see what a few Days would produce. In order to this, it was proposed to examine into all the Proceedings at the *Hague*, and at *Gertruydenberg*, in the Years 1709 and 1710; this was set on by a Representation made by the Earl of *Strafford*; for he affirmed in the House of Lords, that those Matters had not been fairly represented; he said, he had his Information from one of the two, who had been employed in those Conferences: By this, it was plain he meant *Buys*. Lord *Townshend* had informed the House, that those who treated with the *French* at *Gertruydenberg* did, at their return, give an Account of their Negotiation to the Ministers of the Allies, in the Pensioner's presence, before they reported it to the *States* themselves: But upon this, the Earl of *Strafford* said, they had been first secretly with the Pensioner, who directed them both what to say, and what to suppress. Upon this, the House made an Address to the Queen, desiring her to lay before them all that passed at that Time, and in that Negotiation: But nothing followed upon this; for it was said to be designed only to amuse the House.

Surprizes came at this time quick one after another: At *Utrecht*, on the second of *June* N.S. the Plenipotentiaries of the *States* expostulated with the Bishop of *Bristol*, upon the Orders sent to the Duke of *Ormond*: He answered, he knew nothing of them; but said, he had received a Letter, two Days before, from the Queen, in which she complained that, notwithstanding all the Advances she had made, to engage the *States* to enter with her upon a Plan of Peace, they had not answered her as they ought, and as she hoped they would have done: therefore she did now think herself at liberty, to enter into separate Measures, to obtain a Peace for her own Convenience. The Plenipotentiaries said, this was contrary to all their Alliances and Treaties; they thought that, by the Deference they had shewed Her, on all occasions, they had merited much better Usage from Her: They knew nothing of any Advances made to them, on a Plan of Peace. The Bishop replied, that considering the Conduct of the *States*, the Queen thought herself disengaged from all Alliances and Engagements with them: The Bishop did not in express Words name the *Barrier Treaty*; but he did not except it: So they reckoned it was included, in the general Words he had used. This did not agree, with what the Lord Treasurer had said in the House of Lords: And when the *States* Envoy complained

The Queen, by the Bishop of *Bristol*, said she was free from all her Treaties with the *States*.

1712. complained to him, of these Declarations made them by the Bishop, all the Answer he made was, *that he was certainly in a very bad humour, when he talked at that rate.*

The Queen
laid before
the Parlia-
ment the
Plan of the
Peace.

On the fifth of *June*, the Queen came to the Parliament, and told them on what Terms a Peace might be had: King *Philip* was to renounce the Succession to the Crown of *France*, if it should devolve on him; and this was to execute itself, by putting the next to him into the Succession: *Sicily* was to be separated from *Spain*, tho' it was not yet settled, who should have it. The Protestant Succession was to be secured; and he, who had pretended to the Crown, was no more to be supported. *Dunkirk* was to be demolished, and *Newfoundland* to be delivered to *England*. *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* were to remain in our hands: We were also to have the *Assiento*, a Word importing, the furnishing the *Spanish West-Indies* with Slaves from *Africa*. The *Dutch* were to have their *Barrier*, except two or three Places: And due regard would be had to all our Allies.

Addreses of
both Houses
upon it.

Both Houses agreed to make Addreses of Thanks to the Queen, for communicating this Plan to them, desiring her to *finish it*: An Addition to these last Words, *in conjunction with her Allies*, was moved in both Houses; that so there might be a Guaranty settled for the maintaining the Terms of the Treaty: But it was rejected, by a great Majority in both Houses. It was said, in opposition to it, that it would subject the Queen and the whole Treaty, to the Pleasure of the Allies, who might prove backward and intractable: And since *England* had born the greatest share of the Burthen of the War, it was reasonable that the Queen should be the Arbiter of the Peace. On the other hand it was said, that if the Allies did not enter into a Guaranty, we must depend on the Faith of the *French*, and be at their mercy; and so have nothing to trust to, but the Promises of a Court noted, in a course of many Years, for a Train of Perfidy: But many had formed an obstinate Resolution to get out of the War on any Terms: So nothing that was offered, that seemed to obstruct the arriving speedily at that end, was heard with patience; and no regard was had to the Faith of Treaties: Yet both Houses observed one Caution, not to express their being satisfied with the Plan of the Peace, tho' it was covertly insinuated. Mention was also made of our Treaties with our Allies, and of the Protestant Succession: The Lords, who had all along protested against the Steps, that the Court had taken, entred the Reasons of their protesting against the Negative, put on adding the Words, *in conjunction with her Allies*, and on the former Vote, concerning the Orders sent to to the Duke of *Ormond*: These carried in them such just and
severe

severe Reflections on the Ministry, as running the Nation into an open Breach of all publick Trust, and putting every thing into the hands of the *French*; that by the Strength of the Majority they were expunged: Yet they were printed, and Copies of them were sent over the Nation; but nothing could break thro' that Insensibility, which had stupified the People. A new Set of Addresses ran about, full of gross Flattery, magnifying the present Conduct, with severe Reflections on the former Ministry, which some carried back to King *William's* Reign: Some of these Addresses mentioned the Protestant Succession, and the House of *Hanover*, with Zeal; others did it more coldly; and some made no mention at all of it. And it was universally believed, that no Addresses were so acceptable to the Ministers, as those of the last sort.

About the middle of *June*, the Session of Parliament came to an end: The Queen in her Speech said, she was glad to find they approved of her Scheme of Peace, tho' that was in none of the Addresses; many, who intended to merit by their officious Zeal, had indeed magnified it in both Houses, but it was not in either of their Addresses. The Earl of *Strafford* was again sent over, to induce the *States* to accept the Offers, that the *French* were making, and to consent to a Cessation of Arms.

Prince *Eugene* ordered *Quesnoy* to be besieged; and he, in conjunction with the Duke of *Ormond*, covered the Siege; but, when the Place was so streightned, that it could not hold out above two or three Days, the Duke of *Ormond* sent Prince *Eugene* word, that he had Orders to proclaim a Cessation of Arms for two Months. Prince *Eugene* disagreeing to this, he signified his Orders to all the *German* Troops, that were in the Queen's Pay: But the *States* and the Emperor had foreseen that this might happen, and had negotiated so effectually with the Princes, to whom these Troops belonged, that they had sent Orders to their Generals, to continue with Prince *Eugene*, and to obey his Command. This they represented to the Duke of *Ormond*; and he upon that told them, they should have neither Bread nor Pay nor their Arrears, if they refused to obey his Orders: This last seemed unjust, since they had served hitherto, according to Agreement; so that their Arrears could not be detained, with any colour of Justice. *Quesnoy* capitulated, and the Garrison were made Prisoners of War. It was said, that the Court of *France* had promised, to put *Dunkirk* in the Queen's hands, as a sure Pledge of performing all that they had stipulated, in order to a general Peace; this was executed, in the beginning of *July*; and a Body of our Troops, with a Squadron of Ships, were sent

1712.

The end of the Session of Parliament.

The Duke of Ormond proclaims a Cessation of Arms, and left Prince Eugene's Army.

Quesnoy taken.

1712. to take possession of the Place. The Duke of *Ormond* made a second Attempt, on the Generals of the *German* Troops, to see if they would agree to the Cessation of Arms: But they excused themselves, upon the Orders they had received from their Masters: So he proclaimed the Cessation, at the Head of the *English* Troops; upon which, he separated himself from Prince *Eugene's* Army, and retired to *Ghendt* and *Bruges*, possessing himself of them: The fortified Places, near the Frontier, had Orders to let the Officers pass through, but not to suffer the Troops to possess themselves of them. The withdrawing the *English* Forces in this manner, from the Confederate Army, was censured, not only as a manifest Breach of Faith and of Treaties, but as treacherous in the highest and basest degree. The Duke of *Ormond* had given the *States* such Assurances, of his going along with them thro' the whole Campaign, that he was let into the Secrets of all their Counsels, which by that Confidence were all known to the *French*: And, if the auxiliary *German* Troops had not been prepared to disobey his Orders, it was believed he, in conjunction with the *French* Army, would have forced the *States* to come into the new Measures. But that was happily prevented; yet all this Conduct of our General was applauded at home as great, just and wise; and our People were led to think it a kind of Triumph, upon *Dunkirk's* being put into our hands; not considering, that we had more truly put ourselves into the Hands of the *French*, by this open Breach of Faith; after which, the Confederates could no longer trust or depend on us. Nor was this only the Act of the Court and Ministry, but it became the Act of the Nation, which by a general Voice did not only approve of it, but applaud it.

Landrecy
belieged.

A great Loss
at *Denain*
brought a
Reverse on
the Cam-
paign.

Prince *Eugene's* next Attempt was upon *Landrecy*, in which it seemed probable that he would succeed; but this Prospect, and indeed the whole Campaign, had a fatal Reverse: There was a Body of 8000 or 10000 Men posted at *Denain*, on the *Scheld*, commanded by the Earl of *Albemarle*, to secure the conveying Bread and Ammunition to the Army, and to the Siege. *Villars* made a Motion, as if he designed to give Prince *Eugene* Battle; but after a Feint that way, he turned quick upon this Body, that lay on both sides of the River, with only one Bridge of Pontoons: The rest had been sent to the Siege of *Landrecy*; and there was not a Supply of more brought. That Bridge, with the Weight that was on it, broke; so the Bodies could not be joined: but Military Men assured me, that, if it had not been for that Misfortune, *Villars's* Attempt might have turned fatally on himself, and to the Ruin of his whole Army. But in conclusion,

fion, he gave them a total Defeat, and so made himself Master of ^{1712.} those Posts, which they were to defend. This opened a new Scene; it not only forced the raising the Siege of *Landrecy*, but gave *Villars* an occasion to seize on *Marchiennes*, and some other Places, where he found great Stores of Artillery and Ammunition; and furnished him likewise, with an Opportunity of sitting down before *Doway*. What Errours were committed, either in the Counsels or Orders, or in the Execution of them, and at whose door these ought to be laid, is far above my Understanding in Military Matters: But be that as it will, this Misfortune served not a little to raise the Duke of *Marlborough's* Character, under whose Command no such thing had ever happened. The Effects of this Disgrace were great; *Doway* was taken, after a long and brave Defence; Prince *Eugene* tried to raise the Siege, but did not succeed in it: indeed the *States* would not put things to so great a venture, after such a Loss; the Garrison were made Prisoners of War. *Quesnoy* was next besieged; the great Artillery, that had been employed in the Siege, were left in the place: The Garrison improved that Advantage; so that the taking it cost the Enemy very dear.

These Losses created a great Distraction in the Counsels at the *Hague*; many were inclined to accept of a Cessation; the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire made great Offers to the *States*, to persuade them to continue the War; at the same time, the *French* grew very insolent upon their Successes, and took occasion, from a Quarrel between the Footmen of one of the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, and one of theirs, to demand an extravagant Reparation; which the *Dutch* not complying with, a full stop was put to all Proceedings at *Utrecht*, for some Months. Our Court took some pains to remove that Obstruction; but the *French* King's Pride being now again in exaltation, he was intractable: *St. John*, being made Viscount *Bolingbroke*, was sent over with secret Instructions, to the Court of *France*; where, as it was believed, the Peace was fully concluded: But all, that was published upon his Return, was a new Cessation of Arms, both by Sea and Land, for four Months longer. Duke *Hamilton* was named to go Ambassador to *France*, and Lord *Lexington* to *Spain*. The Earl of *Strafford* continued to press the *States*, to come into the Queen's Measures, which 'twas said he managed with great Imperiousness: The *States* resolved to offer their Plan to the Queen, in which they pressed the restoring *Strasbourg* to the Empire, to have *Valenciennes* demolished, and *Condé* added to their Barrier, and that the old *Tariff* for Trade should be again restored.

Distractions
at the *Hague*.

The

1712.

The Renunciation
of the Successions in
Spain and
France.

The Lord *Lexington* went first to *Spain*, where the *Cortes* were summoned, in which that King did solemnly renounce, for himself and his Heirs, the Right of Succession to the Crown of *France*; and limited the Succession to the Crown of *Spain*, after his own Posterity, to the House of *Savoy*. The like Renunciation was made some Months after that, by the Princes of *France* to the Crown of *Spain*: And *Philip* was declared incapable of succeeding to the Crown of *France*. It was something strange, to see so much Weight laid on these Renunciations, since the King of *France* had so often, and so solemnly declared (upon his claiming, in the right of his Queen, the *Spanish Netherlands*; when the Renunciation made by his Queen before the Marriage, pursuant to the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, of all Rights of Succession to her Father's Dominions, was objected to him) that no Renunciation, which was but a civil Act, could destroy the Rights of Blood, founded on the Laws of Nature: But this was now forgot, or very little considered. At this time the Order of the Garter had nine vacant Stalls; so six Knights were at one time promoted, the Dukes of *Beaufort*, *Hamilton*, and *Kent*; and the Earls of *Oxford*, *Powlet*, and *Strafford*. The Duke of *Hamilton's* being appointed to go to the Court of *France*, gave melancholy Speculations to those, who thought him much in the *Pretender's* Interest: He was considered, not only in *Scotland*, but here in *England*, as the Head of his Party; but a dismal Accident put an end to his Life, a few days before he intended to have set out on his Embassy.

Duke of
Hamilton
and Lord
Mobun both
killed in a
Combat.

He and the Lord *Mobun* were engaged in some Suits of Law; and a violent Hatred was kindled between them: So that, upon a very high Provocation, the Lord *Mobun* sent him a Challenge, which he tried to decline: but both being hurried, by those false Points of Honour, they fatally went out to *Hyde Park*, in the middle of *November*, and fought with so violent an Animosity, that neglecting the Rules of Art, they seemed to run on one another, as if they tried who should kill first; in which they were both so unhappily successful, that the Lord *Mobun* was killed outright, and Duke *Hamilton* died in a few Minutes after. I will add no Character of him: I am sorry I cannot say so much Good of him as I could wish, and I had too much kindness for him, to say any Evil without necessity. Nor shall I make any Reflections on the deplorable effect of those unchristian and barbarous Maxims, which have prevailed so universally, that there is little hope left of seeing them rooted out of the Minds of Men; the false Notions of Honour and Courage being too strong, to be weighed down by prudent or religious Considerations.

The

The Duke of *Shrewsbury* was, upon Duke *Hamilton's* Death, 1712. named for the Embassy to *France*, and went over in the end of *December*: The same Yacht, that carried him to *Calais*, brought over the Duke de *Aumont*, the *French* Ambassador, who was a good-natured and generous Man, of profuse Expence, throwing handfulls of Money often out of his Coach, as he went about the Streets: He was not thought a Man of Business, and seemed to employ himself chiefly, in maintaining the Dignity of his Character, and making himself acceptable to the Nation. I turn next to foreign Affairs.

The Duke of *Shrewsbury* sent to *France*, and Duke de *Aumont* came to *England*.

The War in *Pomerania* went on but slowly, tho' the *Czar* and the Kings of *Denmark* and *Poland* joined their Forces; upon which it was thought, the Interest of *Sweden* must have sunk in those Parts: But the Feebleness of one or other of those Princes lost them great Advantages. *Steinbock*, the *Swedish* General, seeing the *Danes* were separated from their Allies, made a quick March toward them; and, tho' the *Saxons* had joined them, before he came up, yet he attacked them. The Action was hot, and lasted some Hours; but it ended in a compleat Victory on the *Swedish* side. At the same time the *Swedes* were animated, by Reports from *Constantinople*, which gave them Hopes of the War, between the *Turks* and the *Czar*, being like to break out again, which the King of *Sweden* continued to solicit, and in which he had all the Assistance, that the *French* could give him.

The Affairs in the North.

This gave the Emperor great Apprehensions, that Disorders in *Hungary* might follow upon it, which would defeat the Measures he had taken to settle Matters in that Kingdom, so that being safe on that side, he might turn his whole Force against *France*, and by that means, encourage the *States* to continue the War. Those in *Holland*, who pressed the accepting the Offers that *France* made them, represented That as a thing not possible to be supported: The Promises of the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire had so often failed them, that they said, they could not be relied on: And the Distractions in the *North* made them apprehend, that those Princes might be obliged to recall their Troops, which were in the Service of the *States*.

The Emperor prepares for the War with *France*.

The Earl of *Strafford* was sent back to the *Hague*, with the *French* Plan, which came to be called the Queen's Plan: But to draw them in the more, he was ordered to enter upon a new *Barrier Treaty* with them, by which the former was to be set aside: By it the *States* were to maintain the Succession to the Crown, when required to it by the Queen, but not otherwise. This gave still new occasions for Jealousy: For whereas, by the former Treaty, they were strictly bound to maintain the Succession,

A new *Barrier Treaty* with the *States*.

1712. fion, so that they were obliged to oppose any Attempts they saw made against it: They were by this Treaty obliged to stay, 'till they were sent to: And if our Ministers should come to entertain ill Designs that way, they would take care no notice should be given to the *States*. The *Barrier* for the *Dutch* came far short of the former; the *States* wrote another Letter to the Queen, desiring her to interpose, for restoring *Strasbourg* to the Empire, for adding *Condé* to their *Barrier*, and for settling the Commerce on the foot of the ancient *Tariff*; as also for obtaining more reasonable Terms for the Emperor: But things were so fixed between the Court of *France* and ours, that there was no room for Intercession.

The Death
of the Earl
of Godolphin.

His Character.

The Earl of *Godolphin* died of the Stone in *September*: He was the Man of the clearest Head, the calmest Temper, and the most incorrupt of all the Ministers of State, I have ever known. After having been thirty Years in the Treasury, and during nine of those Lord Treasurer, as he was never once suspected of Corruption, or of suffering his Servants to grow rich under him, so in all that time his Estate was not increased by him to the Value of 4000 *l*. He served the Queen with such a particular Affection and Zeal, that he studied to possess all People with great personal Esteem for her: And she herself seemed to be so sensible of this for many Years, that if Courts were not different from all other Places in the World, it might have been thought, that his wise Management at home, and the Duke of *Marlborough's* glorious Conduct abroad, would have fixed them in their Posts, above the little Practices of an artful Favourite, and the Cunning of a Man, who has not hitherto shewed any Token of a great Genius, and is only eminent in the Arts of deluding those that hearken to him.

The Duke
of Marlborough
went
to live be-
yond Sea.

Upon the Earl of *Godolphin's* Death, the Duke of *Marlborough* resolved to go and live beyond Sea; he executed it in the end of *November*; and his Dutches followed him in the beginning of *February*. This was variously censured; some pretended it was the giving up and abandoning the Concerns of his Country; and they represented it as the effect of Fear, with too anxious a care to secure himself: Others were glad he was safe out of ill hands; whereby, if we should fall into the Convulsions of a Civil War, he would be able to assist the Elector of *Hanover*, as being so entirely beloved and confided in, by all our military Men; whereas if he had staid in *England*, it was not to be doubted, but, upon the least Shadow of Suspicion, he would have been immediately secured; whereas now he would be at liberty, being beyond Sea, to act as there might be occasion for it.

There

There were two Suits begun against him; the one was for the Two and a half *per Cent.* that the foreign Princes were content should be deducted for Contingencies, of which an Account was formerly given; the other was, for Arrears due to the Builders of *Blenheim* House. The Queen had given Orders for building it with great Magnificence; all the Bargains with the Workmen were made in her Name, and by Authority from her; and in the Preambles of the Acts of Parliament, that confirmed the Grant of *Woodstock* to him and his Heirs, it was said the Queen built the House for him: Yet now, that the Tradesmen were let run into an Arrear of 30000 *l.* the Queen refused to pay any more; and set them upon suing the Duke of *Marlborough* for it, tho' he had never contracted with any of them: Upon his going beyond Sea, both those Suits were staid, which gave occasion to People to imagine, that the Ministry, being disturbed to see so much publick Respect put on a Man, whom they had used so ill, had set these Prosecutions on foot, only to render his stay in *England* uneasy to him.

Our Army continued this Winter about *Ghendt* and *Bruges*; and we kept a sort of Garrison in *Dunkirk*: But that was so ill supplied with Artillery and Ammunition, that it was visible they were not in a condition to keep the Place, any longer than the *French* were willing to let them stay in it. And during that time, they were neither allowed to have a Place to worship God, nor to bury their Dead in, though by a Mortality that raged there some Thousands died. Our Ministers continued still to press the *States* and the Emperor to come into the Queen's Measures; the Emperor, on some occasions, talked in a very positive Strain, as if he was resolved to put all to hazard, rather than submit to such hard Conditions; but the Apprehensions of a War in the Neighbourhood of *Hungary*, and the low State of his Treasure, forced him to come down from that heighth, and engage the *States* to procure better Terms for him: The Demand of *Strasbourg* was rejected by the *French*, with so positive an Air, that our Court did not move in it more; nor did it appear, that we obtained any one Condition of the *French*, but what was offered in their own Project.

We possess *Dunkirk* in a very precarious manner.

In conclusion, the *States* were forced to yield in every Particular; and then our Ministers, to give some seeming Content to the Nation, and to bring the *States* into some Confidence with them, ordered the new *Barrier Treaty* to be signed: And it was given out by their Creatures, that the *French* were highly offended at their signing this; making it previous to a general Peace, and a sort of Guaranty for it. Thus, after all the Declamations

The *Barrier Treaty* signed.

1712. { mations that were made on the first *Barrier Treaty*, the Ministers came into a new one, which tho' not so secure as the former, yet was liable to all the Objections, that were made against that. The *French*, as we were assured, in the Progress of the Treaty used all that course of *Chicane*, for which they have been so long famous: And, after all the Steps our Court had made, to get them a Treaty of their own projecting, we were not at last able to gain any one point upon them: They seemed to reckon, that now we had put ourselves in their hands, and that they might use us as they pleased.

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Seven Pro-
rogations of
Parliament.

A Proclamation was set out in the end of *November*, giving notice that the Session of Parliament would be opened on the thirteenth of *January*: But tho' the proroguing the Parliament, after such a Proclamation, was without a Precedent, yet we were put off by seven Prorogations, some for a Fortnight, and some for three Weeks: It was said, we were daily expecting a sudden Conclusion of the Treaty; and 'till all was finished, the Ministers could not know what Aids were to be demanded. What occasioned all these Delays, is yet a Secret to me; so I can write nothing of it. Many Expresses were sent to *Vienna*, and the Returns to those could not come quick. The Demands for restoring the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, together with a Compensation for their Losses, were insisted on. The Emperor could not do the former of these, without the Diet, by whose Authority they were put under the Imperial *Ban*: But neither the Emperor nor Diet could answer the other Demand, it rose so high.

Affairs of
Sweden.

While we were at home uneasy at the many Prorogations and Delays, the News from beyond Sea opened a new Scene. The *Swedes* broke into *Holstein*, but were so closely followed by the *Danes* and *Muscovites*, that their Retreat by Land was cut off, and the *Danish* Ships shut them from the *Baltick* Sea: they made great waste in the King of *Denmark's* Share of *Holstein*, and burnt *Altena*, a great and rich Village, within a Mile of *Hambourg*, which being an open Place, in no sort fortified, the burning it was thought contrary to the Laws of War.

The King
of *Prussia's*
Death.

The King of *Prussia* died in *February*; he was in his own Person a virtuous Man, and full of Zeal in the Matters of Religion; he raised above two hundred new Churches in his Dominions; he was weak, and much in the power of his Ministers and Flatterers; but was so apt to hearken to Whispers, that he changed twice the whole Set of his Ministry: His assuming the Title of a King, and his affecting an extraordinary Magnificence in his Court, brought a great Charge on himself, and on all about him, which made him a severe Master to his Subjects, and set him on many Pretensions,

Pretensions, chiefly those relating to the Prince of *Friseland*, 1713. which were not thought well grounded. He was succeeded in his Dignity by his Son, who had hitherto appeared to affect a Roughness of Behaviour, and seemed fond of his Grenadiers, not only beyond all other Military Men, but beyond all Men whatsoever: He seemed to have a Warlike Inclination; but what he will prove, now that he is on the Throne, must be left to Time.

The Appearances of a new War between the *Turk* and the *Czar* varied so oft, that it was doubtful in what it might end: The King of *Sweden* used all possible means to engage the *Turk* into it; but he threw himself, by his intractable Obstinacy, into great Dangers: The Party at the *Port*, that opposed the War, studied to get rid of that King, and of his Importunities. Orders were sent him to march back into his Kingdom: And they undertook to procure him a safe Passage to it; but he treated the Person, that was sent with this Message, with great Insolence, and fortified himself, as well as he could, with the *Swedes* that were about him, and resolved to defend himself. A Force much superiour to his, was brought against him; but he maintained himself so resolutely in his House, that some Hundreds of those who attacked him were killed: The *Turks* upon that set fire to the House, whereupon he was forced to surrender, and was put under a Guard; and most of his *Swedes* were sold for Slaves; he was carried to a House near *Adrianople*, but not suffered to come to Court; only the *Sultan* disowned the Violence used to his Person. In the mean while, the *Czar* shipped an Army from *Petersburgh*, that landed in *Finland*: The *Swedes* were not able to stand before him; every Place, as he advanced, submitted to him; and he was now Master of *Abo*, the Capital of *Finland*, and of that whole Province. *Steinbock*, with his Army, maintained himself in *Tonningen*, as long as their Provision lasted: But, all Supplies being carefully stopp'd, he was forced at last to deliver up himself and his Army Prisoners of War; and these were the best Troops the *Swedes* had, so that *Sweden* was struck with a general Consternation: In this distracted State has that furious Prince abandoned his own Kingdom. And there I must leave it, to return to our own Affairs.

After a long Expectation we at last knew, that on the thirteenth of *March* the Treaty of Peace between *England*, *France*, and the *States* was signed: Upon this, the Parliament was opened on the ninth of *April*. The Queen in her Speech told the two Houses, that she had now concluded a Peace, and had obtained a further Security for the Protestant Succession, and that she was in an intire Union with the House of *Hanover*; she asked of the

The King
of Sweden's
Misfortunes

The Treaties signed,
and the Session of Parliament opened.

1713. Commons, the necessary Supplies, and recommended to both Houses, the cultivating the Arts of Peace, with a Reflection upon Faction. Upon this Speech, a Debate arose in the House of Lords, concerning some Words, that were moved to be put in the Address, (which of course was to be made to the Queen) applauding the Conditions of the Peace, and the Security for the Protestant Succession: This was opposed, since we did not yet know what the Conditions of the Peace were, nor what that Security was; all that appeared was, that the *Pretender* was gone out of *France* into the *Barrois*, a Part of *Lorraine*, for which that Duke did Homage to the Crown of *France*. An Address of Congratulation was agreed to, but without any Approbation of the Peace. The House of Commons observed the same Caution in their Address. But upon this, a new Set of Addresses ran thro' the Nation, in the usual Strains of Flattery and false Eloquence. The Parliament sat above a Month, before the Articles of Peace (and of a Treaty of Commerce, made at that same time) were laid before them. It was given out, that, 'till the Ratifications were exchanged, it was not proper to publish them; but when that was done, they were communicated to both Houses, and printed.

The Substance of the Treaties of Peace and Commerce

By the Treaty of Peace, the *French* King was bound to give neither Harbour nor Assistance to the *Pretender*, but acknowledged the Queen's Title and the Protestant Succession, as it was settled by several Acts of Parliament: *Dunkirk* was to be razed in a Time limited, within five Months, after the Ratifications; but that was not to be begun, 'till an Equivalent for it was put in the hands of *France*. *Newfoundland*, *Hudson's Bay*, and *St. Christopher's* were to be given to *England*; but *Cape Breton* was left to the *French*, with a Liberty to dry their Fish on *Newfoundland*: This was the main Substance of the Articles of Peace. The Treaty of Commerce settled a free Trade, according to the *Tariff* in the Year 1664, excepting some Commodities, that were subjected to a new *Tariff* in the Year 1699, which was so high, that it amounted to a Prohibition: All the Productions of *France* were to come into *England* under no other Duties, but those that were laid on the same Productions from other Countries; and when this was settled, then Commissioners were to be sent to *London*, to agree and adjust all Matters relating to Trade: The Treaty of Commerce with *Spain* was not yet finished. As for the Allies, *Portugal* and *Savoy* were satisfied; the Emperor was to have the Dutchy of *Milan*, the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the *Spanish Netherlands*: *Sicily* was to be given to the Duke of *Savoy*, with the Title of King: And *Sardinia*, with the same Title, was to be given to the Elector of *Bavaria*, in lieu of his Losses: The *States* were to deliver up *Lisle*, and the little Places

Places about it: And, besides the Places of which they were already possessed, they were to have *Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Newport*: The King of *Prussia* was to have the *Upper Guelder*, in lieu of *Orange*, and the other Estates, which the Family had in *Franche Comté*: This was all that I think necessary to insert here, with relation to our Treaty: The Emperor was to have time to the first of *June*, to declare his accepting of it. It did not appear what Equivalent the King of *France* was to have for *Dunkirk*: No mention was made of it in the Treaty; so the House of Commons made an Address to the Queen, desiring to know what that Equivalent was. Some Weeks passed before they had an Answer; at last the Queen by a Message said, the *French* King had that Equivalent already in his own hands; but we were still in the dark as to that, no further Explanation being made of it. As to *Newfoundland*, it was thought that the *French* settling at *Cape Breton*, instead of *Placentia*, would be of great advantage to them with relation to the Fishery, which is the only thing, that makes Settlements in those Parts of any Value. The *English* have always pretended that, the first Discovery of *Newfoundland* being made in *Henry* the Seventh's Time, the Right to it was in the Crown of *England*. The *French* had leave given them in King *Charles* the First's Time to fish there, paying Tribute, as an Acknowledgment of that Licence: It is true, they carried this much further, during the Civil Wars; and this grew to a much greater height in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second: But in King *William*'s Time, an Act of Parliament passed, asserting the Right of the Crown to *Newfoundland*, laying open the Trade thither to all the Subjects of *Great Britain*, with a positive and constant Exclusion of all Aliens and Foreigners: These were the Reflections on the Treaty of Peace; but there were more important Objections made to the Treaty of Commerce. During K. *Charles* the Second's Reign, our Trade with *France* was often and loudly complained of, as very prejudicial to the Nation; there was a Commission appointed in the Year 1674, to adjust the Conditions of our Commerce with that Nation, and then it appeared, in a Scheme that was prepared by very able Merchants, that we lost every Year a Million of Money by our Trade thither. This was then so well received, that the Scheme was entered into the Journals of both Houses of Parliament, and into the Books of the Custom-House: But the Court at that time favoured the Interests of *France* so much, preferably to their own, that the Trade went still on 'till the Year 1678, when the Parliament laid, upon all *French* Commodities, such a Duty as amounted to a Prohibition, and was to last for three Years, and to the end of the next Session of Parliament: At the end of the
three

1713. three Years, King *Charles* called no more Parliaments; and that Act was repealed in King *James's* Parliament: But, during the whole last War, high Duties were laid on all the Productions and Manufactures of *France*; which by this Treaty were to be no higher charged, than the same Productions from other Countries. It was said that, if we had been as often beat by the *French*, as they had been by us, this would have been thought a very hard Treaty; and if the Articles of our Commerce had been settled, before the Duke of *Ormond* was ordered to separate his Troops from the Confederates, the *French* could not have pretended to draw us into such Terms, as they had insisted on since that time, because we put ourselves into their power. We were engaged by our Treaty with *Portugal*, that their Wines should be charged a third part lower than the *French* Wines; but if the Duties were, according to this Treaty of Commerce, to be made equal, then considering the Difference of Freight, which is more than double from *Portugal*, the *French* Wines would be much cheaper; and the Nation generally liking them better, by this means we should not only break our Treaties with *Portugal*, but if we did not take off their Wines, we must lose their Trade, which was at present the most advantageous, that we drove any where: For besides a great Vent of our Manufactures, we brought over yearly great Returns of Gold from thence; four, five, and six hundred thousand Pounds a-year. We had brought the Silk Manufacture here to so great Perfection, that about 300000 People were maintained by it. For carrying this on, we brought great Quantities of Silk from *Italy* and *Turky*, by which People in those Countries came to take off as great Quantities of our Manufactures: So that our Demand for Silk had opened good Markets for our Woollen Goods abroad, which must fail, if our Manufacture of Silk at home should be lost: Which, if once we gave a free Vent for Silk Stuffs from *France* among us, must soon be the case; since the Cheapness of Provisions and of Labour in *France*, would enable the *French* to undersell us, even at our own Markets. Our Linnen and Paper Manufactures would likewise be ruined by a free Importation of the same Goods from *France*. These things came to be so generally well understood; that even, while flattering Addresses were coming to Court from all the Parts of the Island, Petitions came from the Towns and Counties concerned in Trade, setting forth the Prejudice they apprehended from this Treaty of Commerce. The Ministers used all possible Arts to bear this Clamour down; they called it Faction, and decried it with a Boldness, that would have surprized any, but those who had observed the Methods, they had

had taken for many Years, to vent the foulest Calumnies, and the falsest Misrepresentations possible. But the Matter came to be so universally apprehended, that it could not be disguised. 1713.

The House of Commons gave an Aid of Two Shillings in the Pound, tho' the Ministers hoped to have carried it higher; but the Members durst not venture on that, since a new Election was soon to follow the Conclusion of the Session: They went next to renew the Duty on Malt, for another Year; and here a Debate arose, that was kept up some Days in both Houses of Parliament, whether it should be laid on the whole Island: It was carried in the Affirmative, of which the *Scots* complained heavily, as a Burden that their Country could not bear: And whereas it was said, that those Duties ought to be laid equally on all the Subjects of the United Kingdom, the *Scots* insisted on an Article of the Union, by which it was stipulated, that no Duty should be laid on the Malt in *Scotland* during the War, which ought to be observed religiously. They said, it was evident, the War with *Spain* was not yet ended; no Peace with that Crown was yet proclaimed, nor so much as signed: And, tho' it was as good as made, and was every day expected, yet it was a Maxim in the Construction of all Laws, that odious Matters ought to be strictly understood, whereas Matters of Favour were to be more liberally interpreted. It was farther said on the *Scotch* side, that this Duty was, by the very Words of the Act, to be applied to Deficiencies during the War: So this Act was, upon the Matter, making *Scotland* pay that Duty during the War, from which the Articles of the Union did by express Words exempt them. A great number of the *English* were convinced of the Equity of these Grounds, that the *Scots* went on; but the Majority was on the other side. So, when the Bill had passed thro' the House of Commons, all the *Scots* of both Houses met together, and agreed to move for an Act, dissolving the Union; they went first to the Queen, and told her how grievous and indeed intolerable this Duty would be to their Country, so that they were under a necessity to try, how the Union might be broken. The Queen seemed uneasy at the Motion; she studied to divert them from it, and assured them that her Officers should have Orders to make it easy to them. This was understood to imply that the Duty should not be levied; but they knew this could not be depended on: So the Motion was made in the House of Lords, and most of the Lords of that Nation spoke to it: They set forth all the Hardships, that they lay under since the Union; they had no more a Council in *Scotland*; their Peers at present were the only Persons in the whole Island, that were judged incapable of

Aid given by the Commons.

The *Scots* oppose their being charged with the Duty on Malt.

And moved to have the Union dissolved.

1713. Peerage by Descent; their Laws were altered in Matters of the highest Importance, particularly in Matters of Treason; and now an Imposition was to be laid on their Malt, which must prove an intolerable Burden to the Poor of that Country, and force them to drink Water. Upon all these Reasons they moved for liberty to bring in a Bill, to dissolve the Union, in which they would give full Security, for maintaining the Queen's Prerogative, and for securing the Protestant Succession. This was opposed with much Zeal by the Ministers, but was supported by others; who, tho' they did not intend to give up the Union, yet thought it reasonable to give a Hearing to this Motion, that they might see how far the Protestant Succession could be secured, in case it should be entertained; but the Majority were for rejecting the Motion: When the Malt-Bill was brought up to the Lords, there was such an opposition made to it, that fifty-six voted against it, but sixty-four were for it, and so it passed.

A Bill for
rendering the
Treaty of
Commerce
with *France*
effectual.

The Matter of the greatest Consequence in this Session was, a Bill for settling the Commerce with *France*, according to the Treaty, and for taking off the Prohibitions and high Duties, that were laid on the Productions of *France*. The Traders in the City of *London*, and Those in all the other Parts of *England* were alarmed, with the great Prejudice this would bring on the whole Nation. The *Turkey* Company, those that traded to *Portugal* and *Italy*, and all who were concerned in the Woollen and Silk Manufactures, appeared before both Houses, and set forth the great Mischief, that a Commerce with *France*, on the foot of the Treaty, would bring upon the Nation; while none appeared on the other side, to answer their Arguments, or to set forth the Advantage of such a Commerce. It was manifest, that none of the trading Bodies had been consulted in it; and the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations had made very material Observations on the first Project, which was sent to them for their Opinion: And afterwards, when this present Project was formed, it was also transmitted to that Board by the Queen's Order, and they were required to make their Remarks on it: but *Arthur Moor*, who had risen up from being a Footman without any Education, to be a great Dealer in Trade, and was the Person of that Board, in whom the Lord Treasurer confided most, moved that they might first read it every one a-part, and then debate it; and he desired to have the first Perusal: So he took it away, and never brought it back to them, but gave it to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, who carried it to *Paris*, and there it was settled. The Bill was very feebly maintained by those who argued for it; yet the Majority went with the Bill till the last day; and

and then the opposition to it was so strong, that the Ministers seemed inclined to let it fall: But it was not then known, whether this was only a Feint, or whether the Instances of the *French* Ambassador, and the Engagements, that our Ministers were under to that Court, prevailed for carrying it on. It was brought to the last Step; and then a great many of those, who had hitherto gone along with the Court, broke from them in this Matter, and bestirred themselves so effectually, that when it came to the last Division, 185 were for the Bill, and 194 were against it: By so small a Majority was a Bill of such great Importance lost. But the House of Commons, to soften the ill Constructions that might be made of their rejecting this Bill, made an Address to the Queen, in which they thanked her for the Peace she had concluded, and for the Foundation laid for settling our Commerce; and prayed her to name Commissaries to regulate and finish that Matter.

To this the Queen sent an Answer, of a singular Composition: She said, she was glad to see they were so well pleased with the Treaty of Peace and Commerce, that she had made, and assured them that she would use her best Endeavours to see all the Advantages, that she had stipulated for her Subjects, performed: This was surprizing, since the House of Commons had sufficiently shewed, how little they were pleased with the Treaty of Commerce, by their rejecting the Bill, that was offered to confirm it; and this was insinuated in their Address itself: But it was pleasantly said, that the Queen answered them, according to what ought to have been in their Address, and not according to what was in it; besides it was observable, that her Promise, to maintain what was already stipulated, did not at all answer the Prayer of their Address. This was all that passed in this Session of Parliament with relation to the Peace. It was once apprehended, that the Ministers would have moved for an Act, or at least for an Address, approving the Peace; and upon that I prepared a Speech, which I intended to make on the Subject: It was the only Speech, that I ever prepared beforehand; but since that Matter was never brought into the House, I had no occasion to make it; yet I think proper to insert it here, that I may deliver down my Thoughts of this great Transaction to Posterity.

“ **M**Y LORDS, this Matter now before you, as it is of the
 “ greatest Importance, so it may be seen in very different
 “ Lights; I will not meddle with the Political View of it; I
 “ leave that to Persons, who can judge and speak of it much
 “ better than I can: I will only offer to you what appears
 “ to me, when I consider it, with relation to the Rules of
 “ Morality

A Speech
 I prepared
 when the
 Approba-
 tion of the
 Peace should
 be moved
 in the House
 of Lords.

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“ Morality and Religion; in this I am sure I act within my proper
 “ Sphere. Some things stick so with me, that I could have no
 “ Quiet in my Conscience, nor think I had answered the Duty
 “ of my Function, if I did not make use of the Freedom of
 “ Speech, that our Constitution and the Privileges of this House
 “ allow me: I am the more encouraged to do this, because the
 “ bringing those of our Order into Publick Councils, in which
 “ we have now such a share, was originally intended for this
 “ very end, that we should offer such Considerations, as arise
 “ from the Rules of our Holy Religion, in all Matters that may
 “ come before us. In the opening my Sense of things, I may
 “ be forced to use some Words, that may perhaps appear severe:
 “ I cannot help it, if the Nature of these Affairs is such, that I
 “ cannot speak plainly of them, in a softer strain: I intend not
 “ to reflect on any Person: And I am sure I have such a pro-
 “ found Respect for the Queen, that no part of what I may say,
 “ can be understood to reflect on her in any sort: Her Inten-
 “ tions are, no doubt, as she declares them to be, all for the
 “ Good and Happiness of her People; but it is not to be sup-
 “ posed, that she can read long Treaties, or carry the Articles of
 “ them in her Memory: So if things have been either concealed
 “ from her, or misrepresented to her, *She can do no Wrong*:
 “ And, if any such thing has been done, we know on whom
 “ our Constitution lays the Blame.

“ The Treaties that were made some Years ago with our Allies
 “ are in print; both the Grand Alliance, and some subsequent
 “ ones: We see many things in these, that are not provided
 “ for by this Peace; it was in particular stipulated, that no Peace
 “ should be treated, much less concluded, without the Consent
 “ of the Allies. But, before I make any Observations on this, I
 “ must desire you will consider how sacred a thing the publick
 “ Faith, that is engaged in Treaties and Alliances, should be
 “ esteemed.

“ I hope, I need not tell you, that even Heathen Nations va-
 “ lued themselves upon their Fidelity, in a punctual observing
 “ of all their Treaties, and with how much Infamy they branded
 “ the Violation of them: If we consider that, which Revealed
 “ Religion teaches us to know, that Man was made after the
 “ Image of God, the God of all Truth, as we know who is the
 “ Father of Lyes; *God hates the deceitful Man, in whose Mouth*
 “ *there is no Faithfulness*. In that less perfect Religion of the
 “ *Jews*, when the *Gibeonites* had, by a fraudulent Proceeding,
 “ drawn *Joshua* and the *Israelites* into a League with them, it
 “ was sacredly observed; and the Violation of it, some Ages
 “ after,

“ after, was severely punished. And, when the last of the Kings
 “ of *Judab* shook off the Fidelity, to which he had bound him-
 “ self to the King of *Babylon*, the Prophet thereupon said with
 “ Indignation, *Shall he break the Oath of God, and prosper?* The
 “ Swearing deceitfully is one of the worst Characters; and *He*
 “ *who swears to his own hurt, and changes not*, is among the
 “ best. It is a Maxim of the wisest of Kings, that *the Throne is*
 “ *established by Righteousness*. Treaties are of the nature of Oaths;
 “ and when an Oath is asked to confirm a Treaty, it is never de-
 “ nied. The best Account that I can give of the disuse of adding
 “ that Sacred Seal to Treaties is this:

“ The Popes had for some Ages possessed themselves of a
 “ Power, to which they had often recourse, of dissolving the
 “ Faith of Treaties, and the Obligation of Oaths: The famous,
 “ but fatal Story of *Ladislaus*, King of *Hungary*, breaking his
 “ Faith to *Amurath* the *Turk*, by virtue of a Papal Dispensation,
 “ is well known. One of the last publick Acts of this sort was, when
 “ Pope *Clement* the Seventh absolved *Francis* the First, from
 “ the Treaty made and sworn to at *Madrid*, while he was a Pri-
 “ soner there: The severe Revenge that *Charles* the Fifth took of
 “ this, in the Sack of *Rome*, and in keeping that Pope for some
 “ Months a Prisoner, has made Popes more cautious, since that
 “ time, than they were formerly: This also drew such heavy but
 “ just Reproaches, on the Papacy, from the Reformers, that some
 “ stop seems now to be put to such a barefaced Protection of Per-
 “ jury. But the late King told me, that he understood from the
 “ *German* Protestant Princes, that they believed the Confessors of
 “ Popish Princes had Faculties from *Rome*, for doing this as ef-
 “ fectually, tho’ more secretly: He added, that they knew it
 “ went for a Maxim among Popish Princes, that their Word and
 “ Faith bound them as they were Men, and Members of Society;
 “ but that their Oaths, being Acts of Religion, were subject to the
 “ Direction of their Confessors; and that they, apprehending
 “ this, did, in all their Treaties with the Princes of that Religion,
 “ depend upon their Honour, but never asked the Confirmation
 “ of an Oath, which had been the Practice of former Ages. The
 “ Protestants of *France* thought they had gained an additional
 “ Security, for observing the Edict of *Nantes*, when the swearing
 “ to observe it was made a part of the Coronation Oath: But it
 “ is probable, this very thing undermined and ruined it.

“ *Grotius*, *Puffendorf*, and others who have wrote of the Law
 “ of Nations, lay this down for a rule, that the Nature of a
 “ Treaty, and the Tie that arises out of it, is not altered by the
 “ having or not having an Oath; the Oath serves only to heighten

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 Pernicies,
 Summus
 Conatus.

“ the Obligation. They do also agree in this, that Confederacies
 “ do not bind States, to carry on a War to their *Utter Ruin*; but
 “ that Princes and States are bound to use their *Utmost Efforts*,
 “ in maintaining them: And it is agreed by all, who have treated
 “ of these Matters, that the common Enemy, by offering to any
 “ one Confederate all his Pretensions, cannot justify *his* departing
 “ from the Confederacy; because it was entered into with that
 “ View, that all the Pretensions, upon which the Confederacy
 “ was made, should be insisted on or departed from, by common
 “ Consent.

“ It is true, that in Confederacies, where Allies are bound to
 “ the Performance of several Articles, as to their *Quota's* or Shares,
 “ if any one fails in the Part he was bound to, the other
 “ Confederates have a right to demand a Reparation for his Non-
 “ performance: But even in that case, Allies are to act as
 “ Friends, by making Allowances for what could not be helped,
 “ and not as Enemies by taking Advantages, on design to disen-
 “ gage them from their Allies. It is certain, Allies forfeit their
 “ Right to the Alliance, if they do not perform their Part: But
 “ the Failure must be evident, and an Expostulation must be
 “ first made: And, if upon Satisfaction demanded, it is not
 “ given, then a Protestation should be made, of such Non-per-
 “ formance; and the rest of the Confederates are at liberty, as
 “ to him who fails on his part: These are reckoned among the
 “ Customs and Laws of Nations: And, since nothing of this
 “ kind has been done, I cannot see how it can be made out, that
 “ the Tie of the Confederacy, and by consequence, that the
 “ Publick Faith has not been first broken on our side.

“ My Lords, I cannot reconcile the carrying on a Treaty with
 “ the *French*, without the Knowledge and Concurrence of the
 “ other Confederate States and Princes, and the concluding it,
 “ without the Consent of the Emperor, the principal Confede-
 “ rate, not to mention the visible Uneasiness that has appeared in
 “ the others, who seem to have been forced to consent, by De-
 “ clarations, if not by Threatnings, from hence: I say, I cannot
 “ reconcile this, with the Articles of the Grand Alliance, and the
 “ other later Treaties, that are in Print: This seems to come
 “ within the Charge of the Prophet against those *who deal treache-*
 “ *rously, with those who had not dealt treacherously with them;*
 “ upon which, the Threatening that follows may be justly ap-
 “ prehended: It will have a strange Sound among all Christians,
 “ but more particularly among the Reformed, when it is reported,
 “ that the Plenipotentiary of the Head of the Reformed Princes,
 “ said openly to the other Plenipotentiaries, that the Queen held
 “ herself

“ herself free from all her Treaties and Alliances : If this be set
 “ for a Precedent, here is a short way of dispensing with the ^{1713.}
 “ Publick Faith ; and if this was spoken by one of our Prelates,
 “ I am afraid it will leave a heavy Reproach on our Church ;
 “ and, to speak freely, I am afraid it will draw a much heavier
 “ Curse after it. My Lords, there is a God in Heaven, who will
 “ judge all the World, without respect of Persons: Nothing can
 “ prosper without his Blessing : He can blast all the Counsels of
 “ Men, when laid in Fraud and Deceit, how cunningly soever
 “ they may be either contrived or disguised: And I must think
 “ that a Peace made, in opposition to the express Words of so
 “ many Treaties, will prove a Curse instead of a Blessing to us:
 “ God is provoked by such Proceedings, to pour heavy Judg-
 “ ments on us, for the Violation of a Faith so often given, which
 “ is so openly broken: By this our Nation is dishonoured, and
 “ our Church disgraced: And I dread to think, what the Con-
 “ sequence of those things is like to prove. I would not have
 “ expressed myself in such a manner, if I had not thought, that
 “ I was bound to it by the Duty that I owe to Almighty God,
 “ by my Zeal for the Queen, and the Church, and by my Love
 “ to my Country. Upon so great an occasion, I think my Post
 “ in the Church and in this House lays me under the strictest
 “ Obligations to discharge my Conscience, and to speak plainly
 “ without Fear or Flattery, let the effect of it, as to myself, be
 “ what it will : I shall have the more quiet in my own Mind,
 “ both living and dying, for having done that, which seemed
 “ to me an indispensable Duty.

“ I hope this House will not bring upon themselves and the
 “ Nation, the Blame and Guilt of approving that, which seems
 “ to be much more justly censurable: The Reproach that may
 “ belong to this Treaty, and the Judgments of God, that may
 “ follow on it, are now what a few only are concerned in.
 “ A national Approbation is a thing of another nature, the pub-
 “ lick Breach of Faith, in the Attack that was made on the
 “ *Smyrna* Fleet forty Years ago, brought a great Load of Infamy
 “ on those, who advised and directed it; but they were more
 “ modest than to ask a publick Approbation of so opprobrious a
 “ Fact : It lay on a few ; and the Nation was not drawn in to
 “ a share in the Guilt of that, which was then universally de-
 “ tested, tho’ it was passed over in silence: It seems enough, if
 “ not too much, to be silent on such an Occasion. I can carry
 “ my Compliances no further.”

1713.

A Demand
of Money
for the Civil
List Debts.

I now go on with the Account what was farther done in this Session: The House of Commons was, as to all other things except the Matter of Commerce, so entirely in the hands of the Ministers, that they ventured on a new Demand, of a very extraordinary nature, which was made in as extraordinary a manner. The Civil List, which was estimated at 600,000 *l.* a-year, and was given for the ordinary Support of the Government, did far exceed it: And this was so evident that, during the three first Years of the Queen's Reign, 100,000 *l.* was every Year applied to the War; 200,000 *l.* was laid out in building of *Blenheim* House, and the entertaining the *Palatines* had cost the Queen 100,000 *l.* So that here was apparently a large Overplus, beyond what was necessary towards the Support of the Government. Yet these extraordinary Expences had put the ordinary Payments into such an Arrear, that at *Midsummer* 1710, the Queen owed 510,000 *l.* But upon a new Account, this was brought to be 80,000 *l.* less; and at that time, there was an Arrear of 190,000 *l.* due to the Civil List; these two Sums together amounting to 270,000 *l.* the Debt that remained was but 240,000 *l.* Yet now, in the end of the Session, when, upon the rejecting the Bill of Commerce, most of the Members were gone into the Country, so that there were not 180 of them left, a Message was sent to the House of Commons, desiring a power to mortgage a Branch of the Civil List, for thirty-two Years, in order to raise upon it 500,000 *l.*

Reasons
against it.

This was thought a Demand of very bad consequence, since the granting it to one Prince would be a Precedent to grant the like to all future Princes; and, as the Account of the Debt was deceitfully stated, so it was known, that the Funds set off for the Civil List would increase considerably in times of Peace: So an Opposition was made to it, with a great Superiority in point of Argument, but there was a great Majority for it: And all People concluded, that the true end of getting so much Money into the hands of the Court, was to furnish their Creatures sufficiently, for carrying their Elections.

But it was
granted.

The Lords were sensible, that the method of procuring this Supply was contrary to their Privileges, since all publick Supplies were either asked from the Throne, or by a Message which was sent to both Houses at the same time: This Practice was enquired into by the Lords; no Precedents came up to it; but some came so near it, that nothing could be made of the Objection. But the Ministers, apprehending that an opposition would be made to the Bill,

Bill, if it came up alone, got it consolidated with another of 1713. 1,200,000 £. that was before them. And the weight of these two joined together, made them both pass in the House of Lords, without opposition.

While this was in agitation, the Earl of *Wharton* set forth, in the House of Lords, the Danger the Nation was in by the *Pretender's* being settled in *Lorrain*; so he moved, that an Address should be made to the Queen, desiring her, to use her most pressing Instances, with the Duke of *Lorrain* to remove him, and with all Princes, that were in Amity or Correspondence with her, not to receive the *Pretender*, nor to suffer him to continue in their Dominions: This was opposed by none, but the Lord *North*; so it was carried to the Queen. The Day after the Lords had voted this, *Stanhope* made a Motion to the same purpose in the House of Commons, and it was agreed to, *Nemine Contradicente*. The Queen, in her Answer to the Address of the Lords, said, she would repeat the Instances, she had already used, to get that Person removed, according to their Desire in the Address: This seemed to import, that she had already pressed the Duke of *Lorrain* on that Subject, tho' the Ministers, in the House of Lords, acknowledged that they knew of no Applications made to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and thought the Words of the Answer related only to the Instances she had used, to get the *Pretender* to be sent out of *France*: But the natural Signification of the Words, seeming to relate to the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Lords made a second Address, in which they said, they were surprized to find, that those Instances had not their full effect, notwithstanding the Kings of *France* and *Spain* had shewed their Compliance with her Desire, on that occasion: All the Answer brought to this was, that the Queen received it graciously. She answered the Commons more plainly, and promised to use her Endeavours to get him removed. It was generally believed, that the Duke of *Lorrain* did not consent to receive him, till he sent one over, to know the Queen's Pleasure upon it, and that he was very readily informed of That.

In the end of *May*, *Spratt*, Bishop of *Rochester*, died; his Parts were very bright in his Youth, and gave great Hopes; but these were blasted by a lazy libertine Course of Life, to which his Temper and Good Nature carried him, without considering the Duties or even the Decencies of his Profession: He was justly esteemed a great Master of our Language, and one of our correctest Writers. *Atterbury* succeeded him in that See,

Address of both Houses to get the *Pretender* removed from *Lorrain*.

The Death of some Bishops.

1713. and in the Deanry of *Westminster*: Thus was he promoted, and rewarded for all the Flame, that he had raised in our Church. *Compton*, Bishop of *London*, died in the beginning of *July*, in the eighty-first Year of his Age: He was a generous and good-natured Man, but easy and weak, and much in the power of others: He was succeeded by *Robinson*, Bishop of *Bristol*. On the eighteenth of *July*, the Queen came to the House of Lords, to pass the Bills, and to put an end to the Session: She made a Speech to her Parliament, in which, after she had thanked them for the Service they had done the Publick, and for the Supplies that the Commons had given; she said, she hoped the Affair of Commerce would be so well understood at their next Meeting, that the advantageous Conditions, she had obtained from *France*, would be made effectual, for the Benefit of our Trade: She enlarged on the Praises of the present Parliament; she said, at their first Meeting they had eased the Subjects of more than Nine Millions, without any further Charge on them, not to mention the Advantage, which the way of doing it, might bring to the Nation; and now they had enabled her likewise to pay her Debts: They had supported the War, and strengthened her hands, in obtaining a Peace: She told them, at her first coming to the Crown, she found a War prepared for her: And that she had now made her many Victories useful, by a safe and honourable Peace. She promised herself, that with their Concurrence, it would be lasting: She desired they would make her Subjects sensible, what they gained by the Peace, and endeavour to dissipate all the groundless Jealousies, which had been too industriously fomented; that so our Divisions might not endanger the Advantages, she had obtained for her Kingdoms: There were some (very few she hoped) that would never be satisfied with any Government; she hoped they would exert themselves, to obviate the Malice of the Ill-minded, and to undeceive the Deluded: She recommended to them the adhering to the Constitution in Church and State; such Persons had the best Title to her favour; she had no other Aim, but their Advantage, and the securing our Religion, and Liberty; she hoped to meet a Parliament next Winter, that should act upon the same Principles, and with the same Prudence and Vigour, to support the Liberties of *Europe* abroad, and to reduce the Spirit of Faction at home. Few Speeches from the Throne have in my time been more severely reflected on, than this was: It seemed strange that the Queen, who did not pretend to understand Matters of Trade, should pass such a Censure on both Houses,

Houses, for their not understanding the Affair of Commerce; ^{1713.} since at the Bar of both Houses, and in the Debates within them upon it, the Interest of the Nation did appear so visibly to be contrary to the Treaty of Commerce, that it looked like a Contempt put on them, to represent it as advantageous to us, and to rank all those, who had opposed it, among the Ill-minded, or at least among the Deluded. Nor did it escape Censure, that she should affirm, that the Nation was by them eased of the Load of Nine Millions, without any further Charge, since the Nation must bear the constant Charge of Interest at Six *per Cent.* till the Capital should be paid off. *The Sharpness* with which she expressed herself was singular, and not very well suited to her Dignity or her Sex: Nor was it well understood, what could be meant by her saying, that she found a War prepared for her, at her coming to the Crown; since she herself began it, upon the Addresses of both Houses. It was also observed, that there was not, in all her Speech, one Word of the *Pretender*, or of the Protestant Succession; but that, which made the greatest Impression on the whole Nation was, that this Speech discovered plainly, that the Court was resolved to have the Bill of Commerce pass in the next Session: All People concluded, the Ministers were under Engagements to the Court of *France* to get it settled: And this was taken to be the Sense of the Queen's Words concerning the making the Peace lasting; what Effect this may have on the next Elections, which are quickly to follow, must be left to Time.

I am now come to the end of the War, and of this Parliament, both at once: It was fit they should bear some proportion to one another; for, as this was the worst Parliament I ever saw, so no Assembly, but one composed as this was, could have sat quiet under such a Peace: But I am now arrived at my full Period, and so shall close this Work: I had a noble Prospect before me, in a Course of many Years, of bringing it to a Glorious Conclusion; now the Scene is so fatally altered, that I can scarce restrain myself from giving vent to a just Indignation, in severe Complaints: But an Historian must tell things truly as they are, and leave the descanting on them to others: So I here conclude this History of above three and fifty Years.

I pray God it may be read with the same Candor and Sincerity, with which I have written it, and with such a degree of Attention,

1713. Attention, as may help those who read it, to form just Reflections, and sound Principles of Religion and Virtue, of Duty to our Princes, and of Love to our Country, with a sincere and incorruptible Zeal to preserve our Religion, and to maintain our Liberty and Property.



THE



T H E C O N C L U S I O N.

I HAVE now set out the State of Affairs for above half a Century, with all the Care and Attention that I was capable of: I have enquired into all Matters among us, and have observed them, during the course of my Life, with a particular Application and Impartiality. But my Intention in writing was not so much, to tell a fine Tale to the World, and to amuse them with a Discovery of many Secrets and of Intrigues of State, to blast the Memory of some and to exalt others, to disgrace one Party and to recommend another: My chief Design was better formed, and deeper laid: It was to give such a Discovery of Errors in Government, and of the Excesses and Follies of Parties, as may make the next Age wiser, by what I may tell them of the last. And I may presume, that the Observations I have made, and the Account that I have given, will gain me so much Credit, that I may speak with a plain Freedom to all sorts of Persons: This not being to be published 'till after I am dead, when Envy, Jealousy or Hatred will be buried with me in my Grave; I may hope, that what I am now to offer to succeeding Ages, may be better heard, and less censured, than any thing I could offer to the present: So that this is a sort of Testament or Dying Speech, which I leave behind me, to be read and considered when I can speak no more: I do most earnestly beg of God to direct me in it, and to give it such an effect on the Minds of those who read it, that I may do more Good, when dead, than I could ever hope to do while I was alive.

My Zeal for
the Church
of England.

My Thoughts have run most, and dwelt longest on the Concerns of the Church and Religion: Therefore I begin with them. I have always had a true Zeal for the Church of *England*; I have lived in its Communion with great Joy, and have pursued its true Interests with an unfeigned Affection: Yet I must say there are many things in it, that have been very uneasy to me.

The Doc-
trine.

The requiring Subscriptions to the Thirty-nine Articles is a great Imposition: I believe them all myself: But as those, about Original Sin and Predestination, might be expressed more unexceptionably, so I think it is a better way, to let such Matters continue to be still the Standard of Doctrine, with some few Corrections, and to censure those who teach any contrary Tenets; than to oblige all, that serve in the Church, to subscribe them: The greater Part subscribe without ever examining them; and others do it because they must do it, tho' they can hardly satisfy their Consciences about some things in them. Churches and Societies are much better secured by Laws, than by Subscriptions: It is a more reasonable, as well as a more easy Method of Government.

The Wor-
ship.

Our Worship is the perfectest Composition of Devotion, that we find in any Church, ancient or modern: Yet the Corrections that were agreed to, by a Deputation of Bishops and Divines in the Year 1689, would make the whole Frame of our Liturgy still more perfect, as well as more unexceptionable; and will, I hope, at some time or other, be better entertained, than they were then. I am persuaded they are such, as would bring in the much greater part of the Dissenters to the Communion of the Church, and are in themselves desirable, tho' there were not a Dissenter in the Nation.

And Disci-
pline.

As for the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, it has been the Burden of my Life, to see how it was administred: Our Courts are managed under the Rules of the Canon Law, dilatory and expensive: And as their Constitution is bad, so the Business in them is small; and therefore all possible Contrivances are used, to make the most of those Causes, that come before them: So that they are universally dreaded and hated. God grant that a time may come, in which that noble Design, so near being perfected in King *Edward* the Sixth's Days, of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, may be reviewed and established: That so Matrimonial and Testamentary Causes, which are of a mixed nature, may be left, a little better regulated, to the Lay Hands of Chancellors and other Officers; but that the whole Correction of the Manners of the Laity, and the Inspection into the Lives and Labours of the Clergy, may be brought again into the hand of Spiritual

ritual Men, and be put into a better Method. It would be well if, after the poor Clergy are relieved by the Tenths and First Fruits, a Fund were formed (of Twenty or Thirty Pound a-year) for the Rural Deans; and that they, with at least three of the Clergy of the Deanry, named by the Bishop, examined into the Manners both of Clergy and Laity; and after the Methods of private Admonition had been tried, according to our Saviour's Rule, but without effect, that the Matter should be laid before the Bishop, who, after his Admonitions were also ineffectual, might proceed to Censures, to a Suspension from the Sacrament, and to a full Excommunication, as the Case should require. This would bring our Church indeed into a primitive Form, in which at present the Clergy have less Authority, and are under more Contempt, than in any Church, that I have yet seen. For, tho' in the Church of *Rome* the publick Authority is in general managed, according to the Method continued among us, yet it was in many particulars corrected by the Council of *Trent*; whereas we, by that unhappy Proviso in the Act, authorizing the Thirty-two Commissioners to reform our Courts, are fatally tied down to all, that was in use in the twenty-fifth Year of King *Henry* the Eighth. Besides, in that Church the Clergy have, by auricular Confession, but too great an Authority over the People; I am far from thinking that to be a lawful, or even a desirable thing: But since that is not to be thought of, we are in a woful condition, in which the Clergy are, as it were, shut out from any share of the main Parts of the Care of Souls.

The want of a true well-regulated Discipline is a great Defect, own'd to be so in the Preface to the Office of Communion: And, while we continue in this condition, we are certainly in an imperfect State. But this did never appear to me, to be a just ground of Separation; which I could never think lawful, unless the Terms of Communion among us were unlawful, and did oblige a Man to sin: That seems to me, the only justifiable Cause of Separation, of leaving the Established Church, and of setting up a distinct or opposite Communion. Nothing under this seems to be a just ground of rending the Body of Christ, or of disturbing the Order of the World and the Peace of Mankind, thereby drawing on that Train of ill Consequences, that must and do follow upon such a disjointing the Society of Christians; by which they become alienated from one another, and in the Sequel grow to hate and to devour each other, and by which they are in danger of being consumed one of another.

I do wish, and will pray for it as long as I live, that some regard may be had to those Scruples, with which the Dissenters are entangled:

My Zeal
against Separation.

And Tenderness to
scrupulous Consciences.

entangled: And, tho' I think they are not all well grounded, yet for Peace sake I wish some things may be taken away, and that other things may be softened and explained: Many of these things were retained at the Reformation, to draw the People more entirely into it; who are apt to judge, especially in times of Ignorance, by outward Appearances, more than by the real Value of things: So the preserving an Exterior, that looked somewhat like what they had been formerly accustomed to, without doubt had a great effect at first on many Persons, who, without that, could not have been easily brought over to adhere to that Work: And this was a just and lawful Consideration. But it is now at an end; none now are brought over from Popery by this means; there is not therefore such a necessity for continuing them still, as there was for keeping them up at first. I confess, it is not advisable, without good reason for it, to make great Changes in things that are visible and sensible; yet, upon just Grounds, some may be made without any Danger. No Inconvenience could follow, on leaving out the Cross in Baptism, or on laying aside Surplices, and regulating Cathedrals, especially as to that indecent way of singing Prayers, and of Laymen's reading the Litany: All Bowings to the Altar have at least an ill Appearance, and are of no use; the excluding Parents from being the Sponsors in Baptism, and requiring them to procure others, is extreme inconvenient, and makes that to be a Mockery, rather than a solemn Sponsion, in too many. Other things may be so explained, that no just Exceptions could lie to them.

Thus I wish the Terms of Communion were made larger and easier; but since all is now bound on us by a Law, that cannot be repealed but in Parliament, there must be a great Change in the Minds, both of Princes and People, before that can be brought about: Therefore the Dissenters ought to consider well, what they can do for Peace, without sinning against God. The Toleration does not at all justify their Separation; it only takes away the Force of Penal Laws against them: Therefore, as Lying in common Discourse is still a Sin, tho' no Statute punishes it; and Ingratitude is a base thing, tho' there is no Law against it; so Separating from a National Body and from the Publick Worship, is certainly an ill thing, unless some Sin be committed there, in which we think ourselves involved, by joining with that Body, and in that Worship: So that the Toleration is only a Freedom from Punishment, and does not alter the nature of the thing.

My Zeal
against Per-
secution.

I say not this from any Dislike of Toleration; I think it is a Right due to all Men; their Thoughts are not in their own power; they must think of things, as they appear to them; their Con-
sciences

sciences are God's; he only knows them, and he only can change them. And as the Authority of Parents over their Children is antecedent to Society, and no Law, that takes it away, can be binding; so Men are bound, antecedently to all Society, to follow what appears to them to be the Will of God; and, if Men would act honestly, the Rule of doing to all others what we would have others do to us, would soon determine this Matter; since every honest Man must own, that he would think himself hardly dealt with, if he were ill used for his Opinions, and for performing such Parts of Worship, as he thought himself indispensably obliged to. Indeed the Church of *Rome* has some colour for her Cruelty, since she pretends to be infallible. But these Practices are absurdly unreasonable among those, who own that they may be mistaken, and so may be persecuting the Innocent and the Orthodox. Persecution, if it were lawful at all, ought to be extreme, and go, as it does in the Church of *Rome*, to Extirpation; for the bad Treatment of those, who are suffered still to live in a Society, is the creating so many Malecontents, who at some time or other may make those, who treat them ill, feel their Revenge: And the Principle of Persecution, if true, is that, to which all have a Right, when they have a Power to put it in practice: Since they, being persuaded that they are in the right, from that must believe they may lawfully exert against others that Severity, under which they groaned long themselves. This will be aggravated in them by the Voice of Revenge, which is too apt to be well heard by human Nature, chiefly when it comes with the Mask and Appearance of Zeal. I add not here any Political Considerations, from the apparent Interest of Nations, which must dispose them to encourage the Encrease of their People, to advance Industry, and to become a Sanctuary to all, who are oppressed: But tho' this is visible and is confessed by all, yet I am now considering this Matter only as it is righteous, just, and merciful, in the Principle; for if it were not so well supported in those respects, other Motives would only be a Temptation to Princes and States to be governed by Interest, more than by their Duty.

Having thus given my Thoughts in general, with relation to the Constitution of our Church and the Communion with it, I shall proceed, in the next place, to that which is special with relation to the Clergy. I have said a great deal on this Head, in my Book of the *Pastoral Care*, which of all the Tracts I ever wrote, is that in which I rejoice the most: And, tho' it has brought much Anger on me from those, who will not submit to the Plan there laid down, yet it has done much Good during my

My
Thoughts
concerning
the Clergy.

own Life, and I hope it will do yet more good, after I am dead: This is a Subject I have thought much upon, and so I will here add some things, to what will be found in that Book.

An inward
Vocation.

No Man ought to think of this Profession, unless he feels within himself a Love to Religion, with a Zeal for it, and an internal true Piety; which is chiefly kept up by secret Prayer, and by reading of the Scriptures: As long as these things are a Man's Burden, they are infallible Indications, that he has no inward Vocation, nor Motion of the Holy Ghost to undertake it. The Capital Error in Men's preparing themselves for that Function is, that they study Books more than themselves, and that they read Divinity more in other Books, than in the Scriptures: Days of Prayer, Meditation, and Fasting, at least once a quarter in the *Ember* Week, in which they may read over and over again both Offices of Ordination, and get by heart those Passages in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, that relate to this Function, would form their Minds to a right Sense of it, and be an effectual mean to prepare them duly for it.

Ask yourselves often (for thus I address my self to you, as if I were still alive) would you follow that course of Life, if there were no settled Establishment belonging to it, and if you were to preach under the Cross, and in danger of Persecution? For till you arrive at that, you are yet carnal, and come into the Priesthood, for a Piece of Bread: Study to keep alive in you a Flame of exalted Devotion; be talking often to yourselves, and communing with your own Hearts; digest all that you read carefully, that you may remember it so well, as not to be at a loss when any Point of Divinity is talked of: A little Study well digested, in a good serious Mind, will go a great way, and will lay in Materials for your whole Life: Above all things, raise within yourselves a Zeal for doing Good, and for gaining Souls; indeed I have lamented, during my whole Life, that I saw so little true Zeal among our Clergy: I saw much of it in the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, tho' it is both ill directed and ill conducted: I saw much Zeal likewise throughout the foreign Churches: The Dissenters have a great deal among them; but I must own, that the main Body of our Clergy has always appeared dead and lifeless to me; and instead of animating one another, they seem rather to lay one another asleep. Without a visible Alteration in this, you will fall under an universal Contempt, and lose both the Credit and the Fruits of your Ministry.

The Function of the
Clergy.

When you are in Orders, be ever ready to perform all the Parts of your Function; be not anxious about a Settlement; study

study to distinguish yourselves in your Studies, Labours, exemplary Deportment, and a just Sweetness of Temper, managed with Gravity and Discretion; and as for what concerns yourselves, depend on the Providence of God; for he will in due time raise up Friends and Benefactors to you. I do affirm this, upon the Observation of my whole Life, that I never knew any one, who conducted himself by these Rules, but he was brought into good Posts, or at least into an easy State of Subsistence.

Do not affect to run into new Opinions, nor to heat yourselves in Disputes, about Matters of small Importance: Begin with settling in your Minds the Foundations of your Faith; and be full of this, and ready at it, that you may know how to deal with Unbelievers; for that is the spreading Corruption of this Age: There are few Atheists, but many Infidels, who are indeed very little better than the Atheists. In this Argument, you ought to take pains to have all well digested, and clearly laid in your Thoughts, that you may manage the Controversy gently, without any Asperity of Words, but with a Strength of Reason: In disputing, do not offer to answer any Argument, of which you never heard before, and know nothing concerning it; that will both expose you, and the Cause you maintain; and, if you feel yourselves grow too warm at any time, break off and persist no longer in the dispute; for you may by that grow to an indecent heat, by which you may wrong the Cause, which you endeavour to defend. In the Matter of Mysteries be very cautious; for the Simplicity, in which those sublime Truths are delivered in the Scriptures, ought to be well studied and adhered to: Only one part of the Argument should be insisted on, I mean, the Shortness and Defectiveness of our Faculties; which being well considered, will afford a great Variety of noble Speculations, that are obvious and easily apprehended, to restrain the wanton Sallies of some petulant Men.

Study to understand well the Controversies of the Church of Rome, chiefly those concerning Infallibility and Transubstantiation; for, in managing those, their Missionaries have a particular Address. Learn to view Popery in a true Light, as a Conspiracy to exalt the Power of the Clergy, even by subjecting the most sacred Truths of Religion to Contrivances for raising their Authority, and by offering to the World another Method of being saved, besides that prescribed in the Gospel. Popery is a Mass of Impostures, supported by Men, who manage them with great Advantages, and impose them with inexpressible Severities,

on

on those who dare call any thing in question, that they dictate to them. I see a Spirit rising among us, too like that of the Church of *Rome*, of advancing the Clergy beyond their due Authority, to an unjust Pitch: This rather heightens Jealousies and Prejudices against us, than advances our real Authority; and it will fortify the Designs of profane Infidels, who desire nothing more than to see the publick Ministry of the Church first disgraced, and then abolished. The carrying any thing too far does commonly lead Men into the other Extream: We are the Dispensers of the Word and Sacraments; and the more faithful and diligent we are in this, the World will pay so much the more Respect and Submission to us: And our maintaining an Argument for more Power, than we now have, will be of no effect, unless the World sees, that we make a good use of the Authority, that is already in our hands: It is with the Clergy as with Princes; the only way to keep their Prerogative from being uneasy to their Subjects, and from being disputed, is to manage it wholly for their Good and Advantage; then all will be for it, when they find it is for them: This will prevail more effectually, than all the Arguments of Lawyers, with all the Precedents of former Times. Therefore let the Clergy live and labour well, and they will feel that as much Authority will follow that, as they will know how to manage well. And to speak plainly; *Dodwell's* extravagant Notions, which have been too much drunk in by the Clergy in my time, have weakened the Power of the Church, and soured Men's Minds more against it, than all the Books wrote, or Attempts made against it, could ever have done: And indeed, the secret Poison of those Principles has given too many of the Clergy a Bias towards Popery, with an Aversion to the Reformation, which has brought them under much Contempt. This is not to be recovered, but by their living and labouring, as they ought to do, without an eager maintaining of Arguments for their Authority, which will never succeed, 'till they live better and labour more: When I say live better, I mean, not only to live without Scandal, which I have found the greatest part of them do, but to lead exemplary Lives; to be eminent in Humility, Meekness, Sobriety, Contempt of the World, and unfeigned Love of the Brethren; abstracted from the vain Conversation of the World, retired, and at home, fasting often, joining Prayer and Meditation with it; without which, fasting may do well with relation to the Body, but will signify little with relation to the Mind.

If,

If, to such a course of Life, Clergymen would add a little more Labour, not only performing publick Offices, and preaching to the Edification of the People, but watching over them, instructing them, exhorting, reprovng, and comforting them, as occasion is given, from House to House, making their Calling the Business of their whole Life; they would soon find their own Minds grow to be in a better Temper, and their People would shew more Esteem and Regard for them, and a Blessing from God would attend upon their Labours. I say it with great regret, I have observed the Clergy, in all the Places thro' which I have travelled, Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists and Dissenters; but of them all, our Clergy is much the most remiss in their Labours in private, and the least severe in their Lives. Do not think I say this to expose you, or to defame this Church; those Censures have pass'd on me for my Freedom during my Life, God knows how unjustly, my Designs being all to awaken the Clergy, and by that means to preserve the Church; for which, He, who knows all things, knows how much and how long I have been mourning in secret, and fasting and praying before him. And let me say this freely to you, now that I am out of the reach of Envy and Censure, unless a better Spirit possesses the Clergy, Arguments, (and which is more) Laws and Authority will not prove strong enough to preserve the Church; especially if the Nation observes a Progress in that Bias, which makes many so favourable to Popery, and so severe towards the Dissenters; this will recommend them the more to Pity and Favour, and will draw a general Odium upon you, that may end in your Ruin, or in a Persecution; for which the Clergy of this Age seem to be very little prepared: God grant those of the next may be more so.

Oh my Brethren, (for I speak to you as if I were among you,) think what manner of Persons you ought to be, in all Holy Conversation and Godliness, that so you may shine as Lights in the World: Think of the Account you must give, for those Immortal Souls committed to your care, which were redeemed by the Blood of Christ, who has sent you in his Name, to persuade them to be reconciled to God, and at last to present them to him faultless with exceeding Joy; he sees and observes your Labours, and will recompence them gloriously in that great Day.

I leave all these things on your Consciences, and pray earnestly that God may give his Blessing to this posthumous Labour of mine, that our Church may be so built up by your Labours, that it may continue to be long the Joy of the whole Earth, in the Perfection

tion of its Beauty, and may be a Pattern, as well as give Protection, to all the Churches of God.

My Advices
to the Bi-
shops.

I now turn to my Brethren and Successors in the Episcopal Order: You are they in whose hands the Government of the Church is put; in some respects it is believed to be wholly in you, tho' I know, and have often felt it, that your Power is so limited, that you can do little; Exemptions (a scandalous Remnant of Popery) take a great part of your Diocess out of your hands. This I have often wondred at, that some who plead, that the Government of the Church is settled by Divine Authority in the Bishops, can yet, by the virtue of Papal Bulls, confirmed by an unhappy Clause in an Act of Parliament, exercise Episcopal Jurisdiction; which is plainly to act by virtue of the Secular Power, in opposition to that, which, according to their Principles, is settled by a Divine Appointment. Archdeacons Visitations were an Invention of the latter Ages, in which the Bishops, neglecting their Duty, cast a great part of their Care upon them: Now their Visitations are only for Form and for Fees; and they are a Charge on the Clergy; so, when this Matter is well looked into, I hope Archdeacons, with many other Burdens that lay heavy on the Clergy, shall be taken away. All the various Instruments, upon which heavy Fees must be raised, were the infamous Contrivances of the Canonists, and can never be maintained, when well examined. I say nothing to you of your Lives, I hope you are and shall ever be shining Lights; I wish the Pomp of Living, and the keeping high Tables could be quite taken away; it is a great Charge, and no very decent one; a great Devourer of Time; it lets in much promiscuous Company, and much vain Discourse upon you: Even Civility may carry you too far, in a Freedom and Familiarity, that will make you look too like the rest of the World; I hope this is a Burden to you: It was indeed one of the greatest Burdens of my Life, to see so much Time lost, to hear so much idle Talk, and to be living in a luxurious Waste of that, which might have been much better bestowed. I had not strength enough to break thro' that, which Custom has imposed on those, provided with plentiful Bishopricks; I pray God to help you to find a decent way of laying this down.

The Wives and Children of Bishops ought to be exemplary in their Apparel, and in their whole Deportment; remembering that no part of the Bishops Honours belongs to them: The Wife of a Bishop ought to visit the Widow and the Fatherless, and by a grave Authority, instruct and admonish as well as oblige and favour the Wives of the rest of the Clergy.

The

The Children of Bishops ought to be well instructed, and managed with all Gravity; Bishops ought not to press them beyond their Inclinations to take Orders: For this looks as if they would thrust them, how unfit or unwilling soever, into such Preferments as they can give or procure for them: On the contrary, tho' their Children should desire to go into Orders, they ought not to suffer it, unless they see in them a good Mind and sincere Intentions, with the other necessary Qualifications; in which they cannot be deceived, unless they have a mind to deceive themselves: It is a betraying of their Trust, and the worst sort of Simony, to provide Children with great Dignities and Benefices, only as an Estate to be given them, without a due regard to their Capacities or Tempers. Ordinations are the only Parts of the Episcopal Function, on which the Law has laid no Restraint; so this ought to be heavy on your Thoughts.

Ordination Weeks were always dreadful Things to me, when I remembred those Words, *Lay Hands suddenly on no Man, be not Partaker of other Men's Sins: Keep thyself pure.* It is true, those who came to me were generally well prepared as to their Studies, and they brought Testimonials and Titles, which is all that in our present Constitution can be demanded: I never put over the examining them to my Chaplains: I did that always myself, and examined them chiefly on the Proofs of Revealed Religion, and the Terms of Salvation, and the new Covenant thro' Christ; for those are the Fundamentals: But my principal Care was to awaken their Consciences, to make them consider whether they had a Motion of the Holy Ghost, calling them to the Function, and to make them apprehend, what belonged both to a Spiritual Life, and to the Pastoral Care. On these Subjects I spoke much and often to every one of them a-part, and sometimes to them all together, besides the publick Examination of them with my Chapter.

This was all that I could do: But alas! how defective is this! And it is too well known how easy the Clergy are, in signing Testimonials: That which I here propose is, that every Man, who intends to be ordained, should be required to come and acquaint the Bishop with it a Year before: that so he may then talk to his Conscience, and give him good Directions, both as to his Studies and the Course of his Life and Devotions; and that he may recommend him to the Care and Inspection of the best Clergymen, that he knows in the Neighbourhood where he lives; that so he may have from him, by some other Conveyance than the Person concerned, such an Account of him as he may rely on. This is all that can be proposed, till our Universities are put in a better Method,

An Expedient concerning Ordinations.

Method, or till Seminaries can be raised, for maintaining a number of Persons, to be duly prepared for holy Orders.

The Duties
of a Bishop.

As to the Labours of a Bishop, they ought to think themselves obliged to preach, as much as their Health and Age can admit of; this the Form of ordaining Bishops sets before them, together with the Sense of the Church in all Ages; the complaint of the best Men, in the worst Ages, shews how much the Sloth and Laziness of Bishops will be cried out on, and how acceptable the Labours of preaching Bishops have always been: The People run to hear them, and hearken to their Sermons, with more than ordinary Attention: You will find great comfort in your Labours this way, and will see the Fruits of them. The discreet Conduct of your Clergy is to be your chief care; keep not at too great a distance, and yet let them not grow too familiar: A Bishop's discourse should be well seasoned, turned chiefly to good Subjects, Instruction in the matters of Religion, and the Pastoral Care: And the more diverting ones ought to be matters of Learning, Criticism, or History. It is in the power of a Bishop to *let no Man despise him*.

A grave but sweet Deportment and a holy Conversation will command a general Respect; and as for some hot and froward Spirits, the less they are meddled with, they will be the less able to do mischief; they delight in opposition, which they think will make them the more considerable. I have had much experience this way, nothing mortifies them so much as neglect; the more abstracted Bishops live (from the World, from Courts, from Cabals, and from Parties) they will have the more quiet within themselves; their Thoughts will be free and less intangled, and they will in conclusion be the more respected by all, especially if an Integrity and a just Freedom appear among them in the House of Lords, where they will be much observed; and Judgments will be made of them there, that will follow them home to their Diocesses.

Their Ab-
straction
from Courts
and In-
trigues.

Nothing will alienate the Nation more from them, than their becoming Tools to a Court, and giving up the Liberties of their Country, and advancing Arbitrary Designs; nothing will work more effectually on the Dissenters, than a course of Moderation towards them; this will disarm their Passions, and when that is done, they may be better dealt with in point of Reason; all care ought to be taken, to stifle new Controversies in their birth, to check new Opinions and vain Curiosities.

Upon the whole matter, Bishops ought to consider, that the honour given them, and the Revenues belonging to them, are such Rewards for former Services, and such Encouragements to go on to more Labour and Diligence, as ought to be improved, as
so

so many Helps and Advantages for carrying on the Work of the Gospel, and their heavenly Father's business: They ought to meditate on these things, and be wholly in them; so that their profiting may appear to all. They ought to preach in season, and out of season, to exhort, admonish, and rebuke, with all Authority.

But if they abandon themselves to Sloth and Idleness, if they neglect their proper Function, and follow a secular, a vain, a covetous or a luxurious Course of Life; if they, not content with educating their Children well, and with such a Competency as may set them afloat in the World, think of building up their own Houses, and raising up great Estates, they will put the World on many unacceptable Enquiries: Wherefore is this waste made? Why are these Revenues continued to Men, who make such an ill use of them? and why is an Order kept up, that does the Church so little good, and gives it so much scandal? The Violences of Archbishop *Laud*, and his promoting arbitrary Power ruined himself and the Church both. A return of the like practices will bring with it the like dreadful Consequences: The Labours and the Learning, the Moderation and good Lives of the Bishops of this Age have changed the Nation much, with relation to them, and have possessed them of a general Esteem; some fiery Spirits only excepted, who hate and revile them for that, which is their true Glory: I hope another Age may carry this yet much further, that so they may be universally looked on, as the true and tender-hearted Fathers of the Church.

The Affinity of the matter leads me, before I enter on another Scene, to say somewhat concerning the Patronage of Benefices, which have a Care of Souls belonging to them: it is a noble Dignity in a Family; it was highly esteemed in the times of Popery, because the Patron was to be named, in all the Masses said in his Church: There is a more real value in it in our Constitution, since the Patron has the Nomination of him, to whom the Care of Souls is to be committed; which must take place, unless some just and legal Exception can be made by the Bishop. Even that is not easy to be maintained, in the Courts of Law, where the Bishop will soon be run into so great an Expence, that I am afraid many, rather than venture on that, receive unworthy Men into the service of the Church, who are in the sequel Reproaches to it; and this is often the case of the richest and best-endowed Benefices.

Some sell the next Advowson, which I know is said to be legal, tho' the Incumbent lies at the point of Death; others do not stick to buy and sell Benefices, when open and vacant, tho' this is declared to be Simony by Law: Parents often buy them for their Children, and reckon that is their Portion; in that case, it is true,

there is no Perjury in taking the Oath, for the Person presented is no party to the Bargain: Often Ecclesiasticks themselves buy the next Advowson, and lodge it with Trustees for their own Advantage.

Where nothing of all this Traffick intervenes, Patrons bestow Benefices on their Children or Friends, without considering either their Abilities or Merit; Favour or Kindred being the only thing that weighs with them. When all this is laid together, how great a part of the Benefices of *England* are disposed of, if not simoniacally, yet at least unworthily, without regard to so sacred a Trust, as the Care of Souls? Certainly Patrons, who, without due Care and Enquiry, put Souls into bad hands, have much to answer for.

I will not say, that a Patron is bound always to bestow his Church on the best Man he can find; that may put him on Anxieties, out of which it will not be easy to extricate himself; nor will it be always possible to ballance the different Excellencies of Men, who may have various Talents, that lie several ways, and all of them may be useful, some more, some less: But in this I am positive, that no Patron answers the Obligation of that Trust, unless he is well persuaded, that the Clerk he presents is a truly good Man, has a competent measure of Knowledge, Zeal and Discretion, so suited to the People, for whom he names him, that he has reason to believe, he will be a faithful Pastor and a prudent Guide to them.

Patrons ought to take this on their Conscience, to manage it with great caution, and in the Fear of God, and not to enter into that filthy Merchandize of the Souls of Men, which is too common; it is like to be a Moth on their Estates, and may bring a Curse on their Families, as well as on their Persons.

Non-resi-
dence and
Pluralities.

I do not enter into the scandalous Practices of Non-residence and Pluralities, which are sheltred by so many Colours of Law among us; whereas the Church of *Rome*, from whence we had those and many other Abuses, has freed herself from this, under which we still labour, to our great and just Reproach: This is so shameful a Profanation of Holy Things, that it ought to be treated with Detestation and Horrour: Do such Men think on the Vows, they made on their Ordination; on the Rules in the Scriptures, or on the Nature of their Function, or that it is a Care of Souls? How long, how long shall this be the peculiar Disgrace of our Church, which, for aught I know, is the only Church in the World that tolerates it? I must add, that I do not reckon the holding poor Livings that lie contiguous, a Plurality, where both are looked after, and both afford only a competent Maintenance.

I have now gone thro' the most important things, that occur to my Thoughts with relation to the Clergy: I turn next to such Observations, Reflections, and Advices, as relate to the Laity. I begin with the Body of the People: The Commonalty of this Nation are much the happiest, and live the easiest and the most plentifully of any, that ever I saw: They are very sagacious and skilful in managing all their Concerns; but at the same time it is not to be conceived how ignorant they are, in the Matters of Religion: The Dissenters have a much larger share of Knowledge among them, than is among those who come to our Churches. This is the more to be wondered at, considering the Plainness, in which Matters of Religion are wrote in this Age, and the many small Books concerning these, that have been published of late Years, which go at easy Rates, and of which many Thousands are every Year sent about, by charitable Societies in *London*, to be freely given to such as will but take them, and read them: So that this Ignorance seems to be obstinate and incurable.

Concerning
the Body of
the People.

Upon this Subject, all that I can propose, lies in two Advices to the Clergy: The one is, that they catechize the Youth much at Church, not only asking the Questions and hearing the Answers, but joining to that the explaining the Terms in other Words, and by turning to the Bible for such Passages, as prove or enlarge on them: The doing this constantly, would infuse into the next Age, a higher measure of Knowledge, than the present is like to be bless'd with. Long Sermons, in which Points of Divinity or Morality are regularly handled, are above the Capacity of the People; short and plain ones, upon a large Portion of Scripture, would be better hearkened to, and have a much better effect; they would make the Hearers understand and love the Scriptures more. Preachers ought to dwell often, in their Sermons, on those Sins that their Hearers must needs know themselves guilty of, if they are so; such as Swearing, Lying, Cheating, Drunkenness, Leud Deportment, Breach of Promise, Love of the World, Anger, Envy, Malice, Pride and Luxury: Short Discourses upon these, and often repeated, in many Glances and Reflections on them, setting forth the real Evil of them, with the ill Consequences that follow, not only to others, but to the Persons themselves, are the best means can be thought of, for reforming them; and these will have an effect on some, if not on many. But above all, and in order to all the rest, they ought to be called on, upon all occasions, to reflect on their ways, to consider how they live, to pray in secret to God, confessing their Sins to him, begging Pardon and Mercy for what is past, and his Holy Spirit to assist,

assist, strengthen, and direct them for the time to come, forming sincere Resolutions to amend their ways, with relation to every particular Sin, that they find they may have fallen into. If the Clergy will faithfully do their Duty in this method, and join to it earnest Prayers for their People, they may hope thro' the blessing of God to succeed better in their Labours. The People ought to be often put in mind of the true End of the Rest on the Lord's Day, which is chiefly to give them time and opportunity, for Meditations and Reflections on themselves, on what they have said or done, and on what has befallen them the former Week; and to consider what may be before them, in the Week they are entering on. Ministers ought to visit their People, not only when they are sick unto Death, but when they are in an ill state of Health, or when they are under Affliction: These are the times, in which their Spirits are tender, and they will best bear with a due freedom, which ought to be managed, in the discreetest and most affectionate manner: And a Clergyman ought not to be a Respector of Persons, and neglect the meanest of his Cure: They have as immortal Souls as the greatest, and for which Christ has paid the same Ransom.

Of the
Gentry.

From the Commonalty I turn to the Gentry: They are for the most part the worst instructed, and the least knowing of any of their Rank, I ever went amongst. The *Scotch*, tho' less able to bear the Expence of a learned Education, are much more knowing: The Reason of which is this; the *Scotch*, even of indifferent Fortunes, send private Tutors with their Children, both to Schools and Colleges; these look after the young Gentlemen, Mornings and Evenings, and read over with them what they have learned, and so make them perfecter in it: They generally go abroad a Year or two, and see the World; this obliges them to behave themselves well. Whereas a Gentleman here is often both ill taught and ill bred: This makes him haughty and insolent. The Gentry are not early acquainted with the Principles of Religion: So that, after they have forgot their Catechism, they acquire no more new Knowledge, but what they learn in Plays and Romances: They grow soon to find it a modish thing, that looks like Wit and Spirit, to laugh at Religion and Virtue; and so become crude and unpolished Infidels. If they have taken a wrong Tincture at the University, that too often disposes them to hate and despise all those, who separate from the Church, tho' they can give no better Reason than the Papists have for hating Hereticks, because they forsake the Church: In those Seats of Education, instead of being formed to love their Country and Constitution, the Laws and Liberties of it, they are rather disposed to love Arbitrary Government,

Government, and to become Slaves to absolute Monarchy: A Change of Interest, Provocation, or some other Consideration may set them right again as to the Publick; but they have no inward Principle of Love to their Country, and of publick Liberty: So that they are easily brought to like Slavery, if they may be the Tools for managing it.

This is a dismal Representation of things; I have seen the Nation thrice, on the brink of Ruin, by Men thus tainted. After the Restoration, all were running fast into Slavery; had King *Charles* the Second been attentive to those bad Designs (which he pursued afterwards with more caution) upon his first Return, Slavery and Absolute Power might then have been settled into a Law, with a Revenue able to maintain it: He plaid away that Game without thought, and he had then honest Ministers, who would not serve him in it; after all that he did, during the Course of his Reign, it was scarce credible, that the same Temper should have returned in his Time; yet he recovered it in the last four Years of his Reign; and the Gentry of *England* were as Active and Zealous, to throw up all their Liberties, as their Ancestors ever had been to preserve them. This continued above half a Year in his Brother's Reign; and he depended so much upon it, that he thought it could never go out of his hands: But he, or rather his Priests, had the Skill and Dexterity to play this Game likewise away, and lose it a second time; so that, at the Revolution, all seemed to come again into their Wits. But Men, who have no Principles, cannot be steady; now the greater part of the capital Gentry seem to return again to a Love of Tyranny, provided they may be the Under-Tyrants themselves; and they seem to be even uneasy with a Court, when it will not be as much a Court as they would have it. This is a folly of so particular a nature, that really it wants a Name; it is natural for poor Men, who have little to lose, and much to hope for, to become the Instruments of Slavery; but it is an extravagance, peculiar to our Age, to see rich Men grow as it were in love with Slavery and Arbitrary Power. The Root of all this is, that our Gentry are not betimes possessed with a true Measure of solid Knowledge and sound Religion, with a Love to their Country, a Hatred of Tyranny, and a Zeal for Liberty. *Plutarch's* Lives, with the *Greek* and *Roman* History, ought to be early put in their hands; they ought to be well acquainted with all History, more particularly that of our own Nation; which they should not read in Abridgments, but in the fullest and most copious Collectors of it, that they may see to the bottom, what is our Constitution, and what are our Laws, what are the Methods bad Princes have taken to enslave us, and by

The Danger
of losing
Publick Li-
berty.

what Conduct we have been preserved: Gentlemen ought to observe these things, and to entertain one another often upon these Subjects, to raise in themselves, and to spread around them to all others, a noble Ardour for Law and Liberty. They ought to understand Popery well, to view it in its Politicks, as well as in its religious Corruptions, that they may observe and guard against their secretest Practices; particularly that main one, that prevails so fatally among us, of making us despise the foreign Churches, and hate the Dissenters at home. The whole Body of Protestants, if united, might be an equal Match to the Church of *Rome*: It is much superiour to them in Wealth and in Force, if it were animated with the Zeal, which the Monastick Orders, but chiefly the *Jesuits*, spread thro' their whole Communion: Whereas the Reformed are cold and unconcerned, as well as disjointed in Matters that relate to Religion. The chief Maxim by which Men, who have a true Zeal for their Religion and their Country, ought to govern themselves, is, to live within the Extent of their Estates, to be above Luxury, and Vanity, and all Expences that waste their Fortunes: Luxury must drive them to court Favour, to depend on Ministers, and to aspire after Places and Pensions; and as the seeking after these does often compleat the Ruin of broken Families, so in many they prove only a Reprieve, and not a Recovery; whereas he, who is contented with his Fortune, and measures his way of Living by it, has another Root within him; out of which every noble and generous Thought will naturally spring. Publick Liberty has no sure Foundation but in Virtue, in Parsimony and Moderation: Where these fail, Liberty may be preserved by Accidents and Circumstances of Affairs, but it has no bottom to rest securely on. A knowing and virtuous Gentleman, who understands his Religion and loves it, who practises the true Rules of Virtue, without Affectation and Moroseness, who knows enough of Law, to keep his Neighbours in order, and to give them good Advice; who keeps Meetings for his County, and restrains Vice and Disorder at them; who lives hospitably, frugally and charitably; who respects and encourages good Clergymen, and worships God, both in his Family and at Church; who educates his Children well, who treats his Servants gently, and deals equitably with his Tenants and all others, with whom he has any Concerns; such a Man shines, and is a publick Blessing to all that see him, or come near him. Some such Instances are yet left among us; but alas! there are not many of them. Can there be any thing more barbarous, or rather treacherous, than for Gentlemen to think it is one of the Honours of their Houses, that

that none must go out of them sober ; it is but a little more infamous to poison them ; and yet this passes as a Character of a noble House-keeper, who entertains his Friends kindly. Idleness and Ignorance are the Ruin of the greatest part, who, if they are not fit for better things, should descend to any thing, rather than suffer themselves to sink into Sloth ; that will carry them to the Excesses of Hunting, Gaming, and Drinking, which may ruin both Soul, Body and Estate. If a Man, by an ill-managed or a neglected Education, is so turned, that every sort of Study or Reading is a Burden ; then he ought to try if he has a Genius to any Mechanism, that may be an Entertainment to him : The managing a Garden is a noble, and may be made a useful Amusement ; the taking some part of his Estate into his own hands, if he looks carefully to it, will both employ his Time well, and may turn to a good Account ; in a word, some Employments may be better than others ; but there is no Employment so bad, as the having none at all ; the Mind will contract a Rust, and an Unfitness for every good thing ; and a Man must either fill up his Time with good or at least innocent Business, or it will run to the worst sort of Waste, to Sin and Vice.

I have often thought it a great Error, to waste young Gentlemen's Years so long, in learning *Latin*, by so tedious a Grammar ; I know those, who are bred to the Professions in Literature, must have the *Latin* correctly ; and for that, the Rules of Grammar are necessary : but these are not at all requisite to those, who need only so much *Latin*, as thoroughly to understand and delight in the *Roman* Authors and Poets. But suppose a Youth had, either for want of Memory or of Application, an incurable Aversion to *Latin*, his Education is not for that to be despaired of ; there is much noble Knowledge to be had in the *English* and *French* Languages ; Geography, History, chiefly that of our own Country, the Knowledge of Nature, and the more practical Parts of the Mathematicks (if he has not a Genius for the demonstrative) may make a Gentleman very knowing, tho' he has not a Word of *Latin* ; there is a Fineness of Thought, and a Nobleness of Expression indeed in the *Latin* Authors, that will make them the Entertainment of a Man's whole Life, if he once understands and reads them with delight : But if this cannot be attained to, I would not have it reckoned, that the Education of an ill *Latin* Scholar is to be given over. A competent measure of the Knowledge of the Law is a good Foundation, for distinguishing a Gentleman ; but I am in doubt, whether his being for some time in the Inns of Court will contribute much to this, if he is not a studious Person : Those who think they are there,

Errors in Education.

only

only to pass away so many of their Years, commonly run together, and live both idly and viciously. I should imagine it a much better way, tho' it is not much practised, to get a learned young Lawyer, who has not got into much Business, to come and pass away a long Vacation or two with a Gentleman, to carry him through such an Introduction to the Study of the Law, as may give him a full View of it, and good Directions how to prosecute his Study in it. A competent Skill in this makes a Man very useful in his Country, both in conducting his own Affairs, and in giving good Advice to those about him: It will enable him to be a good Justice of Peace, and to settle Matters by Arbitration, so as to prevent Law-suits; and, which ought to be the Top of an *English* Gentleman's Ambition, to be an able Parliament Man: to which no Gentleman ought to pretend, unless he has a true Zeal for his Country, with an inflexible Integrity and Resolution to pursue what appears to him just and right, and for the good of the Publick: The Parliament is the Fountain of Law, and the Fence of Liberty; and no sort of Instruction is so necessary for a Gentleman, as that which may qualify him to appear there with Figure and Reputation.

And in
Marriages.

Gentlemen in their Marriages ought to consider a great many things more than Fortune, tho', generally speaking, that is the only thing sought for: A good Understanding, good Principles, and a good Temper, with a liberal Education, and acceptable Person, are the first things to be considered: And certainly Fortune ought to come after all these. Those Bargains now in fashion make often unhallowed Marriages, in which (besides the greater Evils) more Fortune is often wasted, than is brought, with a vain, a foolish, an indiscreet and a hated Wife. The first Thought in choosing a Wife ought to be, to find a Help meet for the Man: In a married State the mutual Study of both ought to be to help and please one another: This is the Foundation of all domestick Happiness; as to stay at home and to love home, is the greatest help to Industry, Order and the good Government of a Family. I have dwelt the longer on this Article, because on the forming the Gentry well, the good Government of the Nation, both in and out of Parliament, does so much depend.

Of Trade
and In-
dustry.

As for the Men of Trade and Business, they are, generally speaking, the best Body in the Nation, generous, sober, and charitable: So that, while the People in the Country are so immersed in their Affairs, that the Sense of Religion cannot reach them, there is a better Spirit stirring in our Cities; more Knowledge, more Zeal, and more Charity, with a great deal more of Devotion. There may be too much of Vanity, with too pompous an

Exterior,

Exteriour, mixed with these in the capital City; but upon the whole, they are the best we have: Want of Exercise is a great Prejudice to their Health, and a Corrupter of their Minds, by raising Vapours and Melancholy, that fills many with dark Thoughts, rendring Religion, which affords the truest Joy, a Burden to them, and making them even a Burden to themselves; this furnishes Prejudices against Religion to those, who are but too much disposed to seek for them. The too constant Intercourse of Visits in Town is a vast Consumption of Time, and gives much occasion to Talk, which is at best idle, if not worse: This certainly wants Regulation, and is the Effect of Idleness and Vanity.

The Stage is the great Corrupter of the Town; and the bad People of the Town have been the chief Corrupters of the Stage, who run most after those Plays that defile the Stage and the Audience: Poets will seek to please, as Actors will look for such Pieces, as draw the most Spectators: They pretend their design is to discourage Vice; but they do really recommend it, in the most effectual manner. It is a shame to our Nation and Religion, to see the Stage so reformed in *France*, and so polluted still in *England*. *Moliere* for Comedy, and *Racine* for Tragedy, are great Patterns; few can, and as few will study to copy after them. But, till another Scene appears, certainly our Plays are the greatest Debauchers of the Nation. Gaming is a waste of Time, that rises out of Idleness, and is kept up by Covetousness; those who can think, read, or write to any purpose, and those who understand what Conversation and Friendship are, will not want such a Help to wear out the Day; so that upon the whole matter, Sloth and Ignorance, bad Education and ill Company, are the chief Sources of all our Vice and Disorders.

The ill Methods of Schools and Colleges give the chief Rise to the Irregularities of the Gentry; as the breeding young Women to Vanity, Dressing and a false Appearance of Wit and Behaviour, without proper Work or a due Measure of Knowledge and a serious Sense of Religion, is the Source of the Corruption of that Sex: Something like Monasteries without Vows would be a glorious Design, and might be so set on foot, as to be the Honour of a Queen on the Throne: But I will pursue this no further.

My next Address is to the Nobility; most of what I have proposed to our Gentry does, in a more eminent manner belong to them; the higher their Condition is raised above other Gentlemen, so much the more eminent ought they to be in Knowledge and Virtue; the Share they have in Judicature in the House of Lords, should oblige them to acquaint themselves with the Rules and Principles of Law; tho' an unbiaſſed Integrity, neither moved by

Friendship nor Party, with a true Understanding, will for the most part direct them in their Judgment, since few Cases occur, where the Point of Law is dark or doubtful.

Of their Education.

Every Person of a high Rank, whose Estate can bear it, ought to have two Persons to manage his Education; the one a Governour to form his Mind, to give him true Notions, to represent Religion and Virtue in a proper Light to him, to give him a View of Geography, not barely describing the Maps, but adding to it the Natural History of every Country, its Productions, Arts, and Trade, with the Religion and Government of the Country, and a general Idea of the History of the World, and of the various Revolutions, that have happened in it. Such a View will open a young Person's Mind: It must be often gone over, to fix it well. The ancient Government in *Greece*, but much more that of *Rome*, must be minutely delivered, that the Difference, between a just and a vicious Government, may be well apprehended. The Fall of the *Roman* Greatness, under the Emperors, by reason of the absolute Power, that let Vice in upon them, which corrupted not only their Courts, but their Armies, ought to be fully opened: Then the *Gothick* Government, and the Feudal Law should be clearly explained, to open the Original of our own Constitution. In all this, the chief Care of a wise and good Former of Youth ought to be, to possess a young Mind with noble Principles of Justice, Liberty and Virtue, as the true Basis of Government; and with an Aversion to Violence and Arbitrary Power, servile Flattery, Faction and Luxury, from which the Corruption and Ruin of all Governments have arisen.

To this Governour (qualified for all this, to be sought out and hired at any rate) I would join a Master for Languages and other things, in which this young Lord is to be instructed; who ought to be put under the Direction and Eye of the Governour, that his Time may not be lost in Trifles; that nothing of Pedantry or of Affectation may be infused into a young Mind, which is to be prepared for great Things. A Simplicity of Style, with a true and grave Pronunciation, ought to be well looked to; and this young Nobleman ought to be accustomed, as he grows up, to speak his Thoughts, on the sudden, with a due Force and Weight both of Words and Voice. I have often wondered to see Parents, who are to leave vast Estates, and who stick at no expence in other Things, yet be so Frugal and Narrow in the Education of their Children. They owe to their Country a greater Care in preparing the Eldest, to make that Figure in it, to which he is born: And they owe to their younger Children, who are not to be so plentifully provided, such a liberal Education, as may fit them to answer the Dignity of their

their Birth, and prepare them for Employments, by which they may in time give a further Strength and Addition to their Family. I have been amazed to see, how profuse some are, in procuring good Dancing, Fencing, and Riding-Masters for their Children, and setting them out in fine Clothes; and how sparing they are in that, which is the chief and most important thing, and which in time may become the most useful, both to themselves and to their Country. I look on the Education of the Youth, as the Foundation of all that can be proposed, for bettering the next Age: It ought to be one of the chief Cares of all Governments, tho' there is nothing more universally neglected. How do some of our Peers shine, meerly by their Virtue and Knowledge; and what a contemptible figure do others make, with all their high Titles and great Estates?

Noblemen begin to neglect the having Chaplains in their Houses, and I do not much wonder at it, when I reflect on the Behaviour of too many of these; light and idle, vain and insolent, impertinent and pedantick; by this want however, the Worship of God, and the Instruction of Servants is quite neglected: But, if a little more care were taken to choose well, a Lord might make a good use of a Chaplain, not only for those ends, which I have mentioned, but for the reading such Books, as the Lord desires to be well informed about, but has not leisure to peruse himself. These he may read by his Chaplain, and receive an Account of them from him, and see what are the principal things to be learnt from them, for which he may find leisure, tho' not for the whole Book: By this means he may keep his Chaplain well imployed, and may encrease his own Stock of Knowledge, and be well furnished with relation to all new Books and new Questions, that are started. The Family of a Nobleman, well chosen and well ordered, might look like a little Court in his Country: For tho' it is a Happiness to the Nation, that the great number of idle and useless Retainers, that were about Noblemen anciently, is much reduced; yet still they must entertain many Servants, to be either Nufances where they live, or to set a Pattern to others. The greater Men are, they ought to be the more modest and affable, and more easy of Access, that so they may, by the best sort of Popularity, render themselves acceptable to their Country; they ought more particularly, to protect the Oppressed, to mortify Insolence and Injustice, and to enter into the true Grievances of their Country; that they may represent these, where it may be proper; and shew at least a tender Care of those, who ought to be protected by them, if they cannot effectually procure a Redress of their Grievances. A continued Pursuit

Pursuit of such Methods, with an exemplary Deportment, would soon restore the Nobility to their ancient Lustre, from which they seem very sensible how much they are fallen, tho' they do not take the proper Methods to recover it. Have we not seen in our Time four or five Lords, by their Knowledge, good Judgment and Integrity, raise the House of Peers to a pitch of Reputation and Credit, that seemed once beyond the Expectation or Belief of those, who now see it? A Progress in this Method will give them such Authority in the Nation, that they will be able, not only to support their own Dignity, but even to support the Throne and the Church. If so small a number has raised Peerage to such a Regard, that the People, contrary to all former Precedents, have considered them more than their own Representatives; what might not be expected from a greater number pursuing the same Methods? These would become again that, which their Title imports, the Peers of the Crown as well as of the Kingdom, of which that noble Right of putting on their Coronets, at the Coronation, is a clear Proof. Great Titles, separated from the great Estates and the Interest their Ancestors had in their Countries, must sink, if not supported with somewhat of more Value, great Merit and a sublime Virtue.

Concerning
the two
Houses of
Parliament.

After I have offered what I think of the greatest Importance to the several Ranks of Men in the Nation, I go next to consider that august Body, in which they are all united; I mean the Parliament. As long as Elections are set to sale, so long we are under a Disease in our Vitals, that if it be not remedied in time, must ruin us at last, and end in a Change of Government; and what that may be, God only knows.

Of Elec-
tions.

All Laws that can be made, will prove ineffectual to cure so great an Evil, till there comes to be a Change and Reformation of Morals in the Nation; we see former Laws are evaded, and so will all the Laws that can be made, till the Candidates and Electors both become Men of another Temper and other Principles, than appear now among them: The Expence of Elections ruins Families; and these Families will come in time to expect a full Reparation from the Crown; or they will take their Revenges on it, if that Hope fails them: The Commons will grow insolent upon it, and look on the Gentry as in their dependance; during the War, and while the Heat of Parties ferments so much, it is not easy to find a proper Remedy for this. When the War is over, one Expedient in the power of the Crown is, to declare that Elections to Parliament shall be annual: But, if the same Heat and Rivalry of Parties should still continue, that would ruin Families but so much the sooner.

The

The most promising Expedient, next to a general Reformation, which may seem too remote and too hopeless a Prospect, is to try how this great Division of the Nation into Whig and Tory may be lessened, if not quite removed: Great numbers on both sides are drawn, to take up many groundless Jealousies one of another, with which Men of honest Minds are possessed.

There are many of the Tories, that without doubt look towards *St. Germans* and *France*; but this is not true of the Bulk of their Party. Many Infidels, who hate all Religion and all Churches alike (being only against the Church of *England* because it is in possession) do join with the Whigs and the Dissenters, and appear for them; from thence the ill-disposed Tories possess many of those, who are better minded, with an Opinion, that the Whigs favour the Dissenters, only to ruin and destroy Religion: And great Multitudes of unthinking and ignorant Men are drawn into this Snare. The Principles of the Whigs lead them to be for the Revolution, and for every thing that has been done to support and establish that; and therefore those who, in their Hearts, hate the Revolution, fortify and promote their Designs, by keeping up a Jealousy of all that Body, which alone can and must support it. The Whigs are indeed favoured by the Dissenters, because they see their Principles are for Toleration, in which, it is visible, that the Dissenters acquiesce, without pursuing any Design, contrary to the Established Church, into which the far greater number of them might be brought, if but a very few Concessions were made them. On the other hand, the Whigs, seeing the Leaders of the Tories drive on ill Designs so visibly, (endeavouring to weaken the Government, to disjoint the Alliance, and to put an untimely end to the War, thereby serving the Interests of *France* and of the *Pretender*) and that they are followed in this by the Body of the Tories, who promote their Elections, and adhere to them in all Divisions in the two Houses of Parliament, and are united in one Party with them, from thence conclude, that they are all equally concerned, and alike guilty: And thus they are jealous of them all. This Aversion is daily growing, and will certainly continue as long as the War lasts; when that is ended, it may possibly abate: but so great a Disease will not be cured, 'till a Prince of Spirit and Authority, managed with Temper and Discretion, undertakes the Cure. We see Oaths and Subscriptions make no Discrimination, since the Abjuration, tho' penned as fully as Words can go, has been taken by some, who seem resolved to swallow down every thing in order to the throwing up all at once, if they should come to have a clear Majority in Parliament, and durst lay aside the Mask.

Of the Parties of Whig and Tory.

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In the Parliament of 1701, called the Impeaching Parliament, and in the first Parliament called by the Queen, there was a Majority of Tories; yet it appeared, the Men of ill designs durst not venture to discover themselves to their Party and to the Nation; so they proceeded with Caution. They designed in 1701 to have had the Duke of *Anjou* acknowledged, in order to have disgraced the late King, and his faithfulest Ministers; that so the Princes abroad, who could do nothing without Assistance from *England*, despairing of that, might be forced to submit to the Offers *France* made them. In the first Year of the Queen's Reign, they durst make no visible Steps that way neither; but they tried to raise the Heat against the Dissenters, to make a Breach on the Toleration, and to give that Body of Men such a Jealousy of the Government, as should quite dishearten Them, who were always the readiest to lend Money to the Publick, without which the War could not be carried on vigorously. By this it may appear, that many of the Tories have not those Views and Designs, that perhaps some of their Leaders may be justly charged with. Now a wise and an active Prince may find Methods, to undeceive those who are thus fatally imposed on, and led blindfold into the serving the ill Designs of others; especially, if he will propose it, as a sure way to his Favour, for all whom he employs, to procure a better Understanding and frequent Meetings, among the Men of good Lives and soft Tempers in both Parties, who by a mutual Conversation will so open themselves to one another, that Jealousies may by this means be easily removed. I can carry this no further at present; Men of good Intentions will easily find out proper Methods to bring about this worthy Design of healing a Breach, that has rent the Nation from top to bottom. The Parties are now so stated and kept up, not only by the Elections of Parliament-Men that return every third Year, but even by the yearly Elections of Mayors and Corporation-Men, that they know their Strength; and in every Corner of the Nation, the two Parties stand, as it were, listed against one another. This may come, in some critical Time or other, at the Death of a Prince, or on an Invasion, to have terrible Effects; as at present it creates, among the best of each Side, a Coldness and a Jealousy, and a great deal of Hatred and Virulence among the much greater part.

The Cor-
rection of
our Laws.

There are two things of a very Publick Nature, that deserve the Care of a Parliament: The one must begin in the House of Lords, and the other in the House of Commons. The Law of *England* is the greatest Grievance of the Nation, very expensive and dilatory: There is no end of Suits, especially when they are brought into *Chancery*. It is a matter of deep Study, to be exact in the Law; great Advantages are taken, upon inconsiderable Errors;

Errors ; and there are loud Complaints of that, which seems to be the chief Security of Property, I mean Juries, which are said to be much practised upon. If a happy Peace gives us quiet, to look to our own Affairs, there cannot be a worthier Design undertaken, than to reduce the Law into Method, to digest it into a Body, and to regulate the Chancery, so as to cut off the Tediousness of Suits, and, in a word, to compile one entire System of our Laws. The Work cannot be undertaken, much less finished, but by so great an Authority, as at least an Address from the House of Lords to the Queen. Nothing, after the War is happily ended, can raise the Glory of her Reign more, than to see so noble a Design set on foot in her Time : This would make her Name sacred to Posterity, which would sensibly feel all the Taxes, they have raised, fully repaid them, if the Law were made shorter, clearer, more certain, and of less Expence.

The other Matter, that must take its rise in the House of Commons, is about the Poor, and should be much laid to heart. It may be thought a strange Motion from a Bishop, to wish that the Act, for charging every Parish to maintain their own Poor, were well reviewed, if not quite taken away ; this seems to encourage idle and lazy People in their Sloth, when they know they must be maintained : I know no other Place in the World, where such a Law was ever made. *Scotland* is much the poorest part of the Island ; yet the Poor there are maintained by the voluntary Charities of the People ; *Holland* is the perfectest Pattern, for putting Charity in a good Method ; the Poor work as much as they can ; they are humble and industrious ; they never ask any Charity ; and yet they are well relieved. When the Poor see, that their Supply must in a great measure depend on their Behaviour and on their Industry, as far as it can go, it will both make them better in themselves, and move others to supply them more liberally ; and when Mens Offerings are free (and yet are called for, every time they go to Church or to Sacrament) this will oblige those, who distribute them, to be exact and impartial in it ; since their ill Conduct might make the Givers trust them with their Charity no more, but distribute it themselves. If a Spirit of true Piety and Charity should ever prevail in this Nation, those, whose Condition raises them above the Drudgery of servile Labour, might employ some Years of their Life in this Labour of Love, and relieve one another in their turn, and so distribute among them this noble Part of Government. All this must begin in the House of Commons ; and I leave it to the Consideration of the wise and worthy Members of that Body, to turn their Thoughts to this, as soon as by a
happy

Provisions
for the Poor.

happy Peace we are delivered from the Cares of the War, and are at leisure to think of our own Affairs at home.

Of shorter
Sessions of
Parliament.

One thing more I presume to suggest, which is, that we may have fewer and shorter Sessions of Parliament; the staying long in Town both wastes Estates, and corrupts the Morals of Members; their beginning so late in the Day to enter upon Business is one great occasion of long Sessions; they are seldom met, 'till about twelve a-Clock; and except on a Day, in which some great Points are to be discussed, upon which the Parties divide, they grow disposed to rise after two or three Hours sitting. The Authority of the Prince must be interposed to make them return to the old Hours of eight and nine; and if, from that time, they sate till two, a great deal of Business might be dispatched in a short Session. It is also to be hoped that, when the War is ended, Parliaments will not give the necessary Supplies from Year to Year, as in the time of War, but will settle Methods for paying the Publick Debt, and for the Support of the Government, for two, if not for three Years. The ill Effects of an Annual Meeting of Parliament are so visible and so great, that I hope nothing but invincible Necessity will ever keep us under the Continuance of so great an Inconvenience. I speak of this with the more Concern, because this is not only a great Charge on Bishops, heavy on the richer, and intolerable to the poorer Bishopricks; but chiefly, because it calls them away from their Diocesses, and from minding their proper Work, and fills their Heads too much with Secular Thoughts, and obliges them to mix too much with Secular Company; from which the more abstracted they are, as their Minds will be purer and freer, so they will be able to follow their own Business with less distraction, in a more constant Attendance on the Ministry of the Word and Prayer, to which, in imitation of the Apostles, they ought to give themselves continually.

I have now gone over what seemed to me most practicable, as well as most important, for all Ranks of Men severally in the Nation, as well as for that great Union of them all, in the Representative of the whole in Parliament: I have not gone into wild Notions of an imaginary Reformation, more to be wished than hoped for; but have only touched on such ill Practices, and bad Dispositions, as with a little Care and good Government may be in some measure redressed and corrected. And now, having by all these, as by so many Steps, risen up to the Throne, I will end this Address to the Nation, with an humble Representation to those, who are to sit on it.

I have had the Honour to be admitted to much free Conversation, with five of our Sovereigns; King *Charles* the Second, King *James* the Second, King *William* the Third, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Anne*. King *Charles's* Behaviour was a thing never enough to be commended; he was a perfectly well-bred Man, easy of Access, free in his Discourse, and sweet in his whole Deportment; this was managed with great Art, and it covered bad Designs; it was of such use to him, that it may teach all succeeding Princes, of what advantage an easiness of Access and an obliging Behaviour may be: This preserved him; it often disarmed those Resentments, which his ill Conduct in every thing, both Publick and Private, possessed all thinking People with very early, and all sorts of People at last: And yet none could go to him, but they were in a great measure softened, before they left him: It looked like a Charm, that could hardly be resisted: Yet there was no Good-Nature under that, nor was there any Truth in him. King *James* had great Application to Business, tho' without a right Understanding; that Application gave him a Reputation, till he took care to throw it off: If he had not come after King *Charles*, he would have past for a Prince of a sweet Temper, and easy of Access. King *William* was the reverse of all this; he was scarce Accessible, and was always Cold and Silent; he minded Affairs abroad so much, and was so set on the War, that he scarce thought of his Government at home: This raised a general Disgust, which was improved by Men of ill Designs, so that it perplexed all his Affairs, and he could scarce support himself at Home, whilst he was the Admiration of all Abroad. Queen *Mary* was Affable, Cheerful and Lively, spoke much, and yet under great Reserves, minded Business, and came to understand it well; she kept close to Rules, chiefly to those set her by the King; and she charmed all that came near her. Queen *Anne* is easy of Access, and hears every thing very gently; but opens herself to so few, and is so Cold and General in her Answers, that People soon find that the chief Application is to be made to her Ministers and Favourites, who in their turns have an entire Credit and full Power with her: She has laid down the Splendor of a Court too much, and eats privately; so that except on Sundays, and a few Hours, twice or thrice a Week at Night in the Drawing Room, she appears so little, that her Court is as it were abandoned. Out of all these Princes Conduct, and from their Successes in their Affairs, it is evident what ought to be the Measures of a wise and good Prince, who would govern the Nation happily and gloriously.

An Address
to our Prin-
ces.

The first, the most essential, and most indispensable Rule for a King is, to study the Interest of the Nation, to be ever in it, and to be always pursuing it; this will lay in for him such a degree of Confidence, that he will be ever safe with his People, when they feel they are safe in him. No part of our Story shews this more visibly, than Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, in which the true Interest of the Nation was constantly pursued; and this was so well understood by all, that every thing else was forgiven her and her Ministers both. Sir *Simon Dewe's* Journal shews a Treatment of Parliaments, that could not have been born at any other time, or under any other Administration: This was the constant Support of King *William's* Reign, and continues to support the present Reign, as it will support all who adhere steadily to it.

A Prince, that would command the Affections and Purse of this Nation, must not study to stretch his Prerogative, or be uneasy under the Restraints of Law; as soon as this Humour shews itself, he must expect, that a Jealousy of him, and an uneasy Opposition to him, will follow thro' the whole Course of his Reign; whereas if he governs well, Parliaments will trust him, as much as a wise Prince would desire to be trusted; and will supply him in every War that is necessary, either for their own Preservation, or the Preservation of those Allies, with whom mutual Interests and Leagues unite him: But tho', soon after the Restoration, a slavish Parliament supported King *Charles* in the *Dutch* War, yet the Nation must be strangely changed, before any thing of that sort can happen again.

One of the most detestable and the foolishhest Maxims, with relation to our Government, is to keep up Parties and a Rivalry among them; to shift and change Ministers, and to go from one Party to another, as they can be brought in their turns to offer the Prince more Money, or to give him more Authority: this will in conclusion render him odious and contemptible to all Parties, who growing accustomed to his Fickleness, will never trust him, but rather study to secure themselves, by depressing him; of which the Reign of *Henry* the Third of *France* is a signal Instance. We saw what Effects this had on King *Charles's* Reign; and King *William* felt what an ill step he had made, near the end of his Reign, in pursuing this Maxim. Nothing creates to a Prince such a Confidence, as a constant and clear Firmness and Steadiness of Government, with an unblemished Integrity in all his Professions; and nothing will create a more universal Dependence on him, than when it is visible, he studies to allay the Heats of Parties, and to reconcile them to one another:

ther: This will demonstrate, that he loves his People, and that he has no ill Designs of his own.

A Prince, who would be well served, ought to seek out among his Subjects the best and most capable of the Youth, and see to their good Education at home and abroad; he should send them to travel, and order his Ministers abroad to keep such for some time about them, and to send them from Court to Court, to learn their Language, and observe their Tempers: If but twelve such were constantly kept, on an Allowance of 250*l.* a-year, the whole Expence of this would rise but to 3000*l.* a-year: By this inconsiderable Charge, a Prince might have a constant Nursery for a wise and able Ministry. But those ought to be well chosen, none ought to pretend to the Nomination; it ought to rise from the Motion, of the honestest and most disinterested of all his Ministers, to the Prince in secret. As great a care ought to be had, in the Nomination of the Chaplains of his Ministers abroad, that there may be a Breed of worthy Clergymen, who have large Thoughts and great Notions, from a more enlarged View of Mankind and of the World. If a Prince would have all that serve him grateful and true to him, he must study to find out, who are the properest and worthiest Men, capable of Employments, and prevent their Applications, and surprize them with bestowing good Posts unsought, and raising them higher, as they serve well: When it is known, that a Prince has made it his Maxim, to follow this Method in distributing his Favours, he will cut off Applications for them; which will otherwise create a great Uneasiness to him, and have this certain ill effect, that, where there are many Pretenders, one must have the preference to all the rest; so that many are mortified for being rejected, and are full of Envy at him, who has obtained the Favour, and therefore will detract from him as much as possible. This has no where worse Effects than among the Clergy, in the Disposal of the Dignities of the Church: And therefore Queen *Mary* resolved to break those Aspirings; which Resolution she carried on effectually for some Years: A constant pursuing that Maxim would have a great effect on the Nation.

Frequent Progresses round the Nation, so divided, that once in seven, eight or ten Years, the chief Places of it might be gone thro', would recommend a Prince wonderfully to the People; especially if he were gentle and affable, and would so manage his Progress, that it should not be a Charge to any, by refusing to accept of Entertainments, from any Person whatsoever: for the accepting these only from such, as could easily bear the Charge of it, would be an affronting of others, who being of
equal

equal Rank, though not of equal Estates, would likewise desire to treat the Prince. So to make a Progress every where acceptable, and no where chargeable, the sure Method would be, according to the established Rule of the Household, for the Prince to carry the travelling Wardrobe with him, and to take such Houses in the way, as are most convenient for him; but to entertain himself and his Court there, and have a Variety of Tables for such as may come to attend on him. On this *Q. Mary* had set her Heart, if she had lived to see Peace in her Days; by this means a Prince may see and be seen by his People; he may know some Men, that deserve to be distinguished, of whom otherwise he would never have heard; and he may learn and redress the Grievances of his People, preventing all Parliamentary Complaints, except for such Matters as cannot be cured, but by a Remedy in Parliament: Methods like these would make a Prince become the Idol of his People.

It is certain, that their Affections must follow a Prince, who would consider Government and the Royal Dignity as his Calling, and would be daily employed in it, studying the Good and Happiness of his People, pursuing the properest ways for promoting it, without either delivering himself up to the Sloth of Luxury and vain Magnificence, or affecting the Barbarity of War and Conquest; which render those, who make the World a Scene of Blood and Rapine, indeed the Butchers of Mankind. If these Words seem not decent enough, I will make no other Apology, but that I use them, because I cannot find worse: For as they are the worst of Men, so they deserve the worst of Language. Can it be thought that Princes are raised to the highest Pitch of Glory and Wealth, on design to corrupt their Minds with Pride and Contempt of the rest of Mankind, as if they were made only to be the Instruments of their Extravagancies, or the Subjects of their Passions and Humours? No! they are exalted for the Good of their Fellow-Creatures, in order to raise them to the truest Sublimity, to become as like Divinity, as a mortal Creature is capable of being. None will grudge them their great Treasures and Authority, when they see it is all employed to make their People happy. None will envy their Greatness, when they see it accompanied with a suitable Greatness of Soul, whereas a magnified and flattered Pageant will soon fall under universal Contempt and Hatred. There is not any one thing more certain and more evident, than that Princes are made for the People, and not the People for them; and perhaps there is no Nation under Heaven, that is more entirely possessed with this Notion of Princes, than the *English* Nation is in this Age; so that they

they will soon be uneasy to a Prince, who does not govern himself by this Maxim, and in time grow very unkind to him.

Great Care ought to be taken, in the Nomination of Judges and Bishops. I join these together; for Law and Religion, Justice and Piety, are the Support of Nations, and give strength and Security to Governments: Judges must be recommended by those in the High Posts of the Law; but a Prince may, by his own Taste and upon Knowledge, choose his Bishops. They ought to be Men eminent for Piety, Learning, Discretion and Zeal; not broken with Age, which will quickly render them incapable of serving the Church, to any good purpose: A Person fit to be a Bishop at sixty, was fit at forty; and had then Spirit and Activity, with a strength both of Body and Mind. The vast Expence they are at, in entering on their Bishopricks, ought to be regulated: No Bishopricks can be, in any good degree, served under 1000*l.* a Year at least. The Judges ought to be plentifully provided for, that they may be under no Temptation, to supply themselves by indirect Ways: One Part of a Prince's Care, to be recommended to Judges in their Circuits, is to know what Persons are, as it were, hid in the Nation, that are fit for Employments, and deserve to be encouraged; of such, they ought to give an Account to the Lord Chancellor, who ought to lay it before the Throne. No Crime ought to be pardoned, till the Judge who gave Sentence is heard, to give an Account of the Evidence, with the Circumstances of the Fact, as it appeared on the Trial: no regard ought to be had to Stories that are told, to move Compassion; for in these, little regard is had to Truth: And an easiness in pardoning is, in some sort, an encouraging of Crimes, and a giving Licence to commit them.

But to run out no longer into particulars, the great and comprehensive Rule of all is, that a King should consider himself, as exalted by Almighty God into that high Dignity, as into a Capacity of doing much good, and of being a great Blessing to Mankind, and in some sort a God on Earth; and therefore, as he expects, that his Ministers should study to advance his Service, his Interests and his Glory; and that, so much the more, as he raises them to higher Posts of Favour and Honour; so he, whom God has raised to the greatest Exaltation, this World is capable of, should apply himself wholly to Cares, becoming his Rank and Station, to be in himself a Pattern of Virtue and true Religion, to promote Justice, to relieve and revenge the Oppressed, and to seek out Men of Virtue and Piety, and bring them into such Degrees of Confidence, as they may be capable of; to encourage a due and a generous Freedom in their Advices, to be ready to see

see his own Errours, that he may correct them, and to entertain every thing, that is suggested to him, for the good of his People, and for the Benefit of Mankind; and to make a Difference between those, who court his Favour for their own Ends, who study to flatter and by that to please him, often to his own Ruin, and those who have great Views and noble Aims, who set him on to pursue Designs worthy of him, without mean or partial regards to any Ends or Interests of their own. It is not enough for a Prince, not to encourage Vice or Impiety, by his own ill Practices; it ought to appear, that these are odious to him, and that they give him Horrour: A Declaration of this kind, solemnly made and steadily pursued, would soon bring on at least an exterior Reformation, which would have a great Effect on the Body of the Nation, and on the rising Generation, though it were but hypocritically put on at first. Such a Prince would be perhaps too great a Blessing to a wicked World: Queen *Mary* seemed to have the Seeds of all this in her; but the World was not worthy of her: And so God took her from it.

An Exhortation to all, to become truly Religious.

I will conclude this whole Address to Posterity with that, which is the most important of all other things, and which alone will carry every thing else along with it; which is to recommend, in the most solemn and serious manner, the Study and Practice of Religion to all sorts of Men, as that which is both *the Light of the World*, and *the Salt of the Earth*. Nothing does so open our Faculties, and compose and direct the whole Man, as an inward Sense of God, of his Authority over us, of the Laws he has set us, of his Eye ever upon us, of his hearing our Prayers, assisting our Endeavours, watching over our Concerns, and of his being to judge and to reward or punish us in another State, according to what we do in this: Nothing will give a Man such a Detestation of Sin, and such a Sense of the Goodness of God, and of our Obligations to Holiness, as a right Understanding and a firm Belief of the Christian Religion: Nothing can give a Man so calm a Peace within, and such a firm Security against all Fears and Dangers without, as the Belief of a kind and wise Providence, and of a future State. An Integrity of Heart gives a Man a Courage, and a Confidence that cannot be shaken: A Man is sure that, by living according to the Rules of Religion, he becomes the wisest, the best and happiest Creature, that he is capable of being: Honest Industry, the employing his Time well, and a constant Sobriety, an undefiled Purity and Chastity, with a quiet Serenity, are the best Preservers of Life and Health: So that, take a Man as a single Individual, Religion is his Guard, his Perfection

tion, his Beauty, and his Glory: This will make him *the Light of the World*, shining brightly, and enlightning many round about him.

Then take a Man as a Piece of Mankind, as a Citizen of the World, or of any particular State, Religion is indeed *then the Salt of the Earth*: For it makes every Man to be to all the rest of the World, whatsoever any one can with reason wish or desire him to be. He is true, just, honest and faithful in the whole Commerce of Life, doing to all others, that which he would have others do to him: He is a Lover of Mankind, and of his Country: He may and ought to love some more than others; but he has an Extent of Love to all, of Pity and Compassion, not only to the poorest, but to the worst; for the worse any are, they are the more to be pitied. He has a Complacency and Delight in all that are truly, tho' but defectively good, and a Respect and Veneration for all that are eminently so: He mourns for the Sins, and rejoices in the Virtues of all that are round about him: In every Relation of Life, Religion makes him answer all his Obligations: It will make Princes just and good, faithful to their Promises, and Lovers of their People: It will inspire Subjects with Respect, Submission, Obedience and Zeal for their Prince: It will sanctify Wedlock to be a State of Christian Friendship, and mutual Assistance: It will give Parents the truest Love to their Children, with a proper Care of their Education: It will command the Returns of Gratitude and Obedience from Children: It will teach Masters to be gentle and careful of their Servants, and Servants to be faithful, zealous, and diligent in their Master's Concerns: It will make Friends tender and true to one another; it will make them generous, faithful and disinterested: It will make Men live in their Neighbourhood, as Members of one common Body, promoting first the general Good of the Whole, and then the Good of every Particular, as far as a Man's Sphere can go: It will make Judges and Magistrates just and patient, hating Covetousness, and maintaining Peace and Order, without respect of Persons: It will make People live in so inoffensive a manner, that it will be easy to maintain Justice, whilst Men are not disposed to give Disturbance to those about them. This will make Bishops and Pastors faithful to their Trust, tender to their People, and watchful over them; and it will beget in the People an Esteem for their Persons, and their Functions.

Thus Religion, if truly received and sincerely adhered to, would prove the greatest of all Blessings to a Nation: But by Religion,

gion, I understand somewhat more than the receiving some Doctrines, tho' ever so true, or the professing them, and engaging to support them, not without Zeal and Eagerness. What signify the best Doctrines, if Men do not live suitably to them; if they have not a due Influence upon their Thoughts, their Principles, and their Lives? Men of bad Lives, with sound Opinions, are self condemned, and lie under a highly aggravated Guilt; nor will the Heat of a Party, arising out of Interest, and managed with Fury and Violence, compensate for the ill Lives of such false Pretenders to Zeal; while they are a Disgrace to that, which they profess and seem so hot for. By Religion I do not mean, an outward Compliance with Form and Customs, in going to Church, to Prayers, to Sermons and to Sacraments, with an external Shew of Devotion, or, which is more, with some inward forced good Thoughts, in which many may satisfy themselves, while this has no visible effect on their Lives, nor any inward Force to subdue and rectify their Appetites, Passions and secret Designs. Those customary Performances, how good and useful soever, when well understood and rightly directed, are of little value when Men rest on them, and think that, because they do them, they have therefore acquitted themselves of their Duty, tho' they continue still proud, covetous, full of Deceit, Envy and Malice: Even secret Prayer, the most effectual of all other means, is designed for a higher end, which is to possess our Minds with such a constant and present Sense of Divine Truths, as may make these live in us, and govern us: and may draw down such Assistances, as may exalt and sanctify our Natures.

So that by Religion I mean, such a Sense of divine Truth, as enters into a Man, and becomes a Spring of a new Nature within him; reforming his Thoughts and Designs, purifying his Heart, and sanctifying him, and governing his whole Deportment, his Words as well as his Actions; convincing him that, it is not enough, not to be scandalously vicious, or to be innocent in his Conversation, but that he must be entirely, uniformly and constantly pure and vertuous, animating him with a Zeal, to be still better and better, more eminently good and exemplary, using Prayers and all outward Devotions, as solemn Acts testifying what he is inwardly and at heart, and as Methods instituted by God, to be still advancing in the use of them further and further, into a more refined and spiritual Sense of divine Matters. This is true Religion, which is the Perfection of Human Nature, and the Joy and Delight of every one, that feels it active and strong within him; it is true, this is not arrived at
all

all at once; and it will have an unhappy allay, hanging long even about a good Man: But, as those ill Mixtures are the perpetual Grief of his Soul, so it is his chief Care to watch over and to mortify them; he will be in a continual Progress, still gaining ground upon himself: And, as he attains to a good degree of Purity, he will find a noble Flame of Life and Joy growing upon him. Of this I write with the more Concern and Emotion, because I have felt this the true and indeed the only Joy, which runs thro' a Man's Heart and Life: It is that which has been for many Years my greatest Support; I rejoice daily in it; I feel from it the Earnest of that supreme Joy, which I pant and long for; I am sure there is nothing else can afford any true or compleat Happiness. I have, considering my Sphere, seen a great deal of all, that is most shining and tempting in this World: The Pleasures of Sense I did soon nauseate; Intrigues of State, and the Conduct of Affairs have something in them, that is more specious; and I was, for some Years, deeply immersed in these, but still with Hopes of reforming the World, and of making Mankind wiser and better: But I have found, *That which is crooked cannot be made straight.* I acquainted myself with Knowledge and Learning, and that in a great Variety, and with more Compass than Depth: but tho' *Wisdom excelleth Folly, as much as Light does Darkness;* yet, as it is a *sore Travail*, so it is so very defective, that what is wanting to compleat it, *cannot be numbered.* I have seen that *two were better than one*, and that a *threefold Cord is not easily loosed*; and have therefore cultivated Friendship with much Zeal and a disinterested Tendernefs; but I have found this was also Vanity and Vexation of Spirit, tho' it be of the best and noblest sort. So that, upon great and long Experience, I could enlarge on the Preacher's Text, *Vanity of Vanities, and all is Vanity*; but I must also conclude with him; *Fear God, and keep his Commandments, for this is the All of Man*, the Whole both of his Duty, and of his Happiness. I do therefore end all, in the Words of *David*, of the Truth of which, upon great Experience and a long Observation, I am so fully assured, that I leave these as my last Words to Posterity:

“ *Come ye Children, hearken unto me; I will teach you the Fear*
 “ *of the Lord; what Man is he that desireth Life, and loveth*
 “ *many Days, that he may see Good; keep thy Tongue from*
 “ *Evil, and thy Lips from speaking Guile; depart from Evil,*
 “ *and do Good, seek Peace and pursue it. The Eyes of the Lord*
 “ *are upon the Righteous, and his Ears are open to their Cry;*
 “ *but the Face of the Lord is against them that do Evil, to cut*
 VOL. II. 8 H “ off

*“ off the Remembrance of them, from the Earth. The Righteous
 “ cry, and the Lord heareth and delivereth them out of all
 “ their Troubles. The Lord is nigh unto them, that are of a
 “ broken Heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite Spirit.”*

N.B. This was written in June 1708, when the Author thought himself near the end of the History.



THE



THE
LIFE
OF THE
AUTHOR:

By the EDITOR
THOMAS BURNET, Esq;

IF were to be wished, that the Author himself had lived to have compleated his whole Design, and as he made *Thuanus* his Pattern in History, like him to have closed his Work with an Account of his own Life: That he intended so to have done, is evident both from his last Will, and from a rough Draught or imperfect Sketch of this nature, left behind him. He acted so considerable a Part in the World, in so many different Stations; he met with so large a share of Favour from some, and so much Censure from others; and in a Life, where the Scenes were so various, there must be so many Occurrences, which will be both useful and entertaining; that I feared the Publick would scarce forgive me, as an Editor, if I should not endeavour to supply this only Part
of

of the Author's Plan, which he himself did not live to execute. Tho' the producing Authorities for the several Facts, asserted in the following Sheets, might perhaps have exempted a Writer from future Cavils: yet the inserting Vouchers for every Particular *, would have rendred a Work of this nature both dry and tedious; I have only done it, where the Matter related seemed very essential, and the original Papers themselves might prove an agreeable Entertainment. I have carefully avoided repeating all those Parts of the Author's Life, which are already related in the *History of his own Time*: They are only transiently mentioned here, so as to continue the Thread of my Narration, and the Reader is referred, for farther Information, to the History itself.

The Author's Birth and Parentage.

Our Author, Dr. GILBERT BURNET, was born at *Edinburgh* on the eighteenth Day of *September* in the Year 1643. His Father was the younger Brother of a Family, very considerable for its Antiquity as well as Interest, in the Shire of *Aberdeen*; and was bred to the Civil Law, which he studied for seven Years in *France*. His excessive Modesty so far depress'd his Abilities, that he never made a shining Figure at the Bar, tho' he was universally esteemed a Man of Judgment and Knowledge in his Profession; he was eminent for Probity and Generosity in his Practice; inso-much that near one half of it went in Acts of Charity and Friendship: From the Poor he never took a Fee, nor from a Clergyman, when he sued in the Right of his Church. In the Year 1637, when the Troubles in *Scotland* were breaking out, he was so disgusted at the Conduct of the governing Bishops there, he censured them with so much Warmth, and was, at the same time, so remarkable for his strict and exemplary Life, that he was generally called a *Puritan*: But when he saw, that instead of reforming Abuses in the Episcopal Order, the Order itself was struck at, he adhered to it with great Zeal and Constancy; as he did to the Rights of the Crown, without once complying with that Party, which afterwards prevailed in both Nations. For tho' he agreed with *Barclay* and *Grotius* (with the latter of whom he had been intimately acquainted) as to their Notions of Resistance, where the Laws are broke through by a limited Sovereign; yet he did not think that was then the Case in *Scotland*.

Our Author's Mother was very eminent for her Piety and Virtue; she was a warm Zealot for the Presbyterian Discipline; her Education that way had been very strict; she was Sister to the famous Sir *Archibald Johnstoun*, called Lord *Warristoun*, who,

* Those Facts for which no Voucher is alleged, are taken from the Bishop's Manuscript Notes of his own Life. And can be further sup-

ported by other Testimonies, if occasion should require.

who, during the Civil Wars, was at the Head of the Presbyterians; and was too often hurried away, by his Attachment to them, into Excesses that were not suitable to his natural Temper; which was just, generous and self-denying: Infomuch that he left behind him but a very small Provision, for a Family of thirteen Children, though for many Years he had been entrusted with the whole Government of *Scotland*. He was so zealous in the Interests of his Party, that neither Friendship nor Alliance could dispose him, to shew favour to those, who refused the solemn League and Covenant. Our Author's Father therefore, persisting in this Refusal, at three several times was obliged to quit the Kingdom, and at one of them to remain an Exile for five Years: And, when his Return was afterwards connived at, as his Principles would not permit him to renew the Practice of the Law, much less to accept of the Preferments in it, offered him by *Oliver Cromwell*, he lived retired in the Country upon his own Estate, till the Restoration; when he was made one of the Lords of the Session.

His Father's Retirement from Business proved a considerable Advantage to our Author's Education, which was wholly under his Care, and so managed by him, that at ten Years old his Son was Master of the *Latin* Tongue: he was sent at that Age to the College of *Aberdeen*, where he perfected himself in *Greek*, and went through the common Methods of the *Aristotelian* Logick and Philosophy with Applause; he commenced Master of Arts before he was fourteen, and then applied himself to the Law, much to the regret of his Father, who had always designed him for a Clergyman. He continued studying the *Civil* and *Feudal* Law for above a Year, by which he laid in such true Notions of Society and Government, as are seldom found amongst Divines; he then changed his Resolution, and determined wholly to dedicate himself to the Church: Thereupon he pursued a very hard Course of Study; he went through the old and new Testament, with all the several Commentaries upon the different Parts of it, then in repute; he examined into the most noted Authors in Controversy, and read *Bellarmino* and *Chamier*, in opposition to each other, quite through; he perused some of the most received Systems of School-Divinity, but was soon disgusted at the Subtlety of those Writers, and readily observed, how little all their Disputes, which the Jargon of the Schools rendred endless, could tend towards making Men wiser or better. In his Hours of Amusement, he ran through many Volumes of History: And it is scarce conceivable, what a Progress he had made in these Studies, before he

was eighteen, by an Application, which seldom fell short of fourteen Hours in a Day.

He is admitted as a Probationer.

At that Age, he was put upon his Trial, as a Probationer or Expectant Preacher; who, after having pass'd Examination, is at liberty to preach wheresoever he is desired, but has no particular Church, to which he is attendant. This is the first Step in *Scotland*, towards an Admission into Orders, and was practised both under the Episcopal and Presbyterian Oeconomy. The Method observed in it has something so different from what is customary in *England*, that it may perhaps be worthy the Reader's Notice. These Probationers are first appointed to preach practically on a Text assigned them; next, critically upon another, the Sense of which is controverted; and then a mix'd Sermon, of Criticism on the Text, and practical Inferences from it, is expected from them. After this, the Examiners allot a Head of Divinity to each, on which they are to make a *Latin* Oration, and to give out *Theses* upon it, which they undertake to defend in publick: Then a *Hebrew* Psalm and a Portion of the *Greek* Testament is given them, to render into *English* extempore; and last of all comes the Questionary Trial, in which every Minister of the District is at liberty to put such Questions to the Person under Examination, as occur to him, out of the Scripture or Body of Divinity. Before any one can be admitted to this, he must produce a Testimonial of his good Life from the Minister of the Parish where he lives; and if during his Trial, which lasts for three Months, any Scandal can be proved upon him, he is laid aside as unfit for the Church.

Refuses a Presentation to a Living.

This Probation our Author went through, at the Age of Eighteen; about which time his Father was made a *Lord* of the *Session*, and his Cousin German, Sir *Alexander Burnet*, gave him the Presentation to a very good Benefice, where his Family resided, and which lay in the Center of all his Kindred. There is no Law in *Scotland*, that limits the Age a Minister must be of; but our Author thought his own so unfit for a Cure of Souls, that he absolutely refused to accept of it, notwithstanding the repeated Importunities of all his Relations, except his Father, who left him wholly to his own Discretion.

His Father's Death, and his further Pursuit of his Studies.

In the Year 1661, his Father died; and soon after his Brother *Robert*, who was then become very eminent at the Bar, as his other Brother *Thomas* was afterwards in Physick: Upon the occasion of his Brother's Death, our Author was much solicited, by his Mother's Relations, to return to his former Study of the Law, wherein he was assured of the greatest Encouragement; but he persisted in his former Resolution, of devoting his Life to

to the Service of the Church, in which he was confirmed by Mr. *Nairn*, Minister of the Abbey Church at *Edinburgh*. Mr. *Nairn* was then the admired Preacher of that Country, remarkable for Accuracy of Style, as well as Strength of Reasoning and Sublimeness of Thought: Him our Author purposed to make his Pattern, in this Branch of the Pastoral Office; and was not a little surprized to find, that he always preached *extempore*. For though all Sermons in *Scotland* were delivered without book, yet were they premeditated Discourses, first written and then learn'd by heart; which was a loss of time Mr. *Nairn* could not submit to, and he soon put our Author upon attempting the same Method of Preaching, which he continued to practise all the rest of his Life*. He attained to an Easiness in it, chiefly by allotting many Hours of the Day to Meditation upon all sorts of Subjects, and by accustoming himself, at those times, to speak his Thoughts aloud, studying always to render his Expression correct. Mr. *Nairn* led him likewise into a new Course of Reading, by recommending to his Perusal *Smith's Select Discourses*, Dr. *More's Works*, and the Writings of *Plato* and his Followers; but no Book pleased him more than *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, from the Principles of which he never departed.

In the Year 1662, the *Scotch* Bishops, who had been consecrated at *Westminster*, made a pompous Entry into *Edinburgh*, and, by the Pride of their first Appearance, gave no good Omen of their future Conduct. Bishop *Leightoun*, though one of their number, would have no share in the State they took upon them, on this occasion: He soon became acquainted with our Author's growing Fame, and as he conceived a great Affection for him, he took a peculiar Pleasure in overlooking his Studies. By his Advice, he became conversant with all the Primitive Writers, going through the Apologys and other Treatises of the Fathers of the three first Centuries, and *Binnius's* Collection of Councils, down to the second Council of *Nice*.

At the same time, our Author contracted an Intimacy with another eminent Divine, Mr. *Charteris*, a Man of great Prudence, joined to an unaffected Simplicity of Behaviour: He was not only very knowing in his own Profession, but was likewise a great

* I shall only mention two remarkable Instances in relation to his preaching without Book. In 1691, when the Sees, vacant by the Deprivation of the Nonjuring Bishops, were filled up, Bishop *Williams* was appointed to preach one of the Consecration Sermons at *Bow-Church*. But being detained by some Accident, the Clerk had twice set the Psalm, and still the Preacher did not appear. Whereupon the Archbishop of *Canterbury* desired Dr. *Burnet*, then Bishop of *Sarum*, to supply his Place, which he did; and, as the

Archbishop declared, gave them the best Sermon he ever heard him preach. In 1705, he was appointed to preach the Thanksgiving Sermon before the Queen at *St. Paul's*; and as it was the only Discourse he had ever wrote beforehand, so this was the only time that he was ever at a pause in Preaching, which on that occasion lasted for above a Minute. These two Incidents were so publicly known and spoke of, that I think it needless to alledge any particular Authority for them, unless they should be questioned.

great Master of History, both antient and modern, of Geography and Books of Travels, and not a little skilled in Mathematical Learning. These three Persons, by their Conversation and Advice, contributed towards finishing an Education, which had been so happily begun. And indeed, what might not be expected from such early Helps, where Nature had laid in Materials, so fit to be wrought upon? For there was a robust Constitution, capable of the hardest Labour and Study, an Apprehension that took things quickly, and a Memory that retained them long, an Imagination rather too lively, and a natural Fluency of Expression.

His Journey
to England.

In the Year 1663, our Author took a short Tour into *England*: He first visited the two Universities; at *Cambridge*, he had an Opportunity to know and admire the extensive Learning of *Dr. Cudworth*, the Judgment and Moderation of *Dr. Pearson*, the fine luxuriant Imagination of *Dr. Burnet* (Author of the *Theory*) and the Free-Thinking of *Dr. Henry More*, one of whose Sayings, with relation to Rites and Ceremonies, then made great Impression on him; *None of these*, said he, *are bad enough to make Men bad, and I am sure none of them are good enough to make Men good.* At *Oxford* our Author was much caressed, on account of his ready Knowledge of the Councils and Fathers, especially by *Dr. Fell*, and *Dr. Pocock*, that great Master of Oriental Learning; he was much improved there in his Mathematicks and Philosophy by the Instructions of *Dr. Wallis*, who likewise gave him a Letter of Recommendation to the Learned and Pious *Mr. Boyle* at *London*. Upon his Arrival there, he was introduced to all the most noted Divines, such as *Tillotson*, *Stillingfleet*, *Patrick*, *Lloyd*, *Whitchcot* and *Wilkins*, whose Characters are faithfully drawn by him in the History. But no Conversation proved a greater Advantage to him, than that of *Sir Robert Murray*, not only as he brought him into the best Company, but as he also acted the part of a faithful Monitor, in reprov- ing him for any Errors or Indiscretions, his Youth might betray him into. After a Stay in *England* of about six Months, which, being spent in the manner I have mentioned, could not but be highly useful, he returned to *Scotland*, where he was again press'd to enter into Orders, and accept of one of the best Benefices in the West.

Delays ac-
cepting a
good Bene-
fice.

Sir Robert Fletcher of *Saltoun*, who, during his stay at *Paris*, had received many Obligations from his Father, hearing so great a Character of the Son, invited him down to his Seat, and had no sooner heard him preach, than he offered him that Church, the Minister of it being nominated to one of the Vacant Bishopricks.

Our

Our Author would have excused himself, as having determined for some Months to travel beyond Sea; and solicited the Living for his Friend Mr. *Nairn*: but Sir *Robert* would admit of no denial; and as the present Incumbent was not to be consecrated immediately, resolved to keep the Benefice vacant, till his return from his Travels.

It was in the Year 1664, that our Author went over to *Holland*; where, after he had seen what was remarkable in the seven His Travels into Holland and France. Provinces, he fixed his Residence at *Amsterdam*. There, by the help of a learned *Rabbi*, he perfected himself in the *Hebrew* Language; he likewise became acquainted with the leading Men of the different Persuasions tolerated in that Country; as the *Arminians*, the *Lutherans*, the *Unitarians*, the *Brownists*, the *Anabaptists*, and the *Papists*: Amongst each of whom, he used frequently to declare he had met with Men of such real Piety and Virtue, that there he became fix'd in that strong Principle of universal Charity, and of thinking well of those that differed from him, as likewise in an invincible Abhorrence of all Severities, on account of religious Dissensions, which hath often drawn upon him the bitterest Censures from those, who, perhaps by a narrower Education, were led into a narrower way of Thinking.

From *Holland* he past through the *Netherlands* into *France*; he remained for some time at *Paris*, and conversed often with the two famous Ministers of *Charenton*, *Daillé* and *Morus*; the one renowned for his Learning and Judgment, the other for his bright Parts and Eloquence. He thought there entred too much of the Gesture of the Theatre into *Morus's* delivery; his Sermons were full of Fire and of Turns, which being out of the common Road, at once surpris'd and pleas'd his Audience; but when these Flights, which past currently in a pathetick Discourse, came to be coolly considered, they would hardly bear the Test: So that as our Author found in him much that deserv'd Imitation, there was still more that required Correction. His Stay in *France* was the longer, on account of the great Freedom and Kindness, with which he was treated by the Lord *Holles*, then Ambassador at the *French* Court. Towards the End of the Year he returned to *Scotland* through *London*, where he was introduced, by the President Sir *Robert Murray*, to be a Member of the Royal Society.

Soon after his Arrival at *Edinburgh*, Sir *Robert Fletcher* came Is settled as Minister at Saltoun, and his Conduct there. thither, and carried him down to *Saltoun*, giving him the Presentation to that Church; but he declined taking it absolutely at first, and resolv'd to continue there four Months, performing all the Functions of a Minister, without engaging himself to the Parish, till

he should have the joint Request of all the Parishioners; which he afterwards had, without one single Exception: and thereupon he was ordained a Priest by the Bishop of *Edinburgh* in the Year 1665. During the five Years he remained at *Saltoun*, he preached twice every Sunday, and once more on one of the Week Days; he catechised three times a Week, so as to examine every Parishioner, old or young, thrice over in the compass of a Year; he went round his Parish, from House to House, instructing, reproving or comforting them, as Occasion required; those that were sick, he visited twice a day; he administered the Sacrament four times a Year, and personally instructed all such, as gave Notice they intended to receive it; all that remained above his own necessary Subsistence (in which he was very frugal) he gave away in Charity. A particular Instance of his Generosity that way, a Person * (who then lived with him, and afterwards was in his Service at *Salisbury*) used to recount: One of his Parishioners had been in Execution for Debt, and came to our Author for some small Relief, who enquired of him, how much would again set him up in his Trade; the Man named the Sum, and he as readily called to his Servant to pay it him. "Sir, said he, it is all we have in the House." "Well, well, said our Author, pay it this poor Man; you do not know the Pleasure there is, in making a Man glad." Thus as he knew the Concerns of his whole Parish, as he treated them with Tenderness and Care, and as he set them a fair Example of every Article of that Duty, which he taught them, he had soon gained the Affections of them all, not excepting the Presbyterians; though he was then the only Man in *Scotland*, that made use of the Prayers in the Liturgy of the Church of *England*.

As his Studies were chiefly bent upon the Pastoral Care, in which he endeavoured to instruct himself from the best Writers, concerning the Constitution of the Primitive Church, during the three first Centuries, among whom St. *Cyprian* was the chief; he observed, that the Bishops, who governed in *Scotland*, though they derived the strongest Arguments for their Order, from these very Books, yet neglected all the Rules prescribed in them. He therefore drew up a Memorial of their Abuses, of which some Relation is given in the History, as likewise of the harsh Treatment he met with, upon that Occasion. However, as this Step had made some noise, and might be imputed to Ambition, or a Desire of becoming popular; he resolved to live in a more retired manner,

* This was a Story commonly well known Mr. *Waste-field*, a Gentleman now living there, at *Salisbury*, and which the Editor learnt from

manner, than he had done hitherto; and abstracting himself from all mixt Company, confining himself wholly to Study and the Duties of his Function, he entred into such an Ascetick Course, as had well nigh put an end to his Life: for his bad Diet, joined to hard Study, had so corrupted the Mass of his Blood, that in two successive Fevers he was given over by the Physicians.

In the Year 1668, as the Government of *Scotland*, both in Church and State, was put into the hands of moderate Men, among whom Sir *Robert Murray* was a principal Leader, our Author was frequently sent for and consulted by them; he was afterwards employed, as one of the chief Managers for the Church, in negotiating the Scheme of an Accommodation, between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Parties; of which a full Account is given in the History. He was, upon that Occasion, introduced to the Dutches of *Hamilton*; who, though her Inclinations lay toward Presbytery, professed her self a Friend to moderate Counsels. By her he was invited, the Year following, to *Hamilton*, where he contracted an Acquaintance with the Regent of the University of *Glasgow*; who conceived such an Esteem for him, that, their Chair of Divinity being vacant, he proposed our Author, as the Person most proper to fill it; and he recommended this in so effectual a manner, that in a few Days after, he brought over to *Hamilton*, the Decree of the University, electing him their Professor. As this Matter had been wholly transacted without his knowledge, so was he, for some time, in suspense what Resolution to take; his Friends were all earnest in persuading him to accept of it, his Parishioners at *Saltoun*, for whom he had a most tender regard, were no less anxious to retain him: At length the Authority of Archbishop *Leightoun* prevailed, and he removed to *Glasgow* in the Year 1669, where he continued four years and a half, in no small Exercise of his Patience. The Presbyterian Zealots hated him, as apprehending that his Schemes of Moderation would, in the end, prove the sure Way of establishing Episcopacy amongst them: The Episcopal Party, on the other hand, could not endure a Man, who was for exempting the Dissenters from their Prosecutions.

Much consulted by the Ministry in *Scotland*.

Is made Professor of Divinity at *Glasgow*.

As his principal Care, in this new Station, was to form just and true Notions in the Students of Divinity; he laid down a Plan for that purpose, to which no other Objection could be offered, but that it seemed to require the Labour of four or five, instead of one Man; yet he never failed executing every part of it, during his Residence at *Glasgow*. On Mondays he made each of the Students, in his turn, explain a Head of Divinity in *Latin*, and propound such *Theses* from it, as he was to defend

His Conduct in that Station.

defend against the rest of the Scholars; and this Exercise concluded with our Author's decision of the Point, in a *Latin Oration*. On Tuesdays he gave them a *Prelection* in the same Language, wherein he purposed, in the course of eight Years, to have gone through a compleat System of Divinity. On Wednesdays, he read them a Lecture, for above an hour, by way of a critical Commentary on St. *Mathew's* Gospel, which he finished before he quitted the Chair. On Thursdays the Exercise was alternate; one Thursday he expounded a *Hebrew Psalm*, comparing it with the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar* and the *English* Version; and the next Thursday, he explained some Portion of the Ritual and Constitution of the Primitive Church, making the Apostolical Canons his Text, and reducing every Article of Practice, under the Head of one or other of those Canons. On Fridays he made each of his Scholars, in course, preach a short Sermon, upon some Text he assigned; and when it was ended, he observed upon any thing, that was defective or amiss, shewing how the Text ought to have been opened and applied. This was the Labour of the Mornings; in the Evenings, after Prayer, he every day read them some Parcel of Scripture, on which he made a short Discourse, and when that was over, he examined into the Progress of their several Studies, encouraging them to propose their difficulties to him, upon the Subjects they were then reading. This he performed, during the whole time the Schools were open; thereby answering the Duty of a Professor, with the Assiduity of a School-Master: and in order to acquit himself with Credit, he was obliged to study hard from Four till Ten in the Morning; the rest of the Day being of necessity allotted, either to the Use of his Pupils, or to hearing the Complaints of the Clergy; who, finding he had an Interest with the Men in Power, were not sparing in their Applications to him.

He undertakes to write the *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*.

In times of Vacation, our Author made frequent Visits to *Hamilton*; and was easily engaged by the Dutches, to undertake the Task, of examining and putting in order all the Papers, that related to her Father's and her Uncle's Ministry; she had kept these carefully together, but had not hitherto found a Person, whom she thought safe to be entrusted with the Perusal of them; yet now she had so entire a Confidence in him, that she put them all into his hands. The Earl (afterwards Duke) of *Lauderdale* no sooner heard that he was compiling *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, than he wrote to *Scotland*, earnestly pressing him to come up to Court, in order to receive such Informations from himself, concerning the Transactions of those Times, as he was able to furnish. Our Author thereupon went to *London*, where he was

received, by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, with such Marks of Confidence, as made it evident, that had he pursued the common Methods of cultivating an Interest, he might have raised himself to a great Fortune: But as he was a constant Enemy to all those Artifices of a Court, whereby Men usually rise, so was he naturally of too frank a Spirit, to bear with the Earl's imperious Temper. All the use therefore he made, of his Freedom of Access, was in negotiating and concluding a Reconciliation, between him and Duke *Hamilton*; who had Assignations given him, on the Revenues of the Crown, in satisfaction of those Pretensions, of which our Author had found authentick Vouchers, among the Papers entrusted to his Care; and the Duke, in return, promised to concur with the Measures of the Court, in the ensuing Parliament. Four Bishopricks in *Scotland* becoming vacant at this time, our Author was offered his Choice of them; but he declined accepting a Station, for which he thought his Years were unfit, in which he foresaw, he should be much entangled, and in all probability would be capable of doing little Good.

He refuses a
Bishoprick
in *Scotland*.

Soon after his Return to *Glasgow*, he married the Lady *Margaret Kennedy*, a Daughter of the Earl of *Cassiles*, who lived in great Intimacy and Friendship with the Dutchess of *Hamilton*: She was a Lady of distinguished Piety and Knowledge; her own Sentiments inclined strongly towards the Presbyterians, with whom she was in high Credit and Esteem; yet was she far from entering into the rigid and narrow Zeal of some of their Leaders. As there was some Disparity in their Ages, that it might remain without dispute, that this Match was wholly owing to Inclination, not to Avarice or Ambition; the Day before their Marriage, our Author delivered the Lady a Deed, whereby he renounced all Pretension to her Fortune, which was very considerable, and must otherwise have fallen into his hands, she herself having no Intention to secure it.

His Marriage with the
Lady *Margaret Kennedy*.

In the Year 1672, Duke *Lauderdale* was sent down, as the King's Commissioner, to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, and our Author was considered as the Person, who had the greatest Influence over him; which was wholly employed in doing good Offices to needy Suitors, and in preventing a Breach, between him and Duke *Hamilton*; for which he was much exclaimed at, by the Party, then opposing the Court, who could have no hopes of prevailing, unless the latter would put himself at their head. About this time, he published his *Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland*; wherein he strongly maintained the Cause of Episcopacy,

Again re-
fuses a Bi-
shoprick,
with the
Promise of
the next
Archbi-
shoprick.

His Favour
at Court.

and the Illegality of Resistance, merely on account of Religion. This was thought, in that juncture, such a publick Service, that he was again courted to accept of a Bishoprick, with the Promise of the next Archbishoprick, that should be void ; but he still persisted in his Refusal.

In 1673, he was obliged to take another Journey to *London*, in order to obtain a Licence, for publishing his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* ; he went likewise with a full design, to break off from farther meddling in Matters of State ; he saw that Popery was at bottom the prevailing Interest at Court, and that the Sacramental Test, whereby the Duke of *York*, the Lord *Clifford* and other Papists in Employment had been excluded, was a meer Artifice of King *Charles*, to obtain Money for carrying on the War that Summer with *Holland*. He suspected that the Designs of the Court were both corrupt and desperate ; he therefore used all the Freedom, he decently could, with the Duke and Dutches of *Lauderdale* ; he pointed out to them the Errors of their Management in *Scotland*, and the ill Effects it would have, both upon themselves, and upon the whole Nation ; and when he saw no disposition to rectify their Measures, he rejected all Offers of Preferment made to himself ; though he could not decline being sworn one of the King's Chaplains, which, as it was a Post of no profit, so was it confer'd upon him at his Majesty's express Nomination, upon having heard him preach. As Duke *Lauderdale's* Enemies were soon informed of the Frankness, with which he had remonstrated to his Grace, against the Methods of Administration, he was then pursuing ; and as they knew his Friendship and Attachment to the *Hamilton* Family, they industriously magnified his Credit in *Scotland*, to such a degree, that his Majesty often sent for him in private, and the Duke of *York* much oftener. He made no other use of the high Favour, shewn him by the latter, than first to introduce Dr. *Stillingfleet* to him ; and afterwards to propose a Conference, to be held in his Royal Highness's presence, between them two and the chief of the *Romish* Priests : though there was little Reason at that time to hope, that any Arguments would be able to effect the Duke's Conversion, and the very Proposal of such a Dispute, was in a great measure renouncing all Pretensions to Preferment. He likewise sought no other Advantage, from the great Freedom with which the King received him, than only to awaken in that Prince a Sense of Religion, and to rouse him from that Lethargy of Vice and Indolence, in which his natural great Talents seemed wholly buried. This is so much the reverse of the Conduct of aspiring Clergymen, it lies so directly out of the road to Power, Riches,

Riches, or Dignity, that I hope it may acquit him from all Imputation of Ambition.

As soon as the *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* were licensed by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*; which was the longer delayed, because the King and many of the Ministers were desirous to read them in Manuscript; our Author returned to *Scotland*: And on his Arrival at *Edinburgh*, finding the Animosity, between the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Lauderdale*, risen to a height not to be composed, he retired to his Station at *Glasgow*, and refused to stir from thence all that Winter. This, joined to the Jealousy, the Favour shewn him at *London* had raised, drew upon him a Storm, which pursued him for many Years after, with the utmost Violence. The Measures of the Court proving unsuccessful in Parliament, Duke *Lauderdale* threw the Load of his own Miscarriage upon our Author, whom he represented as the Cause and Instrument, under hand, of all the Opposition he had met with. This Accusation made it incumbent on him, once more to return to Court in the Year 1674. The King received him coldly, and ordered his Name to be struck out of the List of Chaplains; yet, at the Duke of *York's* Intreaty, he admitted him to offer, what he thought proper in his own Justification: He thereupon gave his Majesty so clear and satisfactory an Account of his Conduct, appealing for the Truth of all his Assertions to Duke *Hamilton*, that in the end the King seemed convinced of his Innocence, and ordered him home to *Glasgow*. But the Duke of *York* dissuaded him from returning thither, 'till his Peace should be entirely made; for he assured him, that otherwise he would be clap'd up in Prison, and detained there perhaps as long as the same Interest prevailed at Court; his Royal Highness likewise used his utmost Endeavours to have reconciled him with Duke *Lauderdale*; but that he found impracticable: the latter insisting, that our Author should abandon his best Friends, and discover all the Secrets, he had hitherto been in; and the other, as firmly persisting in his Adherence to those, who had shewn him Friendship, or reposed a Confidence in him.

Thus it became necessary either, by going back to *Scotland*, to put himself in the power of Enemies, who were not likely to treat him with any regard to Justice or his own Innocence, or else to resign his Professor's Chair, and settle in *England*. He chose the latter, if it may be called a Choice; and sought an Establishment in *London*: in which he met with all the opposition, the Ministry could give him; particularly in one Church (as he himself relates it in the History) where the Electors were disposed

His Breach
with Duke
Lauderdale.

Is forced to
quit his Pro-
fessorship at
Glasgow.

disposed to have chosen him, had they not been deterred by a very severe Message, in the King's Name. Though the being thus in a manner turn'd a-drift, could not at the time but seem a Misfortune, yet he ever spoke of it as the happiest Event of his Life. He was but thirty Years old, and though the Charms of Ambition had not that Influence over him, which is usual at those Years; yet he thought it a signal Blessing, that any Accident had disentangled him, from the Snares of so corrupt a Court, in whose Service he had been so far engaged, that he could not otherwise have been easily delivered from them.

Refuses a
good Bene-
fice at
London.

The Situation he was now in, might surely have excused his embracing the first Provision that offered; yet he could not be tempted by it, to overlook the nicest Punctilio's of Justice or Honour; resolved rather to suffer the utmost personal Difficulties, than purchase Preferment at the least Expence of his Character. He therefore generously declined accepting the Living of *St. Giles's Cripplegate*, which about this time was vacant*; it was in the Gift of the Dean and Chapter of *St. Paul's*, who had expressed some Inclination to bestow it upon Dr. *Fowler* (afterwards Bishop of *Gloucester*) but being made acquainted with the Circumstances of our Author, and the Hardships he had undergone, they sent him an Offer of the Benefice: He thanked them for the Favour, but said, that as he had been informed of their Intention of conferring it upon so worthy a Divine, he did not think himself at liberty to take it. After this, in the Year 1675, he was recommended by the Lord *Holles* to the Friendship of Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Master of the Rolls, by whom he was appointed Preacher to the Chappel there: and though the Court sent first a Bishop, and then Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, to persuade Sir *Harbottle* to dismiss him, as one highly unacceptable to the King, yet he persisted in the Nomination he had made. By this means, our Author obtained a Settlement in *London*, in which he continued above nine Years; he was soon after chosen a Lecturer at *St. Clement's*, and grew to be one of the most followed Preachers in Town. His Sermons had not in them the studied Phrases or the rounded Periods, which were then too much in vogue; but there was a Force in his Reasoning, a Warmth in his Expression, and a Dignity in his Manner, joined to a Gracefulness in his Person, which commanded Attention; and as the Heart always spoke in him, so it seldom failed of speaking to the Hearts of his Audience.

Is made
Chaplain at
the Rolls, and
Lecturer at
St. Clement's.

As

* This Fact Mr. *Mackney*, a Gentleman now living at *Salisbury*, assured me he had from the Bishop's own Mouth. And the same was confirmed

to me by the Reverend Mr. *John Craig*, who lived with Dr. *Burnet* at the time when it happened.

As the Apprehensions of Popery grew daily stronger, the most eminent Divines of the Church of *England* signalized themselves in the *Romish* Controversy: Nothing of that kind was more taken notice of, than the *Account* our Author printed, in the Year 1676, of a Conference, which himself and Dr. *Stillingsfleet* were engaged in with *Coleman* and the principal of the *Romish* Priests: This made him considered, as one who stood in the very Front of the Opposition to Popery. His Reputation, upon that account, was soon after raised to the highest pitch, by that great Performance, *The History of the Reformation*; in which, as he took a Method wholly new, so was it universally applauded. The first Volume lay near a Year, after it was finished, for the Perusal and Correction of Friends; so that it was not published 'till the Year 1679, when the Affair of the *Popish Plot* was in Agitation. This Book procured our Author an Honour, never before or since paid to any Writer; he had the Thanks of both Houses of Parliament, with a Desire that he would prosecute his Undertaking and compleat that valuable Work. Accordingly, in less than two Years after, he printed the Second Volume, which met with the same general Approbation, as the First: and such was his readiness in composing, that he wrote the Historical Part, in the compass of Six Weeks, after all his Materials were laid in order.

Writes the
History of the
Reformation.

As our Author, though he had at this time no Parochial Cure, refused not his Attendance to any sick Person, who desired it; he was sent for, amongst others, to one, who had been engaged in a criminal Amour with *Wilmot* Earl of *Rochester*: The manner he treated her in, during her Illness, gave that Lord a great Curiosity of being acquainted with him: Whereupon, for a whole Winter, in a Conversation of at least one Evening in a Week, he went over all those Topicks with him, upon which *Scepticks* and Men of loose Morals are wont to attack the Christian Religion. The Effect this had, first in convincing that Earl's Judgment, and afterwards in making him a sincere Penitent, is so fully related in the Account of it published in 1681, that it will be needless to add any thing here upon that Subject.

His Conversion of
Wilmot Earl of
Rochester.

During a great part of the Time, when the Enquiry into the *Popish Plot* was on foot, our Author was frequently sent for by King *Charles*, and consulted by him as to the State of the Nation: His Majesty made him an Offer of the Bishoprick of *Chichester* then vacant, provided he would *entirely come into his Interests*. He answered " That he did not know what might be
" meant by that Expression; and he was unwilling to suffer
" any one, even to deceive themselves by what he should say.
" He knew the Oaths, he was to take upon such an occasion,
VOL. II. 8 M " these

Refuses the
Bishoprick
of Chichester.

“ these he would religiously observe ; and desired to be excused
 “ from any further Engagements or general Promises, which
 “ were liable to different Constructions.” But if his free Access
 to the King did not procure him that Preferment, which very
 few with the same Opportunities would have mis’d ; it engaged
 him to write his Majesty such a Letter, as may perhaps offend the
 Delicacy of some, yet in Justice to his Memory ought not to be
 suppress’d.

*May it please YOUR MAJESTY **,

29 January 1678.

His Letter
to the King.

“ **I** Have not presumed to trouble Your Majesty for some
 “ Months, not having any thing worthy your Time to offer ;
 “ and now I choose rather this way, since the infinite Duty I
 “ owe you puts me under Restraints in Discourse, which I can-
 “ not so easily overcome. What I shall now suggest to your
 “ Majesty, I do it as in the presence of Almighty God, to whom
 “ I know I must give an Account of all my Actions: I therefore
 “ beg you will be graciously pleased to accept this most faithful
 “ Zeal of your poor Subject, who has no other Design in it, than
 “ your Good, and the Discharge of his own Conscience.

“ I must then first assure Your Majesty, I never discovered
 “ any thing like a Design of raising Rebellion, among all those
 “ with whom I converse ; but I shall add, on the other hand,
 “ that most People grow fullen, and are highly dissatisfied with
 “ You, and distrustful of You. Formerly Your Ministers, or his
 “ Royal Highness, bore the blame of things that were ungrateful ;
 “ but now it falls upon Yourself, and Time, which cures most
 “ other Distempers, encreases this. Your last Speech makes ma-
 “ ny think, it will be easy to fetch up Petitions from all Parts
 “ of *England* : This is now under Consultation, and is not yet
 “ determined ; but I find so many inclined to promote them,
 “ that as far as I can judge, it will go that way. If Your Ma-
 “ jesty calls a new Parliament, it is believed, that those who
 “ have promoted the Petitions will be generally elected ; for the in-
 “ ferious sort of People are much set upon them, and make their
 “ Judgment of Men, from their Behaviour in that Matter. The
 “ soberer sort of those, who are ill pleased at Your Conduct, reckon
 “ that either the State of Your Affairs beyond Sea, or of Your
 “ Exchequer at home, will e’er long necessitate Your meeting
 “ Your Parliament ; and that then things must be rectified : and
 “ therefore they use their utmost Endeavours to keep all quiet.
 “ If Your Majesty has a Session in *April*, for supporting Your
 “ Allies,

* The Original of this Letter is now in the Editor’s hand, wrote by the Bishop, with a Memorandum how it was delivered, and when : And how it was received.

“ Allies, I find it is resolved by many, That the Money necessary
“ to maintain Your Alliances, shall be put into the hands of
“ Commissioners, to issue it as they shall answer to the two
“ Houses: and these will be so chosen, that as it is likely, that
“ the Persons will be very unacceptable to You, so they being
“ trusted with the Money, will be as a Council of State, to con-
“ troul all Your Councils. And as to Your Exchequer, I do
“ not find any Inclination to consider Your Necessity, unless
“ many things be done to put them into another Disposition,
“ than I can observe in them. The Things that will be de-
“ manded, will not be of so easy a Digestion, as that I can ima-
“ gine You will ever be brought to them, or indeed that it will
“ be reasonable or honourable for You to grant them. So that,
“ in this Disorder of Affairs, it is easy to propose Difficulties, but
“ not so easy to find out that, which may remove them.

“ There is one thing, and indeed the only thing, in which
“ all honest Men agree, as that which can easily extricate You
“ out of all Your Troubles; it is not the Change of a Minister,
“ or of a Council, a new Alliance, or a Session of Parliament,
“ but it is (and suffer me, Sir, to speak it with a more than ordi-
“ nary Earnestness) a Change in Your own Heart, and in Your
“ Course of Life. And now, Sir, if You do not with Indigna-
“ tion throw this Paper from You, permit me (with all the Hu-
“ mility of a Subject prostrate at your Feet) to tell you, That all
“ the Distrust Your People have of You, all the Necessities You
“ now are under, all the Indignation of Heaven, that is upon
“ You, and appears in the defeating all Your Councils, flow
“ from this, That You have not feared nor served God, but have
“ given yourself up to so many sinful Pleasures. Your Majesty
“ may perhaps justly think, that many of those that oppose You
“ have no regard for Religion, but the Body of Your People
“ consider it more than you can imagine. I do not desire Your
“ Majesty to put on a hypocritical Shew of Religion, as *Henry* the
“ Third of *France* did, hoping thereby to have weathered the Storms
“ of those Times. No! that would be soon seen through, and as
“ it would provoke God more, so it would encrease Jealousies. No!
“ Sir, it must be real, and the Evidences of it signal: All those about
“ You who are the occasions of Sin, chiefly the Women, must be
“ removed, and Your Court be reformed. Sir, if You will turn
“ You to Religion sincerely and seriously, You shall quickly find
“ a serene Joy of another nature possess your Mind, than what
“ arises from gross Pleasures; God would be at peace with You,
“ and direct and bless all Your Counsels; all good Men would
“ presently turn to You, and ill Men would be ashamed, and
“ have

“ have a thin Party. For I speak it knowingly, there is nothing
 “ has so alienated the Body of Your People from You, as what
 “ they have heard of Your Life, which disposes them to give an
 “ easy Belief to all other scandalous Reports.

“ Sir, this Counsel is now almost as necessary for Your Affairs
 “ as it is for Your Soul; and though You have highly offended
 “ that God, who has been infinitely merciful to You, in pre-
 “ serving You at *Worcester* Fight, and during Your long Exile,
 “ and who brought You back so miraculously, yet he is still good
 “ and gracious; and will, upon Your sincere Repentance, and
 “ Change of Life, pardon all Your Sins and receive You into his
 “ Favour: Oh, Sir, what if You should die in the midst of all
 “ Your Sins? at the great Tribunal, where You must appear,
 “ there will be no regard to the Crown You now wear; but it
 “ will aggravate Your Punishment, that being in so eminent a
 “ Station, You have so much dishonoured God. Sir, I hope,
 “ You believe there is a God, and a Life to come, and that Sin
 “ shall not pass unpunished. If Your Majesty will reflect upon
 “ Your having now been twenty Years upon the Throne, and in
 “ all that time how little You have glorified God, how much
 “ You have provoked him, and that Your ill Example has drawn
 “ so many after You to Sin, that Men are not now ashamed of
 “ their Vices, You cannot but think, that God is offended with
 “ You: And if You consider how ill Your Councils at home,
 “ and Your Wars abroad have succeeded, and how much
 “ You have lost the Hearts of Your People, You may reasonably
 “ conclude, this is of God, who will not turn away his Anger
 “ from You, till You turn to him with Your whole Heart.

“ I am no Enthusiast, either in Opinion or Temper; yet I
 “ acknowledge, I have been so press'd in my Mind to make
 “ this Address to You, that I could have no ease till I did it:
 “ And since you were pleased to direct me to send You, through
 “ Mr. *Chiffinch*'s hands, such Informations as I thought fit to
 “ convey to You, I hope Your Majesty will not be offended, if
 “ I have made this use of that Liberty. I am sure I can have no
 “ other Design in it, but Your Good; for I know very well,
 “ this is not the Method to serve any Ends of my own. I there-
 “ fore throw myself at Your Feet, and once more, in the Name
 “ of God, whose Servant I am, do most humbly beseech Your
 “ Majesty, to consider of what I have written, and not to de-
 “ spise it for the Meanness of the Person, who has sent it; but
 “ to apply Yourself to Religion in earnest: And I dare assure
 “ You of many Blessings both Temporal and Spiritual in this
 “ Life, and of eternal Glory in the Life to come: But if You
 “ will

“ will go on in Your Sins, the Judgments of God will probably
 “ pursue You in this Life, so that You may be a Proverb to After-
 “ Ages; and after this Life, You will be for ever miserable; and
 “ I, Your poor Subject that now am, shall be a Witness against
 “ You in the great Day, that I gave You this free and faithful
 “ Warning.

“ Sir, no Person alive knows, that I have written to You to
 “ this purpose; and I chose this Evening, hoping that Your
 “ Exercise to-morrow may put You into a Disposition to weigh
 “ it more carefully. I hope Your Majesty will not be offended
 “ with this sincere Expression of my Duty to You; for I durst
 “ not have ventured on it, if I had not thought myself bound
 “ to it, both by the Duty I owe to God, and that which will
 “ ever oblige me to be,

“ *May it please YOUR MAJESTY, &c.*”

This is the Letter, of which some mention is made in Page 507, of the First Volume of the History, as likewise of the effect it produced: It conveys to the Reader a much stronger Idea of the Author's Character, than any Description can give; and I presume, it will scarce be thought a Step, which any Clergyman would have taken, who aimed more at Preferment than the strict Discharge of his Duty.

The unprejudiced Part our Author acted, during the whole Time that the Nation was inflamed with the Discovery of the *Popish Plot*; his candid Endeavours to have saved the Lives of *Staley* and the Lord *Stafford*, both zealous Papists; his temperate Conduct in regard to the Exclusion of the Duke of *York*, and the Scheme of a Prince Regent, proposed by him, in lieu of that Exclusion; are all sufficiently related in the History: This only may be farther observed, that his Behaviour, in this critical Juncture, was so impartial, as to displease both the Court and the Country Party; which, when Animosities run high, will always be the Fate of those few, who follow the Dictates of their own Judgment and Conscience, without entring into the concerted Measures of any one Set of Men. A Character as valuable as it is rare.

In 1682, when the Administration was wholly changed, in favour of the Duke of *York*, the Courtiers thought themselves at liberty to rail at our Author; as if his Writings and Sermons against Popery had been only calculated, to facilitate the Project of the Exclusion. Yet so little did the Court regard the Reflections which were thrown upon him, that it being likely the Mastership of the *Temple* would be soon vacant, the Earls of *Halifax* and *Clarendon* obtained

His firm Adherence to his Friends.

the King's Promise of it for him: Upon which he was again sent for by His Majesty, and received with peculiar Marks of Favour and Kindness. But these were soon withdrawn, and he himself waved the Promise made him; when he found it was expected, he should break off Correspondence with some of his best Friends. And as, during the Debates concerning the Exclusion, he had lost all his Interest with Lord *Shaftesbury* and the Country Party, on account of his Intimacy with the Earl of *Halifax*, and his Endeavours to justify, or at least excuse the Earl's Conduct in that Affair: So now he chose rather to sacrifice all the Advantages, he might reap from that Lord's great Power at Court, than to abandon the Society of the Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Russel* and Sir *William Jones*. As he was, at this time, much resorted to by Persons of all Ranks and Parties, in order to avoid the necessity of returning Visits, he built a *Laboratory*, and for above a Year went through a Course of Chemical Experiments; which, as it served to enlarge his Philosophical Notions, and was in itself an useful, as well as an innocent Amusement, so it furnish'd him with a proper Excuse for staying much at home. The Earl (soon after created Marquis) of *Halifax* complains of this Retirement in a Letter, which I shall here insert.

“ S I R, *

October 16, 1682.

“ **T**HOUGH I was tender in advising you to wave any thing
 “ you might think advantageous for you, yet since you
 “ have thought fit to do it, I am at liberty to approve it: And
 “ I only desire you will not make too hasty Resolutions concern-
 “ ing yourself, and not be carried so far by the sudden Motions
 “ of a self-denying Generosity, as to shut the Door against those
 “ Advantages, which you may expect with Justice, and may re-
 “ ceive without Indecency. Only a little Patience is requisite,
 “ and in the mean time no greater Restraint upon your Beha-
 “ viour and Conversation, than every prudent Man, under your
 “ Character and Circumstances would chuse voluntarily to im-
 “ pose on himself. For what concerns me, or any Part I might
 “ have, in endeavouring to serve you, I had rather you should
 “ hear it from any body, than from myself; and though you
 “ should never hear it from any body, I expect from your Justice
 “ you should suppose it. Your withdrawing yourself from your
 “ old Friends, on this corrupted side of the Town, is that which
 “ I can neither approve for my own sake, nor for yours: For
 “ besides many other Objections, such a total Separation will
 “ make you by degrees think less equally, both of Men and
 “ Things,

* The original Letter is in the Editor's hands.

“ Things, than you have hitherto professed to do, in what re-
 “ lates to the Publick. I have no Jealousies of this kind for my
 “ self in particular, being resolved, at what distance soever, to
 “ deserve your believing me unalterably

“ *Your faithful humble Servant,*

HALIFAX.

Not long after this, a Living worth three hundred Pounds a-
 year, which was in the Gift of the Earl of *Essex*, becoming void,
 he offered the Presentation to our Author, upon condition he
 would promise still to reside in *London*; adding, “ That in the
 “ present Posture of Affairs, his Friends could not permit him to
 “ be absent from the Town.” He thereupon told the Earl,
 “ That in case he was presented to a Cure of Souls, he must
 “ think himself under such an Obligation to Residence, as
 “ no other Considerations could dispense with.” And for this
 Reason the Benefice was given to another.

Refuses a
 Living on
 the Terms
 of not re-
 siding there.

In the Year 1683, when the *Rye Plot* broke out, and the
 Earl of *Essex* and Lord *Russel* were taken into Custody, all
 who knew his long and strict Friendship with those Great Men,
 concluded that he would have been involved in the same Accu-
 sation. But as it had been his constant Principle, that Resistance
 was not lawful, on account of single Acts of Injustice or Oppres-
 sion, unless the very Basis of the Constitution was struck at; so
 in order to avoid being drawn into Secrets, he could not approve,
 he had declared to all those he convers'd with, that 'till he should
 be convinced that Resistance was warrantable, he should think it
 his Duty to disclose all Consultations, which he was made privy
 to, tending to that End. By this Declaration, his most intimate
 Friends, when they entered into Cabals of this nature, were
 sufficiently warned against communicating their Designs to him.
 And this now proved his Security.

How he
 avoided be-
 ing involved
 in any Plots.

His Behaviour at the Trial of the Lord *Russel*; his Attendance
 on him in Prison, and afterwards upon the Scaffold, at the time
 of his Execution; the Examination he underwent before the
 Council, in relation to that Lord's Dying Speech, and the Bold-
 ness with which he there undertook to vindicate his Memory;
 as also the Indignation the Court express'd against him, upon
 that occasion; are all fully set forth in the History. Thither I
 must likewise refer the Reader, for an Account of the short Tour
 our Author took to *Paris*, and of the unusual Civilities there
 shewn him, by the King of *France*'s express Direction. His
 Friends at Court would indeed have persuaded him to a longer
 stay there; they apprehended great Severities were preparing for
 him

him at home, which they represented in the strongest Light: But neither their Intreaties, nor the Menaces of his Enemies could prevent his returning to *London*. He said, "That as he was
 "conscious of no Crime, which could be truly laid to his charge,
 "so he would not alarm himself, with the continual Apprehen-
 "sion of what false Witnesses might invent against him: That
 "how fatal soever his Return might prove, he could not think
 "himself at liberty to be absent from the Duties of his Function."

Is dismissed
 from his
 Lecture, and
 from the
 Rolls.

This Objection was indeed soon after removed; for he was, that very Year, discharged from his Lecture at *St. Clement's*, in pursuance of the King's Mandate to Dr. *Hascard*, Rector of that Parish: And in *December* 1684, by an extraordinary Order from the Lord Keeper *North* to Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, he was forbid preaching any more in the Chapel at the *Rolls*.

His Travels
 beyond Sea.

Thus at the Time of King *Charles's* Death, he was happily disengaged from all those Ties, which might have rendered his Stay in *England* any part of his Duty. Upon King *James's* Accession to the Crown therefore, he desired his leave to go out of the Kingdom; which the Marquis of *Halifax* easily obtained, the Court regarding him as one, whom they had no prospect of gaining, and whom it was their Interest therefore to keep out of the way. He first went to *Paris*, where he lived in great Retirement, in order to avoid being involved in any of the Conspiracies, which the Duke of *Monmouth's* Friends were then forming in his favour. When that Rebellion was at an end, having contracted an Acquaintance with Brigadier *Stouppe*, a Protestant Officer then in the *French* Service, he was prevailed upon to take a Journey with him into *Italy*; though many of his Friends thought it a bold Venture, considering how remarkably he had signalized himself, in the Controversy with the *Romish* Church. But as he was not himself of a Constitution, very subject to Fear, so the Advice of the Lord *Mountague*, who was then at *Paris*, encouraged him to embrace this Opportunity of seeing *Rome*.

The Relation of these Travels is so amply given, in *The Letters* our Author published in the Year 1687, that there will be no occasion to add any thing here concerning them; except as to one Particular, which may serve as a Proof, both of the great Regard paid him abroad, and of his own uniform Zeal for Toleration. He was much caressed and esteemed by the principal Men of *Geneva*; He saw they insisted strongly upon their *Consent of Doctrine**, which they required all those to subscribe, who were admitted into Orders. He therefore employed all the Eloquence he was Master

* This is a Formulary commonly known by the Name of the *Consensus*.

Master of, and all the Credit he had acquired amongst them, to obtain an Alteration in this Practice: He represented to them the Folly and ill Consequence of such Subscriptions; whereby the honestest and worthiest Men were frequently reduced to the Necessity of quitting their Native Country, and seeking a Subsistence elsewhere; whilst others of less Virtue were induced to submit, and comply against their Conscience, and even begin their Ministry with mental Equivocations. The Warmth, with which he expressed himself on this Head, was such, and such was the weight of his Character, that the Clergy at *Geneva* were afterwards released from these Subscriptions, and only left subject to Punishment or Censure, in case of writing or preaching against the established Doctrine.

After a Tour through the Southern Parts of *France*, then under Persecution upon the Repeal of the Edict of *Nantes*, through *Italy*, *Switzerland*, and many Places of *Germany*, our Author came to *Utrecht* in the Year 1686, with an Intention to have settled in some quiet Retreat within the seven Provinces: But at his Arrival there he found Letters, from some of the principal Ministers of State at the *Hague*, intreating him to fix upon no Settlement, 'till he should have seen the Prince and Princess of *Orange*. When he was first admitted to an Audience of them, he perceived that his Friends in *England*, especially the Marquis of *Halifax* and the Lady *Russel*, had given him such a Character, as not only ensured him a most gracious Reception, but soon after procured him an entire Confidence. When he was made acquainted with the Secret of their Councils, he advised the putting the Fleet of *Holland* immediately into such Order, as might give Courage to their Friends in *Great Britain*, in case Matters there should come to Extremities; he prevailed upon both their Highnesses, to write a Letter to King *James*, in favour of the Bishop of *London*, who was then under Suspension; he ventured to propose to the Princess, the explaining herself, upon that nice but necessary Point, of the Share the Prince was to expect in the Government, in case the *British* Crown should devolve on her; and when it was determined to send over Mr. *Dyckvelt*, as Ambassador to *England*, our Author was employed to draw his secret Instructions, of which the rough Draught is still extant, in his own hand.

The high Favour now shewn him at the *Hague*, alarmed King *James*, who was much incensed against him, for the Account he had printed of his Travels; in which he had so strongly displayed the Miseries, those Nations groan under, where Popery and Arbitrary Power prevail, that it seemed to have a sensible Effect on the People of *England*. The King wrote two severe

Is well received by the Prince and Princess of *Orange*.

King *James* insists on his being forbid that Court.

Letters against him to the Princess of *Orange*; and when the Marquis *d'Albeville* was sent Envoy to *Holland*, he had Orders to enter upon no other Matter of Treaty, 'till our Author was first forbid the Court there; which, at his Importunity, was done: but he continued to be trusted and employed in the same manner as before; *Halewyn*, *Fagel*, and the rest of the *Dutch* Ministers consulting him daily.

Is prosecuted in
Scotland and
in England
for High-
Treason.

The Report, that he was then upon the point of marrying a considerable Fortune at the *Hague*, having reached the *English* Court; in hopes to divert this, a Prosecution of High-Treason was set on foot against him in *Scotland*. Before notice of this Prosecution came to the *States*, he had been naturalized in order to his Marriage: When therefore he undertook, in a Letter to the Earl of *Middletoun*, to answer all the Matters laid to his charge, he added, *That being now naturalized in Holland, his Allegiance during his stay there, was transferred from his Majesty to the States*. This Expression was immediately laid hold of. So that dropping the former Prosecution, they now proceeded against him for *these Words*, as guilty of High-Treason; and a Sentence of Outlawry pass'd upon him. *D'Albeville* thereupon, first demanded him to be delivered up; and when he saw this Demand was like to prove ineffectual, he insisted that he should be banished the seven Provinces, in pursuance of an Article in the last Treaty between the two Nations, which related to *Rebels* and *Fugitives*, though it could not be pretended that he came within either of these Descriptions. The *States*, in their Answer to the *British* Envoy's Memorial, said, "That as
" *Dr. Burnet*, by Naturalization, was become a Subject of their
" own, they could not banish him, unless some Crime was le-
" gally proved upon him; if his *Britannick* Majesty had any
" thing to lay to his charge, they would compel him to answer
" it; and if his Judges pronounced him guilty, they would punish
" him according to their Laws; this was all that in Reason or
" Justice could be demanded of them." As this Answer put
an end to all farther Application to the *States*, so it gave occasion to some unwarrantable Designs of seizing his Person, and even destroying him, if he could not be taken. Of this our Author had notice given him from several hands, and one in particular, by the following Letter from Captain *Baxter*, a Gentleman of unquestioned Honour and Reputation, whose Father was at that time Steward to the Duke of *Ormond*'s Estate.

The *States*
refuse to de-
liver him up.

Designs to
seize upon
him.

Dear

" Dear Sir, *

Hague, the 14th of March, 1688.

" **T**Hough I have no Acquaintance with you, yet the Esteem
 " I have for your Character, and the Benefit I have re-
 " ceived by your Works, obliges me to tell you the Proceedings
 " against you in *England*. I happened the other Day to go into
 " the Secretary's Office, where I saw an Order for Three Thou-
 " sand Pound, to be paid the Person, that shall destroy you.
 " I could hardly believe my Eyes, that I saw the Paper, it
 " seemed so strange to me: This I communicated in private to
 " my Lord *Offory*, who told me, it was true, for he had it from
 " Prince *George*. My Lord desired me to be private in the thing,
 " 'till I came to *Holland*; and then, if I pleased, to tell you of
 " it. Sir, I am your Friend, and my Advice to you is, to take
 " an especial Care of yourself, for no doubt but that great Sum-
 " will meet with a mercenary Hand. Sir, you shall never want
 " a Friend, where I am.--"

Some Months before this, our Author had married Mrs. *Mary* His Mar-
riage to
Mrs. Scott.
Scott, a *Dutch* Lady of a large Fortune and noble Extraction.
 Her Ancestor, on the Father's side, was a younger Brother of the Fa-
 mily of *Bucclough*, who, upon a Quarrel in *Scotland*, went over to
Holland; his Son was a Brigadier-General at the Siege of *Middle-*
burgh in the Year 1574, and afterwards Deputy for the Province
 of *Zealand* in the Assembly of the *States General*; his Grandson,
Apollonius Scott, who was this Lady's Grandfather, was Presi-
 dent of the high Court of Justice at the *Hague*, and by Marriage
 allied to the noblest Houses in *Zealand*: On the Mother's side,
 who was a *De Ruyter*, she was related to the principal Families
 in *Guelder*. With these Advantages of Birth, she had those of an
 extremely agreeable Person; she was well skilled in all sorts of
 Musick; drew and painted in great perfection; she spoke *Dutch*,
English, and *French* equally well; she had a fine Understanding,
 and a Sweetness of Temper, that charmed all her Acquaintance;
 her Knowledge in Matters of Religion was such, as might rather
 be expected from a Student in Divinity, than from a Lady. In
 her, our Author, during the whole Course of her Life, found a
 religious, discreet and loving Friend, a dutiful Wife, a prudent
 Mistress of his Family, a careful Manager of his Affairs, and a
 tender Mother of his Children.

The important share our Author had in the whole Conduct His Con-
duct at the
Revolution.
 of the Revolution; his seasonable Counsels in every Step of that
 great

* This Letter is in the Editor's hands, with the knowledge of the Person who wrote it, and of
 Bishop's own Memorandum how he came to the his Character.

great Affair; the early Notice he gave of it to the Court of *Hanover*, intimating that the Success of this Enterprize must naturally end, in an Entail of the *British* Crown upon that Illustrious House; the unreserved Confidence reposed in him, both by the Prince of *Orange*, and by the Malecontents in *England*; the Assistance he gave in drawing that Prince's Declaration, and the other publick Papers, written to justify the Undertaking; his Courage in bearing a share in the Hazard of that Expedition, notwithstanding the peculiar Circumstances of Danger he was in; the Association proposed and drawn by him at *Exeter*; the good Offices he endeavoured to do King *James*, while detained at *Faversham* in the hands of a rude Multitude; the Care he took to protect the Papists and Jacobites, from the Insults of the Army and Populace, when the *Dutch* Troops arrived at *London*; his faithful Adherence to the Interests of the Princess of *Orange*, in the Affair of the Settlement of the Crown: These, as well as the other signal Services, our Author rendered his Country, when the Abdication of King *James* made it requisite to establish a new Government, are too fully related in the History, to need any farther mention here.

Declines the
Offer of the
Bishoprick
of *Durham*.

Dr. *Crew*, then Bishop of *Durham*, had acted such a Part in the High Commission in King *James's* Reign, that he thought it would be no ill Composition, if he could indemnify his Person at the expence of his Spiritual Preferment; which he purposed to resign to our Author, trusting to his Generosity for an Allowance of a Thousand Pounds a-year out of the Episcopal Revenue, during his Life: He sent the Lord *Mountague** with this Proposal to the Prince of *Orange*; but when the Message was carried to our Author, he absolutely refused to accept of the See upon those Terms, which he thought might justly be construed criminal. He was indeed so little anxious after his own Preferment, that when the Bishoprick of *Salisbury* became void, as it did soon after King *William* and Queen *Mary* were established on the Throne, he solicited for it, in favour of his old Friend, Dr. *Lloyd* then Bishop of *St. Asaph*: The King answered him in a cold way, *That he had another Person in view*; and the next Day he himself was nominated to that See.

When the famous Bill, for declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown, was brought into the House of Lords, as our Author had first intimated to the House of *Hanover* the Probability of a Limitation in their favour, King *William*, in preference to all his Ministers,

* This is taken from the Bishop's MS. Notes; Secretary of State, in King *William's* Reign, and is confirmed by a Letter, from one who was

Ministers, appointed him to be the Person, that should propose the naming the Dutchess (afterwards Electress) of *Brunswick*, next in Succession after the Princess of *Denmark* and her Issue. Though this Settlement did not then take effect, otherwise than as it seemed imply'd in the Exclusion of all Papists; and was not explicitly established till after the Duke of *Gloucester's* Death in 1701, (when our Author had the farther Merit of being Chairman of the Committee, to whom the Bill was referred) yet it made that illustrious *House* from thenceforth consider him, as one firmly attach'd to their Interests, and with whom they might therefore enter into the strictest Confidence. Accordingly, from that time her late Royal Highness the Princess *Sophia* began a Correspondence with him, which lasted to her Death, and of which above fifty Letters are extant, all written in her own hand. Two of these I shall here insert, the one written in 1689, soon after the Proposal of naming her in the Act of Succession had been made; the other in 1701, when that Nomination took effect.

His Services to, and his Correspondence with the House of Hanover.

“ *Monsieur,* *

“ **C**omme j'ai toujours eu
 “ une Estime tres particu-
 “ liere, pour le Merite de votre
 “ Reverence, & que j'ai cru la
 “ connoitre par ses Ecrits, V.R.
 “ pourra aisement juger par la,
 “ combien les Marques de votre
 “ Amitie m'ont été agreables. Je
 “ vous assure, que je les estime
 “ tres particulierement, & que je
 “ suis fort reconnoissante de la
 “ Ferveur, qu'il vous a plu te-
 “ moigner pour mes Interests, ce
 “ qui est une aussi grande Sa-
 “ tisfaction pour ma Personne,
 “ que si vos bonnes Intentions
 “ eussent mieux réussi. Car je
 “ ne suis plus d'une Age à pen-
 “ ser à d'autre Royaume, que
 “ celui des Cieux; & pour mes
 “ Fils, ils doivent toujours estre
 “ dediez au Roy & au Royaume.

“ Mon-

“ *My Lord,*

“ **A**S I ever had a most
 “ particular Esteem for
 “ your Merit, and have fancied
 “ myself acquainted with you
 “ by your Writings, you may
 “ easily judge by that, how a-
 “ greeable the Marks you have
 “ given me of your Friendship
 “ must have been. I assure you
 “ I esteem them in a very par-
 “ ticular manner, and am very
 “ grateful for the Warmth, you
 “ have been pleased to testify
 “ for my Interests, which is as
 “ great a personal Satisfaction to
 “ me, as if your good Intentions
 “ had been more successful. For
 “ I am no longer of an Age to
 “ think of any other Kingdom,
 “ than that of Heaven; and as
 “ for my Sons, they ought al-
 “ ways to be devoted to the King
 “ and

* The Original Letter is in the Editor's hands.

“ Monsieur *Schutz* m’a mandé
 “ que V. R. étoit persuadé, que
 “ sa Majesté auroit pour agrea-
 “ ble, que j’en fis voir un en
 “ *Angleterre*; & comme mon
 “ second Fils m’avoit déjà man-
 “ dé, qu’il seroit bien aise d’al-
 “ ler, apres la Campagne, pour
 “ feliciter le Roi, sur son Avene-
 “ ment à la Couronne, & qu’il
 “ en demanderoit la Permission
 “ à l’Empereur, dont il est Ma-
 “ jor-General; j’ose prier V. R.
 “ de l’assister de vos Conseils,
 “ pour bien faire sa Cour, lors
 “ qu’il fera ce Voyage. S’il eut
 “ voulu changer de Religion, il
 “ auroit fort bien réussi dans ces
 “ Affaires aupres de l’Empereur,
 “ mais il a trop de son Oncle,
 “ le Prince *Rupert*, pour n’estre
 “ pas ferme dans sa Religion.
 “ Il est vray qu’elle porte le Nom
 “ de *Luthere*, mais nos Eccle-
 “ siastiques d’*Hanovre* la disent
 “ conforme à la Religion *An-*
 “ *glicane*, & auroient voulu me
 “ donner le Saint Sacrement,
 “ dans la Crayance où je suis.
 “ Mais je n’ai pas voulu donner
 “ de Scandele à ceux de ma
 “ Religion, dont je crois que
 “ V. R. approuvera. Cependant
 “ je dois la feliciter, qu’il a plu
 “ à Dieu de vous donner un
 “ Roi & une Reine d’un Merite
 “ infini: Je le prie de vous les
 “ conserver, & de donner à
 “ moi la Satisfaction, de te-
 “ moigner à vous, & à tout ce
 “ qui vous est cher, par des Ser-
 “ vices agreables, combien je
 “ suis

“ *Tres Affectionnée à vous servir,*
 SOPHIE PALATINE.

“ and Kingdom. Mr. *Schutz*
 “ has informed me, that you
 “ were of opinion, that his
 “ Majesty would be pleased,
 “ if I sent one of them into
 “ *England*; and as my second
 “ Son had already acquainted
 “ me, that he should be glad
 “ to go, after the Campaign,
 “ to congratulate the King, up-
 “ on his Accession to the Crown,
 “ and that he would ask the
 “ Emperor’s Leave for it, being
 “ a Major General in his Service;
 “ I dare beg you to assist him
 “ with your Advice, how to make
 “ his Court well, when he takes
 “ that Journey. If he would have
 “ changed his Religion, he might
 “ have succeeded well in his Af-
 “ fairs at the Imperial Court, but
 “ he has too much of his Uncle
 “ Prince *Rupert*, not to be firm
 “ in his Religion. It is true, it
 “ bears the Name of *Luther*, but
 “ our Divines at *Hanover* say,
 “ ’tis conformable to that of the
 “ Church of *England*, and would
 “ have given me the Holy Sacra-
 “ ment in the Belief I am in. But
 “ I would not give any Scandal
 “ to those of my Religion, which I
 “ believe you will approve. How-
 “ ever, I ought to congratulate
 “ you, upon its having pleased
 “ God, to give you a King and a
 “ Queen of infinite Merit: I pray
 “ him to preserve them to you,
 “ and to give me the Satisfaction
 “ of testifying to you, and every
 “ one that is dear to you, by a-
 “ greeable Services, how much I
 “ am

“ *Most Affectionate to serve you,*
 SOPHIA PALATINE.

* Herenhausen, 22 Juin 1701.

“ VOUS avez bien de la
 “ bonté, Monsieur, de
 “ prendre part a tout ce qui re-
 “ garde la Grandeur de la Mai-
 “ son, où je suis entrée : Et je
 “ dois vous remercier en parti-
 “ culier de l’Affection, que vous
 “ m’avez temoigné, dans l’Af-
 “ faire de la Succession, qui ex-
 “ clut en meme temps tous les
 “ Heritiers Catholiques, qui ont
 “ toujours causé tant de desordres
 “ en *Angleterre*. Je suis par
 “ malheur trop vielle, pour
 “ pouvoir jamais etre utile à la
 “ Nation & à mes Amis, ce qui
 “ me feroit pourtant beaucoup
 “ aimer la Vie. Cependant je
 “ souhaiterois, que ceux qui
 “ viendront apres moi, se ren-
 “ dissent dignes de l’honneur,
 “ qu’ils auront : Et que je puisse
 “ au moins trouver lieu de vous
 “ temoigner, par des Services,
 “ l’Estime que j’ai de votre Me-
 “ rite.

SOPHIE ELECTRICE.

Herenhausen, 22 June 1701.

“ YOU are very obliging, my
 “ Lord, to take part in eve-
 “ ry thing, that regards the Gran-
 “ deur of the House, into which
 “ I am married ; and I ought
 “ to thank you in particular for
 “ the Affection, which you have
 “ testify’d to me, in the Affair
 “ of the Succession, which ex-
 “ cludes at the same time all
 “ Catholick Heirs, who have
 “ always caused so many Dis-
 “ orders in *England*. I am un-
 “ fortunately too old, ever to be
 “ useful to the Nation, and to
 “ my Friends, which if I could
 “ be, it would make me much
 “ in love with Life. However,
 “ I shall wish, that those who
 “ are to come after me, may
 “ render themselves worthy of
 “ the Honour they will have :
 “ And that I may at least find
 “ some occasion of testifying,
 “ by my Services, the Esteem I
 “ have for your Merit.

SOPHIA ELECTRESS.

Our Author maintained an unshaken Credit with King *William* and Queen *Mary*, during their whole Reign ; indeed the King’s Favour was sometimes interrupted, with short Dis- gusts, at the uncourtly Liberty he took of speaking his Mind, even upon some Subjects that he perceived were disagreeable ; but the real Esteem those Princes had for him will appear be- yond Contest, from several Facts in the History, too numerous to be recapitulated here, and from some others, which I shall here- after have occasion to mention. The use he made of this Credit, is the principal Point, a Writer of his Life must be con- cerned for : It is that alone, must settle his real Character, which I am satisfy’d has been too commonly mistaken ; and never more egregiously, than by those, who have represented him as an *Inveterate Party-Man*. That he was stedfast to his first Principles ; that in all his Conduct relating to the Publick, he

His Charac-
 ter as to Par-
 ty-Matters.

was

* The Original is in the Editor’s Hands.

was rigidly strict to these; is a Truth too much to his Honour, for me to dispute: But it will be easy to demonstrate, that his own particular way of thinking, as to Party-Matters, had no Influence over him, either in his Friendships, in his Charities, or in his Preferments, where the Publick was not immediately concerned. It might be tedious, I am sure it would be voluminous, here to insert all the Evidences in my hands, from whence it appears, how frequently his whole Interest was exerted in favour of Men, who neither from their publick nor their private Conduct, had any reason to expect such Services from him. Some Instances of this nature, I shall have occasion elsewhere to produce; but I shall content myself here with one, which is very remarkable, and may alone be sufficient to establish his Reputation on this head. Some of the harshest Treatment, he had met with in the two former Reigns, had pass'd through the hands of the Earl of *Rochester*; no two Men ever differed more widely in their Principles, both in Church and State: yet the first good Offices done that Earl, with the King and Queen (after all other Applications for Introduction had failed) their entire Reconciliation to him, and the first Advantages he reaped in consequence of that Reconciliation, were owing to our Author. And when the Earl of *Clarendon* was afterwards unhappily engaged in the Conspiracy, against the Government, in 1690; and some hotter Whigs were for the severest Methods, the Bishop became a hearty and successful Advocate in his favour. These Matters are but cursorily mentioned in the History, but will more fully appear from the four following original Letters; the first written by the Countess of *Ranelagh*, the other three by the Earl of *Rochester* himself.

*My Lord, **

“ **Y**OUR Lordship knows that, by my Lord *Rochester*’s de-
 “ firing me to help him to thank you, for your forwardness
 “ to do him favours with their Majesties, (out of the Sense he
 “ had, that he ought to be more grateful for them, because he
 “ had not at all deserved them from your Lordship) he had in-
 “ formed me, that you had done him such Favours: And when,
 “ pursuant to his Desire, I began to give you humble Thanks for
 “ him (who is a Person in whom I can be very sensibly obliged)
 “ I told your Lordship I was pleased in paying this Duty, as much
 “ upon your account, as upon his Lordship’s, as having attempted
 “ to conquer him by Weapons, fit to be used by one of your Pro-
 “ fession and Character; and I hoped he might be advantaged,
 “ as well by being gained by you, as by reaping good Fruits of
 “ your

* The Original is in the Editor’s hands.

“ your Mediation, with their Majesties. And now I present
 “ your Lordship, in the Enclosed, with what appears to me an
 “ Evidence ; that my hopes of his making ingenuous Returns,
 “ for your generous Advances towards a Friendship with him,
 “ were not groundless. Since he would sure never have pitched
 “ upon you, to manage an Application of his, about an Interest
 “ wherein the visible Subsistence of his Family is so deeply con-
 “ cerned, if he did not firmly believe the Reality of your Inten-
 “ tions towards him ; though he have no Merits of his towards
 “ you, or any thing else, but your Christian Beginnings towards
 “ him, to build that Faith upon. Nor can he, in my poor
 “ opinion, give you a clearer Proof of his being already over-
 “ come by you, than in chusing you to be the Person, to whom
 “ he would in such an Interest be obliged : Since he thereby puts
 “ himself upon the Peril of being faithfully Yours, or a very un-
 “ thankful Man ; which I do so much assure myself he will not
 “ be, that I humbly beg your Lordship to put this Obligation
 “ upon him, to perfect what you have already begun to do for
 “ him, of a like nature, and to the same Royal Person. Who
 “ would not, I think, act unbecoming herself, nor the eminent
 “ Station, God has placed her in, in assisting five innocent Chil-
 “ dren, who have the honour to be related to her Royal Mother,
 “ who did still, with great Tenderness, consider her own Fa-
 “ mily when she was most raised above it ; especially when, in
 “ assisting them, her Majesty will need only to concern herself,
 “ to preserve a Property, made theirs by the Law of *England*,
 “ which as Queen of this Kingdom she is obliged to maintain.

“ I send your Lordship my Lord *Rochester's* Letter to me, that
 “ you may see he has Thoughts that justify what I have said
 “ here for him, and has express'd them much better than I can
 “ do ; so that as an Argument to gain your Pardon, for this
 “ confused Scribble of mine, I present you with his good
 “ Writing. I am,

Your Lordship's Humble and Affectionate Servant,

K. RANELAGH.

The 13th of July, 1689.

*My Lord,**

“ **T**HE good Offices, your Lordship has told me, you have
 “ endeavoured to do me with the Queen, of your own
 “ Accord and Generosity, incline me to be desirous to be obliged
 “ to your Lordship, for the Favour of presenting the enclosed
 “ Petition to her Majesty. Your Lordship will see, by the
 “ reading

* The Original is in the Editor's hands.

“ reading it, the Occasion and the Subject of it; and I am sure
 “ I need not suggest any thing to your own kind Thoughts, to
 “ add at the Delivery of it, save only this, which I thought not
 “ proper to touch in the Petition, that I have certainly as good a
 “ Title in Law to it, as any Man has to any thing he possesses;
 “ as likewise that the Pension is appropriated, to be paid out
 “ of a part of the Revenue, which never was designed by any
 “ Act of Parliament, for any publick Use of the Government:
 “ which I think has something of Weight and Reason, to dis-
 “ tinguish it from those Pensions, that are placed on the more
 “ publick Branches of the Revenue.

“ I know not, whether the Queen can do me any good in this
 “ Affair, but I will believe her Majesty cannot but wish she
 “ could; however, I think, I should have been very wanting to
 “ my Children, if I had not laid this Case most humbly before
 “ her Majesty: Lest at one time or other, she herself might say,
 “ I had been too negligent in not making Applications to her;
 “ which having now done, I leave the rest, with all possible Sub-
 “ mission, to her own Judgment, and to the Reflections, that
 “ some good-natured Moments may incline her to make to-
 “ wards my Family. I should say a great deal to your Lord-
 “ ship, for my own Confidence, in addressing all this to your
 “ Lordship, some Passages of my Life having been such, as may
 “ very properly give it that Name: But, I think, whatever you
 “ would be content to hear on that Subject, will be better ex-
 “ pressed by the Person, who does me the honour to deliver this
 “ to your Lordship, from

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Obedient Servant,

July the 13th, 1689.

ROCHESTER.

“ My Lord, *

“ UPON what account soever it is, that your Lordship is
 “ pleased to let me hear from you, I take it to be some-
 “ thing of good fortune, whatsoever ill cause there may be in
 “ it too. Therefore I humbly thank your Lordship for the ho-
 “ nour of yours of the 18th from *Salisbury*; which was sent
 “ me to this pretty Place, where I love to be, as much as
 “ you do at your Palace; and though I cannot do so much
 “ Good to others, as your Lordship does there to all that are
 “ near you, yet I do more to myself, than I can do any where
 “ else. *Quid sentire putas, quid credis, amice, precari? Sit*
 “ *mibi quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mibi vivam Quod superest*
 “ ævi.

* The Original is in the Editor's hands.

“ ævi. Forgive this transgressional Rapture, and receive my
“ Thanks, which I pay your Lordship again, for your kind Let-
“ ter: For indeed I do take it very kindly, that you were so
“ much concerned, as to give me a kind hint of that unseasonable
“ Discourse, you came to be acquainted with, when you were
“ last in *London*: I will make the best use of it, I can; to pre-
“ vent the like for the future, if I have any Credit. And in the
“ mean time, I must make use of this opportunity, to calm and
“ soften your Resentments, towards this Friend of mine, as you call
“ him in the beginning of your Letter. I will allow you, as a
“ Servant to the King and Queen, and a Subject to their Crown,
“ to have as great a Detestation of the Contrivance, as you can
“ wish; and upon my Word, I can accompany you in it. But
“ when I consider you, as once you were, a concern’d Friend
“ of this Lord, to have a respect for his Family, and particu-
“ larly for my Father, who lost not only all the Honours and
“ Preferments of this World, but even the Comforts of it too,
“ for the Integrity and Uprightness of his Heart: You must for-
“ give me, if I conjure you, by all that’s Sacred in this Genera-
“ tion in which we live together, by the Character that you
“ bear, and by the Religion you profess, that you do not (as
“ much as in you lies) suffer this next Heir of my good Father’s
“ Name and Honour, to go down with Sorrow to the Grave.
“ I would not flatter myself, that your Lordship should be
“ moved with any Fondness of mine, to endeavour to bring
“ to pass, what is not fit for a wise and a good Man to propose;
“ that would be to make a very ill use of your Friendship to me,
“ and I would rather be corrected myself in my own Desires,
“ than expose your Lordship on such an account. But I hope
“ that they, who are the supreme Directors of this Matter under
“ God, may in their great Wisdom and Goodness judge, that it
“ may prove as much to their Honour and Safety too, to pass
“ over this Particular, as if they should pursue the strictest Mea-
“ sures of Justice in it. Though I am a Brother, if I did not,
“ upon the greatest Reflection I can make, think I should be of
“ the same opinion, if I were none, I would not press this Mat-
“ ter upon you. For I cannot but think, that the Queen would
“ do, and would be glad to avow it too, a very great thing
“ for the Memory of that Gentleman, so long in his Grave. It
“ is upon his account, I am begging of your Lordship, to do all
“ that’s possible, to preserve every Part and Branch and Member
“ of his Family, from the least transient Stain of Infamy and
“ Reproach. And if God was prevailed with by *Abraham*, to
“ have saved a whole City for the sake of ten righteous Men, I
“ hope

“ hope there may be as charitable an Inclination, to spare the
 “ *Debris* of our broken Family, for the sake of him, who was
 “ the Raifer of it.

“ I ask your Lordship’s Pardon, for being thus importunate;
 “ for I have great need of your help, and I hope I shall have it
 “ from you. Losses of many and good Friends I have born, and
 “ submitted with patience to the Pleasure of Almighty God:
 “ But a Calamity of this nature, that I now deprecate, has in it
 “ something so frightful, and on some accounts so unnatural;
 “ that I beg you for God’s sake, from an angry Man yourself,
 “ grow an Advocate for me and for the Family on this account.
 “ I am ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordship’s most Faithful Humble Servant,

New Park, March 21. 1694.

ROCHESTER.

“ My Lord,*

“ I Was warm, I confess, in the last Letter I gave your Lord-
 “ ship the trouble of, and I thank you for reprov- ing the
 “ Vehemence of my Stile, in your last of the 28th; I am
 “ grown cooler, and acknowledge my Fault; neither did I com-
 “ mit it, with an Apprehension that your Lordship was inexorable,
 “ or that it would be so much as needful to desire your Assistance
 “ in that Matter. But you may remember, you had used a Word
 “ to me, when you were here, *an Attainder*; that I acknowledge
 “ sounded very harsh to me, and when I had reflected a little
 “ more upon it, as likewise that your Lordship did not use to
 “ speak by chance, and consequently that you had good ground
 “ for what you said, I own it heated me all over; which made
 “ me express my Thoughts to you, with more Transport than
 “ was fit, and I will say no more of them, for fear of running
 “ into new Excesses. What your Lordship proposes for my Lord
 “ *Clarendon* to desire, is perfectly agreeable to my Mind; but I
 “ know not, whether it be not a little too early, and that such a
 “ Petition might be presented with a better Grace, if he were
 “ once out of the *Tower* upon Bail, than it would be while he
 “ is under this close Confinement. But as your Lordship says,
 “ the Affair of *Mons* must for the present put a stop to every
 “ Man’s private Thoughts, for that is a Matter of such vast Im-
 “ portance to the Publick, that it is but very fit, that all particu-
 “ lar Considerations should give way to it, and wait the Deter-
 “ mination of that great Point; I cannot but believe the *French*
 “ are Masters of it before now, because all the Letters, that came
 “ by

* The original Letter is in the Editor’s hands.

“ by the last Post, that I could hear of, looked upon it, as a
 “ thing impracticable to relieve it, but we have had no Letters
 “ since *Saturday*. What the *French* will do next, whether send
 “ their Men into Quarters for two Months, or try to follow their
 “ Blow, is what Men are now most anxious about. One of my
 “ old Friends, with whom of late I have renewed my Acquain-
 “ tance, says upon all these mighty occasions, *Prudens futuri*
 “ *temporis exitum Caliginosa nocte premit Deus Ridetque si morta-*
 “ *lis ultra Fas trepidat*. But I confess to you, I cannot be quite
 “ so overcome with Philosophy, as not to be concerned before-
 “ hand, at what this dark Night is to bring forth. One private
 “ Concern, in the midst of all these publick ones, has given me
 “ a great deal of Uneasiness, and I doubt not will do so to your
 “ Lordship, when I tell you how very ill my Lady *Ranelagh* has
 “ been these two or three Days, with a Fever, which has almost
 “ quite destroyed her; I am afraid still for her: the last Night
 “ she had a little Rest; but she is so weak, and, you know, of
 “ late has been so very tender, that I am in great pain for her.
 “ I know your Lordship will be troubled to lose a very good
 “ Friend and humble Servant of your own, as well as a most
 “ wonderful good Person, to all that knew her. For my own
 “ part, I know no body alive, to whom I have so many Obliga-
 “ tions, which I am sorry to see how little I can return, when
 “ there is most need of serving her. Amongst all her Favours,
 “ one that I shall never forget was, her Desire and Endeavours,
 “ not only to renew for me the Acquaintance, I formerly had
 “ with your Lordship, but to knit it closer into a Friendship;
 “ in which I am always to own your Lordship’s ready Concur-
 “ rence; and, I hope, I shall not fail, as faithfully to perform
 “ all the part, that belongs to,

My Lord,

Your Lordship’s most faithful humble Servant,

ROCHESTER.

April the 2d, 1691.

Hitherto the Reader has view’d our Author, as a Divine, only
 in the private Character of a Minister in his Parish, a Professor in
 his Chair, or a Preacher in his Lecture; but we must now observe
 his Conduct in a higher Function. As soon as the Session of Par-
 liament in 1689 was ended, he went down to his Diocese; where
 he formed such a Plan, for executing the Duties of his Episcopal
 Office, as he seldom afterwards had occasion to alter.

His primary Visitation could only be regulated, by the
 Practice of his Predecessors, who contented themselves with
 formal Triennial Visitations of their Diocese, in which they

His Labours
 in his Dio-
 cese, and
 Episcopal
 Function.

used always to confirm ; but when he perceived the Hurry, the Disorder and Noise, that attended these publick Meetings, he thought them wholly unfit for solemn Acts of Devotion : They seemed much properer, for the Exercise of an *Ordinary's* Jurisdiction according to Law, than for the Performance of the more Christian Functions of a Bishop : These were inconsistent with that Pomp and Shew, which perhaps the other required. He had always looked upon *Confirmation*, as the likeliest means of reviving a Spirit of Christianity ; if Men could be brought to consider it, not as a meer Ceremony, but as an Act whereby a Man became a *Christian* from his own Choice ; since upon attaining to the use of Reason, he thereby renewed for himself a Vow, which others had only made for him at Baptism. He wrote a short *Directory*, containing proper Rules how to prepare the Youth upon such occasions ; this he printed, and sent Copies of it, some Months beforehand, to the Minister of every Parish, where he intended to confirm. He every Summer took a Tour, for six Weeks or two Months, through some District of his Bishoprick, daily preaching and confirming from Church to Church, so as in the Compass of three Years (besides his formal Triennial Visitation) to go through all the principal Livings in his Diocese. The Clergy, near the Places he passed through, generally attended on him ; therefore, to avoid being burthensome in these Circuits, he entertained them all at his own Charge. He likewise, for many Years, entred into Conferences with them, upon the chief Heads of Divinity : One of which he usually opened at their meeting, in a Discourse that lasted near two Hours ; and then encouraged those present, to start such Questions or Difficulties upon it, as occur'd to them. Four of these Discourses against Infidelity, Socinianism, Popery and Schism, were printed in the Year 1694. When our Author had published *His Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, Conferences of this nature seemed in some measure needless : He therefore discontinued them, in order to apply himself wholly to the Work of *Confirmation*. To be more useful in it, he disposed his annual Progress, during the last ten Years of his Life, in the following manner. He went through five or six of the considerable Market-Towns every Year : he fix'd himself for a whole Week in each of them ; and though he went out every Morning, to preach and confirm in some Parish, within seven or eight Miles of the Place ; yet at the Evening-Prayer, for six Days together, he catechised the Youth of the Town, in the principal Church there, expounding to them some Portion of the *Church-Catechism* every Day, 'till he had gone through the whole : And on *Sunday*, he confirmed those, who had been thus examin'd
and

and instructed, and then inviting them all to dine with him, he gave to each a useful Present of Books. As the Country flocked in, from all Parts, to hear him; he was in hopes this would encourage the Clergy to Catechise more, and would raise an Emulation in Christian Knowledge, among the inferiour sort of People, who were ignorant to a scandal.

In the Intervals of Parliament, when the Bishop was not upon this Progress, his usual Residence was at *Salisbury*; there he preached the *Thursday's* Lecture, founded at *St. Thomas's* Church, during the whole time of his Stay; he likewise preached and confirmed every *Sunday* Morning *, in some Church of that City, or of the Neighbourhood round about it: And in the Evening he had a Lecture in his own Chappel, to which great Crouds resorted, wherein he explained some Portion of Scripture, out of the Gospels and Epistles in the Liturgy. He generally came down from *London*, some Days before *Lent*, on purpose to prepare the Youth of the two great Schools for Confirmation; by catechizing them every Week, during that Season, in the *Cathedral* Church, and instructing them in the same manner, as he did those in the other Towns of his Diocese. And to render this Task of Instruction more easy to the rest of his Clergy, he at length published an *Explanation of the Church-Catechism* in the Year 1710.

The Bishop's Consistorial Court, being much cry'd out against, as a Grievance both to the Clergy and Laity, he endeavoured to reform it, and for some Years went thither in Person; but tho' he might do some little Good by this Attendance, it was so little, that he at last gave it over; for the true Foundation of Complaints was, the dilatory Course of Proceedings, and the exorbitant Fees, which the Bishop had no Authority to correct: Nay, he could not even discharge poor Suitors, who were oppress'd there with vexatious Prosecutions, any otherwise than by paying their Fees himself, as he frequently did.

No part of the Episcopal Office was more strictly attended to by him, than the Examination of those, who came for Orders: in this Matter the Law has left the Bishop entirely at liberty, to admit or refuse. He never turned them over to the Care of a Chaplain or Archdeacon, farther than to try their Skill in the learned Languages. He examined them himself as to the Proofs
of

* He was so punctual in this, that no Change of Weather could ever induce him, to disappoint any Congregation where he was expected: And this Assiduity had well nigh cost him his Life, in the Year 1698. For having appointed to preach and confirm, at the Parish Church of *Dinton*, within twelve Miles of *Salisbury*, on a prefixed *Sunday*; the Rains, that fell on that Day, and

for some Days before, had so swelled a Brook, which he was to cross, that his Coach was overturned in the Water, and his own Life hardly saved by a Miller, who jumped in and drew the Bishop out of the Water: for which seasonable Service, our Author paid him a yearly Gratuity all the rest of his Life.

of the Christian Religion, the Authority of the Scriptures, and the Nature of the Gospel-Covenant. If they were deficient in those, he dismiss'd them at once, with proper Directions how to be better prepared for a second Trial: But if they were competently knowing in these essential Points, he went through the other Heads of Divinity with less strictness. When he was once satisfied with their Capacity, he next directed his Discourse to their Conscience: He laid before them the Baseness of taking up a Sacred Profession, merely for the Lucre or Subsistence it might afford; he gave them a distinct View of all the Branches of the *Pastoral Care*, (of which he published a Treatise, for the use of his Diocese, in 1692;) and endeavoured strongly to dissuade them from entering into Holy Orders, unless they were firmly resolved to perform all the Duties of their Function; more particularly to lead such Lives, as might not contradict the Doctrines, they were to teach. A Day or two before Ordination, he submitted all those whom he had accepted, to the Examination of the Dean and Prebendaries, that so he might have their Approbation.

In the Admission of Presentees, he could not be so strict; the Law having in some measure taken the Judgment of their Qualifications out of the Ordinary; yet in this he went unusual lengths, of which I shall mention one singular instance*. In the latter part of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, the Lord Chancellor presented the younger Son of a noble Family in *Oxfordshire* to a Parsonage within his Diocese, which was in the Gift of the Crown. Upon Trial, our Author found him so ignorant, that he refused to institute him; the Ministry threaten'd him with a Law-Suit, but finding him resolute, they at length acquiesced under the Refusal. Thereupon the Bishop sent for the young Gentleman, and told him, "That as his Patrons had given up
 " the Contest, and he had no Design to do him any personal In-
 " jury, if he could prevail on his Friends, to keep the Benefice
 " vacant, he himself would undertake the Charge of qualifying
 " him for it." Accordingly he took such happy pains in his Instruction, that some Months after, the Presentee pass'd Examination with Applause, and had Institution given him to the Living.

As the *Pastoral Care*, and the admitting none to it, who were not duly qualified, was always uppermost in his Thoughts, he concluded that he could not render a more useful Service to Religion, to the Church, and more especially to his own Diocese, than by forming under his Eye a number of Divines,
 well

* This I had from Mr. *Mackney*, as a Fact well known to himself, and to some others now alive.

well instructed in all the Articles of their Duty. He resolved therefore, at his own Charge, to maintain a small Nursery of Students in Divinity at *Salisbury*, who might follow their Studies, till he should be able to provide for them. They were ten in number, to each of whom he allowed a Salary of thirty Pounds a-year: They were admitted to him once every day, to give an account of their Progress in Learning, to propose to him such Difficulties as they met with, in the course of their Reading, and to hear a Lecture from him, upon some Speculative or Practical Point of Divinity, or on some part of the Pastoral Function, which lasted above an Hour: During the Bishop's absence, the learned Dr. *Whitby* supplied his Place, in overlooking and directing their Studies. By this means, our Author educated several young Clergymen, who proved an honour to the Church; but as this came to be considered as a present Provision, with sure Expectations of a future Settlement, he was continually importuned, and sometimes imposed upon, as to the Persons recommended to be of this number: And the Foundation itself was so maliciously exclaimed at, as a design'd Affront upon the Method of Education at *Oxford*, that he was prevailed upon, after some Years, to lay it wholly aside.

Our Author was a warm and constant Enemy to *Pluralities* of Livings, not indeed where the two Churches lay near each other, and were but poorly endowed, for in that case he rather encouraged them; as knowing the *Labourer was worthy of his Hire*. But whensoever *Non-Residence* was the Consequence of a Plurality, he used his utmost Endeavours to prevent it, and in some Cases even hazarded a Suspension, rather than give Institution. In his Charges to the Clergy, he exclaimed against Pluralities, as a sacrilegious Robbery of the Revenues of the Church; a remarkable Effect of his Zeal upon this Subject may not be improper to be here related*. In his first Visitation at *Salisbury*, he urged the Authority of St. *Bernard*, who being consulted by one of his Followers, whether he might not accept of two Benefices, reply'd, "And how will you be able to serve them both?" "I intend (answered the Priest) to officiate in one of them by a Deputy." "Will your Deputy be damn'd for you too? (cry'd the Saint.) Believe me, you may serve your Cure by Proxy, but you must be damn'd in Person." This Expression so affected Mr. *Kelsey*, a pious and worthy Clergyman there present, that he immediately resigned the Rectory of *Bemerton*, worth Two Hundred Pounds

* This Fact was told me by Mr. *Wastfield*, and is well known at *Salisbury*.

Pounds a-year, which he then held with one of greater Value. Nor was this Christian Act of Self-denial without its Reward; for though their Principles in Church Matters were very opposite, the Bishop conceived such an Esteem for him, from this Action, that he not only prevailed with the Chapter to elect him a Canon, but likewise made him Archdeacon of *Sarum*, and gave him one of the best Prebends in the Church.

In the Point of *Residence*, our Author was so strict, that he never would permit his own Chaplains to attend upon him, after they were once preferred to a Cure of Souls, but obliged them to be constantly resident at their Livings. Indeed he considered himself, as under the same Obligation, as Pastor of the whole Diocese, and never would be absent from it, but during his necessary Attendance on Parliament; from which, as soon as the principal Business of the Nation was dispatch'd, he always obtained leave to depart, in order to return to his Function. And though King *William*, upon his going over to *Ireland* or *Flanders*, always enjoin'd him to attend upon Queen *Mary*, and assist her with his faithful Counsel on all Emergencies; yet he would not, upon such occasions, accept of Lodgings at *Whitehall*, but hired a House at *Windsor*, in order to be within his own Bishoprick, and yet near enough to the Court, to pay his Duty twice a-week or oftener, if Business required it.

His universal Principle of Toleration extends to Non-jurors.

No Principle was more deeply rooted in him, than that of *Toleration*; it was not confined to any Sect or Nation, it was as universal as Christianity itself: He exerted it in favour of a Non-juring Meeting-House at *Salisbury*, which he obtained the Royal Permission to connive at; and when the Preacher there, Dr. *Beach*, by a seditious and treasonable Sermon, had incurred the Sentence of the Law, our Author not only saved him from Punishment, but even procured his Pardon, without the Terms of a publick Recantation, upon which it was first granted; as may be collected from the following Letters, the one from the Earl of *Nottingham*, then Secretary of State, the other from Dr. *Beach* himself.

“ *My Lord,* *

Whitehall, 29 March 1692.

“ I Have acquainted the Queen, at the Cabinet Council, with
 “ what your Lordship writes in behalf of Dr. *Beach*; and
 “ though her Majesty is always inclined to shew Mercy, and
 “ especially to such as your Lordship recommends to her Fa-
 “ vour; yet since the Crime, and the Scandal of it, has been
 “ very

* The Original is in the Editor's hands.

“ very publick, her Majesty thinks the Acknowledgment of it
 “ should be so too: And therefore would have him make it in
 “ the Church. When this is done, your Lordship’s Interces-
 “ sion will easily prevail. I am, with great Respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship’s most humble and faithful Servant,

NOTTINGHAM.

“ *My Lord,**

“ **W**ITH all due Deference of Honour, and with all the
 “ respectful Regard, that can be correspondent to the no
 “ less generous, than acceptable Message, which I received from
 “ your Lordship by Dr. *Geddes*, I humbly tender this to your
 “ Lordship, hoping it may be favourably received, in lieu of my
 “ personal Attendance, which shall be readily paid (as it is due)
 “ at any time. Dr. *Geddes* has delivered me the desirable
 “ Tidings of your Lordship’s free Resolution, to rescue me, from
 “ the farther Prosecution of that unhappy Verdict, I labour un-
 “ der. It is my Desire, being freed from this troublesome
 “ Storm, to live in Peace and Quiet, without Disturbance of
 “ the Government in general, and of any Person in particular.
 “ And I cannot but deeply resent your obliging readiness to re-
 “ lieve me, because it is not clogged with any bitter Conditions
 “ or Reserves, that would lessen the Favour. What your Lord-
 “ ship has resolved, is what I humbly desire, and do not doubt
 “ but your Lordship will pursue. The sooner the Favour can be
 “ accomplished, and with the less noise before Term, the more
 “ it will be endeared to, and challenge all Gratitude from,

My Lord,

Your much obliged and obedient Servant,

WM. BEACH.

Yet when this Spirit of *Moderation*, of which the Non-
 jurors felt the good Effects, was extended to the Dissenters, our
 Author’s Enemies represented him, as betraying the Church into
 their hands; though he was really taking the most effectual
 means to bring them over, not indeed by Compulsion, but by
 the more Christian Methods of Charity and Persuasion: In
 which he was so successful, that many Dissenting Families, in
 his Diocese, were by him brought over to the Communion
 of our Church, in which they still continue; and of two Pres-
 byterian Preachers, who were well supported when he first
 came

* The Original is in the Editor’s Hands.

came to *Salisbury*, one was soon after obliged to quit the Place, and the other but poorly subsisted in it.

His Scheme
for aug-
menting
poor Livings
in his own
Diocese.

He perceived that the chief Strength of the Sectaries lay in the Market-Towns; the Livings there were most commonly in the Gift of the Lord Chancellor; and as the Lord *Somers*, during his Enjoyment of the Seals, left the Nomination to those in the Diocese of *Sarum*, to the Bishop; he endeavoured to place in them none but learned, pious and moderate Divines, as being the best qualified to prevent the Growth of Schism. But as these Benefices were generally small, and a poor Church will be too often served by as poor a Clerk; our Author determin'd to obviate this Difficulty, by bestowing upon these Cures the Prebends in his Gift, as they became vacant; and till such a Vacancy happen'd, out of his own Income he allowed the Minister of every such Church a Pension of Twenty Pounds a-year*: When the Prebend itself was conferred upon him, the Bishop insisted on his giving a Bond to resign it, if ever he quitted the Living. Though this Matter had been laid before the most eminent Prelates and Divines of our Church, as well as the most learned among the Canonists, who highly approved the Design; yet it was so warmly opposed by some of the Clergy, that in order to raise no farther Strife in the Church, our Author was prevailed on to relinquish this Project, and give up all the Bonds he had taken. But as he could not, without the tenderest Concern, behold the destitute Condition of these poor Benefices, most of which were attended with the largest Cure of Souls; so his Disappointment in this Scheme, he had formed for his own Bishoprick, only gave occasion to a more universal Plan, which he projected for the Improvement of all the small Livings in *England*, and which was liable to no Exception. This he press'd forward with so much Success, that it terminated at length in an Act of Parliament, pass'd in the second Year of Queen *Anne*, for the *Augmentation of the Maintenance of the poor Clergy*.

His Scheme
for augment-
ing all the
poor Livings
in *England*.

He had first laid this Proposal before Queen *Mary*, who had undertaken to obtain the King's Approbation and Consent; after her Death, the Prospect of Peace in 1696, and the actual Conclusion of it in 1697, seemed to furnish a proper Opportunity, for offering the same Scheme to King *William*, which he did by the two following Memorials.

* This appears from his Steward's Accounts, and was confirmed to me by Mr. *Wastfield*.

MEMORIAL concerning the First Fruits and Tenths.

Given in to the King in January 1696*.

“ THE Tenths and First Fruits were first laid on by
 “ Popes, on pretence of supporting the Holy War; in
 “ the twenty-sixth Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth,
 “ these were given to the Crown; and since that time have been
 “ granted away in Pensions, by dormant Warrants. They are
 “ now in the hands of the Duke of *St. Albans*, Countess of *Plimouth*,
 “ Countess of *Bristol*, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Oxford* and
 “ a few others. This Revenue may justly be called in question,
 “ as unlawful and sacrilegious in its nature; the applying it to a
 “ good use is the best way to justify it.

“ The condition of many Livings in this Kingdom is most miserable;
 “ many have not Twenty Pounds, and in some places, three
 “ of them put together do not amount to Forty Pounds a-year.
 “ A poor Clergyman may be scandalous, but he must be contemptible
 “ and ignorant. To this, in a great measure, we owe
 “ the Atheism and Impiety, the Sects and Divisions, that are
 “ spread over the Nation.

“ It would be a noble Demonstration, both of Zeal for the
 “ Honour of God and Religion, and Affection for the Church
 “ of *England*, if the King would appropriate this Revenue, to
 “ the raising of the Livings in this Nation to some just Proportion,
 “ beginning at those in Corporations, and those within the
 “ King's Gift, but not excluding others, upon condition that
 “ the King shall have his Turn in presenting, in proportion to
 “ the Augmentation that shall be made by this Provision.

“ A Corporation might be settled, as was from the Reign of
 “ Queen *Elizabeth* down to that of *Charles* the First, with power
 “ to receive the Gifts of Charitable Persons, to the same Pious
 “ End: And all Bishops, Deans and Chapters might be obliged
 “ to pay towards it a Fourth or Fifth of every Fine that they
 “ received.

“ This, by the Blessing of God, would make the Concerns
 “ of Religion and of the Church put on another Face, it would
 “ much raise his Majesty's Name and Character in the present,
 “ and in all succeeding Ages; by this the King gives away nothing,
 “ that is in his own Possession; he only gives away the
 “ Power of granting such new Pensions, as may be vacant in his
 “ Time.

* The Memorial in the Bishop's own Hand, with a Memorandum when it was delivered, is in the Editor's hands.

“ Time. And there is little doubt to be made, (besides a Blessing from God, which may be expected upon so noble a Design) that this would be made up to the Crown by Parliament: And would also give such an Impression of the King, as would have good Effect on all his Affairs.

A Second MEMORIAL concerning the Tenths and First Fruits.

Given in to the King in December 1697.*

“ IT is humbly proposed, that his Majesty would be pleased to consider, how proper it will be at this Time, to declare his Resolution of applying the First Fruits and Tenths to mending the State of the poor Livings in *England*.

“ The Peace being now concluded, this will be a noble Beginning of his Majesty's Reign in Peace, and a suitable Return to God, for his great Blessings on his Royal Person and Affairs; it will gain him the Hearts of all true Friends of the Church of *England*; and since the Burroughs are generally the worst served, their Livings being universally very small, this may probably have a great Effect on all the King's Affairs, perhaps on the succeeding Elections of Parliament.

“ If his Majesty be resolved to do it, it is humbly suggested, that he would declare his Resolution in the Treasury, and appoint the Commissioners to acquaint the House of Commons with it, who will no doubt very quickly make it up to the Crown. Upon this, it is proposed, that the King will order a Commission for managing this Fund, and making it most effectual to the End intended by it.

“ The Persons proper for such a Commission, would be the two Archbishops, with two other Bishops, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Privy-Seal, the two Secretaries of State, the first Commissioner of the Treasury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the two Chief Justices, the Chief Baron, and the King's Attorney-General.”

Though this Proposal was highly acceptable to the King; though it was strongly seconded by the Princess of *Denmark*, who desired Copies to be given her of the two foregoing Memorials; yet underhand it met with such Opposition amongst the Ministry, as for a time obstructed the Execution of it. The Bishop would not however be discouraged in it; but renewed his Sollicitations upon this Head, so powerfully, in the Year 1701, that nothing but the Death of King *William* could have prevented its

* The Memorial in the Bishop's own Hand, with a Memorandum when he delivered it, is in the Editor's hands.

its then taking effect. He had concerted his Measures upon this occasion, with the Earl of *Godolphin* (who afterwards carried this Design into Execution) and with the Lord *Somers*, whose Letter upon that Subject I shall here insert.

“ *My Lord,* *

22 Novemb. 1701.

“ I Acknowledge the Honour of your Lordship’s Letter of the
 “ 17th, with great Thankfulness; I wish it may lie in my
 “ power to contribute to the excellent Design, you propose; no
 “ Man will enter into it more willingly, nor shall labour in it
 “ more heartily. The Point of the First Fruits and Tenths is
 “ what I have proposed several times, with much Earnestness,
 “ but without Success. When I have the Happiness of seeing
 “ your Lordship, we shall, I hope, discourse at large upon the
 “ whole Subject. In the mean time allow me to assure you, that
 “ I am with great and sincere Respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship’s most obedient humble Servant,

SOMERS.

Having thus given a short Account of every principal Part of our Author’s Conduct, that properly relates to his Episcopal Character, of which I thought the Reader would be best able to judge, if it were laid before him in one general View, without any strict regard to the Series of Time; I shall now return to the Thread of my Narration, by relating the other remarkable Incidents of his Life, in the Order, in which they happened.

The Year 1694 proved greatly unfortunate to him, I might have said to the whole Nation, by the Death of Archbishop *Tillotson*; a Name too well known to need an Encomium; whose Funeral Sermon our Author preach’d, and whose Vindication he undertook, against a Writer, who had virulently attack’d his Memory. This great Loss to the Church was soon after followed by a greater, that of the excellent Queen MARY, who had always honoured our Author with a high degree of Favour and Confidence. The strong Impression her uncommon Talents and shining Qualities had made upon him, occasioned that *Essay on her Character*, which he publish’d in the Year 1695.

The Death
 of Queen
 Mary and of
 Archbishop
 Tillotson.

During her Life, the Affairs and Promotions in the Church had wholly pass’d through her hands; it was an Article of Government, for which the King thought himself unqualified, yet was unwilling to commit to the Care of his Ministers: Upon her Death therefore, a Commission was granted to the two Arch-
 bishops,

He is one of
 the Eccle-
 siastical
 Commission
 to recom-
 mend to
 Prefer-
 ments.

* The Original is in the Editor’s Hands.

bishops, to our Author, and to three other Prelates; whereby they, or any three of them, were appointed to recommend to all Bishopricks, Deanries, or other vacant Preferments in the Church, signifying the same to his Majesty, by writing under their hands: And during the King's Absence beyond Sea, they were empowered, of their own Authority, to present to all Benefices in the Gift of the Crown, that were under the Value of an Hundred and Forty Pounds a-year. A like Commission was granted in the Year 1700, and the Bishop of *Salisbury* continued still to be of the Number. It would be tedious here to enumerate the several Marks King *William* gave him, of his Friendship, during the whole Course of his Reign; but though he obtained of his Majesty Employments, Pensions and Gratuities for others, even to the Value of Ten Thousand Pounds to *One Person* now living; yet there was not one single Instance, wherein he solicited a Favour for himself or his Family: On the contrary, he declined Preferment when it was offered to him.

Is made Preceptor to the Duke of Gloucester.

Which he endeavours to decline.

In the Year 1698, when it became necessary to settle the Duke of *Gloucester's* Family, the King sent the Earl of *Sunderland*, with a Message to the Princess of *Denmark*, acquainting her, "That he put the whole Management of her Son's Household into her hands, but that he owed the Care of his Education to himself and his People, and therefore would name the Persons for that purpose." Accordingly the Earl of *Marlborough* being nominated his Governour, the Bishop of *Salisbury* was appointed his Preceptor. He was then retired into his Diocese, having lately lost his Wife by the Small Pox. He took that occasion therefore to wave the Offer of this important Charge; though he was assured, the Princess had testify'd her Approbation of the King's Choice. He wrote to the Earl of *Sunderland*, to use his Interest, that he might be excused, and in return received from him the following Letter.

"My Lord, *

June 29.

"I Am extremely troubled for your Loss, it being, by all that I have heard, a very great one: But you must not leave serving the Publick, upon any private Consideration. I intend to be in Town next Week, and if I have any Credit at all, you may be assured that you shall be sent for, and shall come thither, unless you will fall out with all your Friends, and with the King in the first place. I am, with great Truth,

My Lord,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

* The original Letter is in the Editor's hands.

Our Author wrote likewise to his Friend Archbishop *Tennison*, desiring him to wait on the King in his Name, and intreat his Majesty, to allow him to decline this Employment: The Archbishop replied, and offered many Arguments to persuade him to accept of it; which only produced a second Letter, stronger than the former, and to the same purpose: To which his Grace, by King *William's* Direction, returned the following Answer.

“ *My Lord,* *

Lambeth, June 28, 1698.

“ I Received your Second, in which you seem to insist on the
 “ Contents of the First; upon that account, I waited on the
 “ King, not being willing to decline doing, what you so earnestly
 “ press'd. The King express'd himself with great Tenderness
 “ upon this Subject; he commanded me to let you understand,
 “ that he had sent for you, before this time, if this Misfortune
 “ had not happened; and that he still desires you to come, as
 “ soon as with Decency you can. He looks upon you, as a Di-
 “ vine, who in such Cases had comforted many, and thinks it
 “ will look best, not to suffer such a Cross, to get such Power
 “ over you, as to make you decline so publick a Service. He
 “ spoke to this effect, without my urging my private Opinion,
 “ which is, what it was in my first. I heartily pray for you, I
 “ pity you as my own Brother, but I cannot bring myself in
 “ this, to be of your Lordship's Opinion. It is true, if no
 “ Steps had been made in this Affair, your Excuse would the
 “ easier have made its way; but seeing things are so far ad-
 “ vanced, it seems not proper to go back. If upon this, that
 “ hopeful Prince shall fall into such hands, as are unfit, your
 “ Lordship would then reflect, upon your having declined the
 “ Service, with Pain and Grief. Pray, next Post, let me have
 “ some Answer, our good Master the King may be pleased with.
 “ I am,

My Lord,

Your affectionate Brother,

THO. CANTUAR.

As the rest of the Bishop's Friends concurred in the same strain, earnestly pressing him not to refuse a Station, wherein he might do his Country such signal Service, as in the right Education of the Duke of *Gloucester*; he thought it might be construed Obstinacy not to submit. He therefore signified his Compliance, in his Answer to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who thereupon wrote him another Letter, which I shall here insert.

* The Original is in the Editor's hands.

" *My Lord,* *

Kensington, July 4. 1698.

" **L** A T E last Night the King spoke again about your
 " coming up ; the Time you mention (*Friday Fortnight*)
 " he thinks much too long ; he therefore commanded me to send
 " an Express to you, in order to your coming up as soon as pos-
 " sibly you can : He having time, little enough to settle that
 " Matter, before his going beyond Sea ; which will not now be
 " long ; because the Parliament may speedily end, perhaps this
 " Day. He considers very graciously the Commendableness of
 " your Submission in these Circumstances, which is indeed wor-
 " thy of you. Pray hasten as much as you possibly can, and may
 " God bring you safely hither. I am

Your affectionate Brother,

THO. CANTUAR'.

P.S. *The Parliament rises to-morrow,
 and the King goes soon to Windsor,
 where you may wait on his Majesty.*

† When our Author, upon his Arrival at *Windsor*, had his first Audience of the King, he assured his Majesty, it was no longer his Intention to decline so honourable an Employment, as the educating a Prince so nearly related to the Crown, since his Royal Master thought him worthy of that Trust ; but as the Discharge of his Duty in this Station must confine him constantly to Court, which was inconsistent with his Episcopal Function, he desired leave to resign his Bishoprick. The King was much surprized at the Proposal, to which he would by no means consent : However, finding our Author persisted in it, he was at length prevailed on, to agree, that the Duke should reside all the Summer at *Windsor*, and that the Bishop should have ten Weeks allowed him every Year, to visit the other Parts of his Diocese.

The Method he pursued in the Duke of *Gloucester's* Education, and the amazing Progress made in it, during the short time that Prince was under his Care, are mentioned in the History : To which I shall only add, that he conducted himself in such a manner, that the Princess of *Denmark* ever after retained a peculiar Regard for him, of which he received some sensible Marks, when she came to the Throne, even at Times, when he was engaged in a publick Opposition to the Measures of her Ministers.

The assiduous Attendance our Author was obliged to, whilst he was Preceptor to the Duke, and the tender Age of his own Children, made it requisite to look out for a proper Mistress to his Family.

His Mar-
riage with
Mrs. Berke-
ley.

* The Original is in the Editor's hands.

† This Fact was related to the Editor by

Mr. Mackney, who then attended the Bishop to *Windsor*, and had it from his own Mouth.

Family. He fix'd upon Mrs. *Berkeley*, a Lady of uncommon degrees of Knowledge, Piety and Virtue; as may appear from *Her Method of Devotion*, which bore several Impressions in her Lifetime; and was reprinted after her Death, with an Account of her Life, by Dr. *Goodwyn*, (the late Archbishop of *Cashels* in *Ireland*) which renders it unnecessary here to enlarge upon her Character.

In the Year 1699, our Author publish'd his *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England*. He was first engaged in this Undertaking by Queen *Mary*, who had so highly approved of his *Four Discourses to his Clergy*, and his Treatise of *the Pastoral Care*, that She, as well as Archbishop *Tillotson*, judged no Man so proper as himself, to render this Important Service to the Church. At their Intreaty therefore, he undertook this Laborious Task, which he perform'd in less than the compass of a Year, though he kept it by him five Years, for Correction. It was first revised, and in many places altered by Dr. *Tillotson*, whose Opinion of this Performance will best be learnt from one of his own Letters.

He writes an
Exposition of
the Thirty-
nine Articles.

" My Lord, *

Lambeth-House, October 23, 1764,

" I Have with great Pleasure and Satisfaction read over the great
" Volume, you sent me; and am astonish'd to see so vast a
" Work, begun and finish'd in so short a time. In the Article
" of the Trinity you have said all, that I think can be said upon
" so obscure and difficult an Argument. The *Socinians* have just
" now published an Answer to us all; but I have not had a sight
" of it. The negative Articles against the Church of *Rome*, you
" have very fully explained, and with great Learning and Judg-
" ment. Concerning these, you will meet with no Opposition
" amongst ourselves. The greatest Danger was to be apprehended
" from the Points in difference between the *Calvinists* and *Re-*
" *monstrants*, in which you have shewn, not only great Skill and
" Moderation, but great Prudence in contenting yourself, to re-
" present both sides impartially, without any positive Declaration
" of your own Judgment. The Account given of *Athanasius's*
" Creed, seems to me no-wise satisfactory; I wish we were well
" rid of it. I pray God long to preserve your Lordship, to do
" more such Services to the Church. I am,

My Lord,

Yours most affectionately,

JO. CANT'.

This

* An attested Copy of this Letter, in the hand-writing of the present Archbishop of *Dublin*, is in the Editor's hands.

This Work was afterwards perused and approved by Archbishop *Tennison*, Archbishop *Sharp*, Bishop *Stillington*, *Patrick*, *Lloyd*, *Hall* and *Williams*: The last of these strongly recommended, the considering them only as Articles of Peace, in which Men were bound to acquiesce without Contradiction; not as Articles of Faith, which they were obliged to believe. There might perhaps be reason to wish, that they had only been imposed as such, but there was nothing in our Constitution to warrant an Expofitor, in giving that Sense to them: The Book likewise pass'd through the hands of many learned Men in both *Universities*, and was generally applauded. Upon its first Appearance in Print, it was universally well received; those, who had been employed to criticise every Work the Bishop had published for some Years, were silent as to This. Indeed when the Convocation met, and the two Houses were warmly engaged in Disputes, relating to their respective Privileges, in which our Author bore a considerable Share; the Lower House, in Resentment, brought up a general Censure of *His Exposition*, but refused to point out the Particulars, upon which it was grounded: Though the Upper House remonstrated, how necessary that was, in order to enable them to concur in the Censure, which they could not pretend to do, till they were informed of the Reasons for it.

For five or six Years before his Death, our Author grew more abstracted from the World, than the Situation he had been in, during the former Parts of his Life, had permitted. To avoid the Distraction of useless Visits, he settled in *St. John's Court* in *Clerkenwell*, and kept up only an Intercourse with his most select and intimate Acquaintance: Their Names will be an Honour to his Memory, and therefore I beg leave to mention the most considerable amongst them. Such were the late Dukes of *Marlborough*, *Newcastle* and *Shrewsbury*; the Earls of *Godolphin*, *Cowper* and *Halifax*; the Lord *Somers* and *Pelham*: And the present Dutchess Dowager of *Marlborough*, the Dukes of *Montrose* and *Roxburgh*; the Lord *Townshend*, the Lord *King*, the Master of the Rolls Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, the Lord Chief Justice *Eyre*, and Mr. *Baillie* of *Jerviswood*, who, as he was his near Relation, so he always lived with him in the Friendship and Freedom of a Brother.

His Diligence in his Calling whilst in London.

I have said nothing in relation to the Part our Author acted in Parliament, in Convocation, or in the several Matters of State, wherein he was consulted and employed; this is fully and impartially set forth in the History itself. Yet I ought to inform the Reader, that the Bishop's necessary Attendance on the House of Lords, in the Winter Season, was not a means of abating his Diligence

Diligence in the Duties of his Calling, though it diverted the Exercise of it, from the proper Scene; his Diocese. For whilst he staid in Town, he failed not of preaching every *Sunday* Morning, in some Church or other in *London*; and as he was much followed, he was generally engaged for Charity Sermons, at which he himself was always a liberal Contributor: In the *Sunday* Evening, he had a Lecture in his own House, upon some select Portion of Scripture; to which many Persons of Distinction resorted, though at first it was only intended, for the Benefit of his own Family.

As he lived to see the Turn, which the Affairs of *Great Britain*, I might say of *Europe*, took upon the Death of *Queen Anne*, for whom he always had the highest personal Veneration, but whom he thought unwarily engaged in Measures, which might have proved fatal: I need not say, with what comfort he saw a Succession take place, of which he himself had been the *first Mover*; and a Family established, in whose Interests he had been so steadfast and zealous, and by whom he had been so much entrusted. He published a *Third Volume*, as a Supplement to his two former, of the *History of the Reformation*, at the time of his late Majesty's Arrival in *England*, to whom it was dedicated. And as if his Life had only been prolonged to see this great Work compleat, and the Protestant Interest in a fair Prospect of Security, he died soon after.

Writes a
Third Volume
as a Supplement to his
History of the Reformation.

Thus I have endeavoured to give some Account of our Author's Behaviour, in all the different Stations he pass'd through in Publick: it may be expected, I should say something of him, in Domestick Life.

His Domestick
Character.

His Time, the only Treasure of which he seemed covetous, was employed in one regular and uniform manner. His constant Health permitted him to be an early Riser, he was seldom in Bed later than five a-Clock in the Morning during the Summer, or than six in the Winter. Private Meditation took up the two first Hours and the last Half-Hour of the Day. His first and last Appearance to his Family was, at the Morning and Evening Prayers, which were always read by himself, though his Chaplains were present. He drank his Tea in company with his Children, and took that opportunity of instructing them in Religion; he went through the Old and New Testament with them three times, giving his own Comment upon some Portion of it, for an Hour every Morning. When this was over, he retired to his Study, where he seldom spent less than six, often more than eight Hours in a Day. The rest of his Time was taken up with

His Time
how employed.

Business, Exercise and necessary Rest, or bestowed on friendly Visits and chearful Meals. As he kept an open Table, in which there was Plenty without Luxury, so no Man was more pleased with innocent Mirth there, no Man encouraged it more, or had a larger Fund of Entertainment to contribute towards it. His Equipage, like his Table, was decent and plain; and all his Expences denoted a Temper generous, but not profuse. The Episcopal Palace, when he came to *Salisbury*, was thought one of the worst; and when he died, was one of the best in *England*.

An affectionate Husband.

The Character I have given his Wives, will scarce make it an Addition to his, that he was a most affectionate Husband. His tender Care of the first, during a Course of Sickness, that lasted for many Years; and his fond Love to the other two, and the deep Concern he express'd for their Loss, were no more than their just due, from one of his Humanity, Gratitude and Discernment.

His Care of his Children's Education.

His Love to his Children, perhaps accompanied with too much Indulgence, was not exerted in laying up for them a Hoard of Wealth, out of the Revenues of the Church, but in giving them a noble Education; though the Charge of it was wholly maintained out of his private Fortune. At seven Years old, he entered his Sons into *Latin*, giving each of them a distinct Tutor, who had a Salary of Forty Pounds a-year, which was never lessened on account of any Prebend the Bishop gave him. After five or six Years had perfected his Sons in the Learned Languages, he sent them to the *University*; the Eldest a Gentleman Commoner to *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, the other Two Commoners to *Merton College* in *Oxford*; where, besides the College Tutor, they had a private one, to assist them in their Learning, and to overlook their Behaviour. In the Year 1706, he sent them abroad for two Years to finish their Studies at *Leyden*; from whence two of them took a Tour through *Germany*, *Switzerland* and *Italy*. The Eldest and Youngest, by their own Choice, were bred to the Law, and the second to Divinity.

His Firmness in his Friendships.

In his Friendships, our Author was warm, open-hearted and constant: From those I have taken the liberty to mention, the Reader will perceive, that they were formed upon the most prudent Choice, and I cannot find an Instance of any one Friend he ever lost, but by Death. It is a common, perhaps a just Observation, That a hearty Friend is apt to be as hearty an Enemy; yet this Rule did not hold in our Author. For though his Station, his Principles, but above all his stedfast Adherence to the *Hanover Succession*, raised him many Enemies; yet he no sooner had it in his power, to have taken severe Revenges on them, than he

he endeavoured, by the kindest good Offices, to repay all their Injuries, and overcome them, by returning Good for Evil. I have already given some Instances of this nature here, and many more will occur to the Reader in the History.

The Bishop was a kind and bountiful Master to his Servants, whom he never changed, but with Regret and through Necessity: Friendly and obliging to all in Employment under him, and peculiarly happy in the Choice of them; especially in that of the Steward to the Bishoprick and his Courts, *William Wastefield*, Esq; (a Gentleman of a plentiful Fortune, at the time of his accepting this Post) and in that of his Domestick Steward *Mr. Mackney*. These were both Men of approved Worth and Integrity, firmly attach'd to his Interests, and were treated by him, as they well deserved, with Friendship and Confidence. To them, I must appeal, for the Truth of many Facts here related, particularly those concerning his Labours in his Diocese; from them I likewise had an Account of his extensive Charities.

His Conduct
to those in
Employ-
ment under
him.

This was indeed a principal Article of his Expence, impossible now to fix as to all the Particulars; our Author being as secret, as he was liberal, in those Charities, which he distributed with his own hands: Yet the greatest part of them could not be hid from the Persons, who were entrusted with the Management of his Affairs. His Gifts, for the Augmentation of small Livings, of an Hundred Pounds at a time; his constant Pensions to poor Clergymen, to their Widows, to Students for their Education at the Universities, and to industrious Families, that were struggling with the World; the frequent Sums given by him, towards the Repairs or Building of Churches and Vicarage-Houses; his liberal Contribution, to all publick Collections, to the Support of Charity-Schools (one of which for Fifty Children at *Salisbury* was wholly maintained by him,) and the many Apprentices, at different times put out to Trades at his Charge, were Charities that could not be wholly concealed. Nor were his Alms confined to one Nation, Sect or Party; Want and Merit in the Object were the only Measures of his Liberality. Thus when *Mr. Martin* (Minister of *Compton Chamberlein*) for refusing to take the Oaths to the Government, soon after the Revolution, had forfeited his Prebend in the Church of *Sarum*; the Bishop, out of his own Income, paid him the yearly Value of it, during his Life. His usual Allowance for Charity was Five Hundred Pounds a-year, which he often exceeded; particularly in the two Years, that he was Preceptor to the Duke of *Gloucester*, in which time this Article amounted to One and Twenty Hundred Pounds. In a word, no Object

His Charities.

of

of Christian Compassion ever came within his Knowledge, without receiving a proportionable Relief. He looked upon himself, with regard to his Episcopal Revenue, as a meer Trustee for the Church, bound to expend the whole, in the Maintenance of a decent Figure suitable to his Station, in Hospitality, and in Acts of Charity. And he had so faithfully ballanced this Account, that at his Death no more of the Income of his Bishoprick remained to his Family †, than what was barely sufficient for the Payment of his Debts.

His Care of
the Revenue
of the See.

But if he was thus liberal of his own Purse, he was not less strict in preserving the Revenues of his See, for the Benefit of his Successors, of which this remarkable Instance may suffice *. One of his Predecessors had converted a large Estate at *Monckton Farley*, held of the Bishop, from a Lease of One and Twenty Years, into an Estate for three Lives, and had received a valuable Consideration for so doing. Our Author resolved, if possible, to restore it to the former Tenure, as being much more advantageous to the See: when therefore one of the Lives fell, he refused to renew; and when, the other two Lives being very unhealthy, Sir *John Talbot* offered him a Thousand Pounds for the Renewal of that one Life, and the Change of the other two, he still persisted in his Refusal: Till at length the Tenant, apprehending the whole Estate would have fallen in, agreed to accept of a Lease for One and Twenty Years, for which the Bishop would take no more than Four Hundred Pounds Fine to himself; but made it part of his Agreement, that the Tenant should pay Ten Pounds yearly Rent, to the Minister of the Parish, as a perpetual Augmentation to that poor Living, besides the usual Reserved Rent to the See.

His Death.

In *March* 17th $\frac{1}{2}$, being the Seventy-second Year of his Age, our Author was taken ill of a violent Cold, which soon turned to a Pleuritick Fever; he was attended in it, by his worthy Friend and Relation Dr. *Cheyne*, who treated him with the utmost Care and Skill: But finding the Distemper grew to a height, which seemed to baffle all Remedies, he called for the Assistance of Sir *Hans Sloane* and Dr. *Mead*, who quickly found his Case was desperate. His Character was too well known, to induce any one to conceal from him the Danger his Life was in. He bore the Notice of it, with that calm Resignation to Providence, which had always supported him under the severest Trials. As he preserved his Senses to the last, so he employed the precious Remnant of Life, in continual Acts of Devotion, and in giving

† This Mr. *Mackney* his Steward assured me appeared in his Accounts.

* This I had from the Minister of *Monckton*

Farley, and many others at the Time, and it was confirmed to me since by Mr. *Wastefield* and Mr. *Mackney*.

giving the best Advice to his Family; of whom he took leave, in a manner, that shewed the utmost Tenderneſs, accompanied with the firmeſt Conſtancy of Mind. And whilſt he was ſo little ſenſible of the Terrors of Death, as to embrace its Approach with Joy; he could not but expreſs a Concern, for the Grief he ſaw it cauſed in others. He died on the Seventeenth Day of that Month.

It would be a Preſumption in me to attempt the drawing his Character; when it has been done by ſo elegant a Hand, as that of the late Marquiſs of *Halifax*: As this beautiful Piece, I believe, has never been made publick, the Reader will pardon my inserting it here.

“ Dr. *Burnet** is like all Men, who are above the ordinary Level, His Cha-
 “ ſeldom ſpoke of in a Mean, he muſt either be railed at or ad- racter, by
 “ mired; he has a Swiftneſs of Imagination, that no other Man the Marquiſs
 “ comes up to; and as our Nature hardly allows us to have of *Halifax*.
 “ enough of any thing, without having too much, he cannot at
 “ all times ſo hold in his Thoughts, but that at ſome time they
 “ may run away with him; as it is hard for a Veſſel, that is
 “ brim-full, when in motion, not to run over; and therefore the
 “ Variety of Matter, that he ever carries about him, may throw
 “ out more, than an unkind Critick would allow of. His firſt
 “ Thoughts may ſometimes require more Diſteſtion, not from a
 “ Defect in his Judgment, but from the Abundance of his Fancy,
 “ which furniſhes too faſt for him. His Friends love him too
 “ well, to ſee ſmall Faults; or if they do, think that his greater
 “ Talents give him a Privilege of ſtraying from the ſtrict Rules
 “ of Caution, and exempt him from the ordinary Rules of Cen-
 “ ſure. He produces ſo faſt, that what is well in his Writings
 “ calls for Admiration, and what is incorrect deſerves an Excuse;
 “ he may in ſome things require Grains of Allowance, which
 “ thoſe only can deny him, who are unknown or unjuſt to him.
 “ He is not quicker in diſcerning other Men’s Faults, than he is
 “ in forgiving them; ſo ready, or rather glad to acknowledge his
 “ own, that from Blemiſhes they become Ornaments. All the
 “ repeated Provocations of his indecent Adverſaries, have had no
 “ other Effect, than the ſetting his Good-Nature in ſo much a
 “ better Light; ſince his Anger never yet went farther than
 “ to pity them. That Heat, which in moſt other Men raiſes
 “ Sharpneſs and Satire, in him glows into Warmth for his Friends,
 “ and Compaſſion for thoſe in Want and Miſery. As dull Men
 “ have

* The Copy from which this is printed, was taken from one given to the Biſhop, in the Mar-
 quis of *Halifax*’s own Hand-writing, which was in the Editor’s hands, but is at preſent miſlaid.

“ have quick Eyes, in discerning the smaller Faults of those, that
 “ Nature has made superior to them, they do not miss one Blot
 “ he makes; and being beholden only to their Barrenness for their
 “ Discretion, they fall upon the Errors, which arise out of his
 “ Abundance; and by a Mistake, into which their Malice be-
 “ trays them, they think that by finding a Mote in his Eye, they
 “ hide the Beams, that are in their own. His Quickness makes
 “ Writing so easy a thing to him, that his Spirits are neither
 “ wasted nor soured by it: The Soil is not forced, every thing
 “ grows, and brings forth without Pangs; which distinguishes as
 “ much what he does, from that which smells of the Lamp, as
 “ a good Palate will discern between Fruit, which comes from a
 “ rich Mould, and that which tastes of the uncleanly Pains, that
 “ have been bestowed upon it. He makes many Enemies, by
 “ setting an ill-natured Example of Living, which they are not in-
 “ clined to follow. His Indifference for Preferment, his Con-
 “ tempt not only of Splendour, but of all unnecessary Plenty,
 “ his degrading himself into the lowest and most painful Duties
 “ of his Calling; are such unprelatical Qualities, that let him be
 “ never so orthodox in other things, in these he must be a Dis-
 “ senter. Virtues of such a stamp are so many Heresies, in the
 “ opinion of those Divines, who have softened the Primitive In-
 “ junctions, so as to make them suit better with the present Frailty
 “ of Mankind. No wonder then, if they are angry, since it is
 “ in their own Defence, or that from a Principle of Self-Preserva-
 “ tion they should endeavour to suppress a Man, whose Parts are
 “ a Shame, and whose Life is a Scandal to them.”





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F I N I S.









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